THE HISTORY OF VENICE,

Written Originally in Italian, By

PAULO PARUTA,

Procurator of St. *MARK.*

To which is added the

WARS of CYPRUS.

By the ſame Author.

Wherein the famous Sieges of *Nicoſſia*, and *Famagoſta*, and Battel of *Lepanto* are contained.

Now humbly Dedicated to their Excellencies the Ambaſſadors from *VENICE.*

Made Engliſh,

By *HENRY* Earl of *MONMOUTH.*

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DENCE

OF

HISTORY

TO

Their Excellencies

Signior *Soranzo* and Signior *Venier*,

Ambaſſadors Extraordinary from the State

of *VENICE*;

THIS

HISTORY of *VENICE*

Is moſt humbly Dedicated by

Francis Saunders.

TO

Their Excellencies

Signior Surace and Signior Venier,

Ambassadors Extraordinary from the State

of VENICE;

THIS

HISTORY of VENICE

Is most humbly Dedicated by

Thomas Saunders.

HENRY,
Earl of Monmouth,
TO THE
READERS
His Country-men.

IN *my Author's* Sololoquie, *in the latter end of his* Politick Diſcourſes, *wherein he gives you a ſhort Relation of his Life, He mentions this Hiſtory of his, which he terms,* Opera buona, & degna, *a good and gallant Work. I took his own word for the Approbation thereof, and truly I finde he hath made it good: and if I have not injured*

jured him in making it ſpeak my Language; I am very confident you will be of my opinion: for you will finde in it, great variety of Hiſtory, handſomly woven, and delightful, intermix'd with Negotiations, Treaties of Warre, and Peace, Leagues, and Confederacies made between Chriſtian Princes, ſeveral Speeches and Orations, made upon many ſeveral occaſions, and ſtrongly argued; and indeed, whatſoever may make a Book ſeem pleaſing to the Reader: Which, that it may do to thee, is the wish of

Thy Compatriot,

MONMOUTH.

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Page	Line	*for*	read
8	33	Trinutio	*Trivulcio.*
19	12	Vilcount	*Viſconte.*
ibid	19	Navar	*Novara.*
20	10	Undecided	*Unconcluded*
28	11	Liguago	*Lignago*
ibid	19	So	*To*
34	4	Trevigpe	*Trevigi*
35	25	diſturbe	*diſturbed*
39	1	diſpatch	*deſpiſeth all*
41	3	between &	*& the* put *of*
ibid	4	Scat	*State*
49	1	City	*Army*
51	30	Cardona	*Colonna*
ibid	35	if	*Il*
53	24	laught at	*deluded by*
54	31	Hylmael	*Iſmael*
ibid	31	Gi.turi	*Vitturi*
ibid	34	Savorgano	*Savorgnano*
73	1	faithfulneſs	*faithleſsnes*
ibid	15	be eaſily	*eaſily be*
81	37	them	*him*
87	15	was	*were*
88	10	taking	*taken*
91	4	dele the firſt	*to*
96	30	inju'd by	*afraid of*
99	10	had	*made*
104	3	Guirome	*Gaironne*
ibid	34	Pennimen	*Apennine*
ibid		Montcinenſe	*Montſeny*
106	35	Waite	*wrote*
108	50	dele the ſecond	*the*
109	46	Files	*Ranks*
110	32	array	*army*
112	13	before *they* inſert	*which*
113	7	pickt	*pitcht*
ibid	17	thereon	*thereof*
ibid	36	Piſigliano	*Pitigliano*
117	13	Worth	*Valour*
118	32	thea	*that*
119	3	dele	*of conſideration*
ibid	39	and	*or*
120	16	dele	*the*
123	26	inſert	*miſcarried*
124	21	dele	*all invontre*
ibid	33	his of	*of his*

Page	Line	*for*	read
133	35	effects	*paſſions*
ibid	46	moleſt	*honeſt*
138	13	foreſtowed	*foreſlowed*
ibid	19	Ballen	*Bologna*
146	42	after *Camp* put	*ſat down*
149	37	Charles	*Francis*
151	39	Conſciouſne.	*Covetouſneſs*
153	11	Cuono	*Buono*
159	43	Taragoſa	*Saragoſa*
ibid	45	le Sirte to Tunis	*not far from the Syrtes as Tunis*
168	42	eminent	*imminent*
173	43	Lerce	*Leſcu*
ibid		dele the ſecond	*to*
177	4	Franciſco Laus	*Alfonſo Sanſ*
181	3	Pope	*Po*
182	22	12000	1200
187	13	ought	*doubt*
198	23	after *might* inſert	*not*
205	34	infected	infalted
208	14	which	*with*
210	30	after *opinion* dele	*on*
212	36	after *for* inſert	*if*
220	45	1000	10000
221	2	eminent	*imminent*
ibid	36	Lormano	*Sormano*
228	8	Son	*Sonnes*
ibid	18	1000	10000
230	29	Sange	*Lange*
232	42	Galliazzo	*di Gaiazzo*
224	31	deſcent	*diſcent*
236	36	Lagni	*Lagri*
247	45	Furili	*Furli*
251	22	County	*Count of*
ibid	32	on	
255	4	dele	*given them*
ibid	14	things	*Kings*
ibid	17	Intervene	*interview*
257	41	Alcone	*Alarcone*
259	43	after *and* inſert	*the*
ibid	45	Cido	*Cibo*
270	3	Romaga	*Romania*
ibid	17	San Termo	*San Fermo*
ibid	33	Sepontino	*of Sipontium*
272	4	*Agreement*	*prejudicial*

Page	Line	*for*	read
280	31	Town	*Towns*
ibid	40	Marc	*Marca*
ibid	50	Lanudo	*Sanudo*
292	6	dele *not*	
293	17	impoſe	*oppoſe*
294	5	conjunct	*convinc'd*
29.	34	which	*with*
ibid	38	dele *and*	
296	21	Navi	*Nni*
305	23	Jialio	*Fulio*
312	34	Mouſa	*Monza*
328	7	they	*their*
332	45	Cruzado	*Cruzada*
334	34	Auguſta	*Ausburg*
337	37	endring	*enduring*
343	25	at	*of*
354		before *to* inſert	*daughter*
370	40	Cantarinen	*Contarinis*
375	19	in	*by*
381	23	hands	*heads*
390	24	before *come*	inſert *was*
391	47	Naples	*Napoli*
392	21	Quirina	*the Quirini*
427	9	Diſcutari	*of Scutari*
430	30	them	*him*
440	12	Paru	*Paxu*
557	4	Samito	*Sanuto*
561	1	after 2d *and*	inſert *the*
567	4	though	*thought*
571	14	his	*her*
573	27	Padino	*Nadino*
579	2	Strozzitia	*Strozzi A*
588	49	Gurs	*Gens*
597	6	Strigonia	*Strigonium*
609	11	thought	*though*
613	2	dele *any*	
ibid	3	thed	*they had*
614	31	him	*them*
ibid	39	gave themſelves	*given them*
615	48	have	*having been*
627	49	before *reſt* inſert	*the*
640	39	dele *their*	
641	35	after *but* inſert	*for the next year 1552*
647	28	it	*the hope*

The Errata of the three Books of the *Wars of Cyprus*.

Page	Line	*for*	read
3	14	the ſecond the	*their*
4	24	Machiauelly	*Manalucchi*
12	13	after Church inſert	*and*
40	8	victory	*overthrow*
45	22	latter	*former*
46	33	Bacchne	*burthen*
51	36	to	*by*
59	42	before Piazza inſert	*the*
ibid	47	with the	*by the*
ibid	50	quit	*quitted*
60	44	fourth	*fourteenth*
67	15	Vicentino	*of Vicenza*
70	33	ill Serifo	*the Serif*
81	13	after that inſert	*the*

Page	Line	*for*	read
94	42	ſhelves	*the rocks*
ibid	50	dele	*of*
97	40	before not inſert	*may*
98	47	after do inſert	*not*
100	43	Ceſſan	*Caſſan*
102	26	ſill it	*it ſill*
103	21	after could inſert	*do*
116	1	Tevero	*Teuere*
124	6	and	*an*
ibid	12	Oſtentatiouſneſs	obſtinateneſs
126	30	maſt	*main-yard*
135	37	diſpoſed	*diſputed*
145	36	pleaded	*called to mind*
151	35	del Dieu	*of Diu*

Page	Line	*for*	read
153	24	Leſſe	*Seſſa*
154	16	before not inſert	*were*
155	5	Tyre	*Tine*
162	21	Calaria	*Calabria*
ibid	26	after the 2d to inſert	*the*
ibid	27	Aleſſandrino	*of Alexandria*
177	17	after yet inſert	*without*
ibid	38	Forecaſtles	*Poopes*
180	24	Andrea	*Andrada*
182	46	Paru	*Paxu*
192	43	dele *of*	*Zaccheria*
200	30	Bayle	*Conſull*
204	8	Barbaro	*Badoaro.*

THE HISTORY OF VENICE,

Written by PAULO PARUTA.

BOOK I.

THE CONTENTS.

A *Preparatory Proœmium to the Deſcription of the enſuing Hiſtory; Framed upon ſome Actions of the Common-wealth of* Venice. Italy (*being made a woful receptacle of forreign Nations*) *is miſerably lacerated, and almoſt reduced to ſlavery, which is remedied by the Venetian Forces. The Miſeries of* Italy *are renewed by* Lewis *the twelveth of* France; *and by the Spaniards, who occaſion the contentions in* Naples. Bajazet *and the Venetians are agreed.* Maximilian *of* Auſtria, *is denyed entrance into* Italy, *by the Venetians: He makes war with them, and loſeth ſome Caſtles upon the Confines of the Empire. Almoſt all the Kings, and Princes of Chriſtendom, conſpire together againſt the Venetians:* Lewis *of* France *is the Authour thereof. They re-gain ſome Cities; They refuſe to make Peace: The intentions of King* Lewis: *Of the Pope: His Treaties. Of the Swiſſers: Of the Vice-Roy of Naples. The Senate is in diſpute whether they ſhall embrace Peace, or War. At laſt they make a League with the King of* France. *War is renewed; The Articles of the League. The Election of a new Pope.* Alviano, *his firſt ſucceſſes. The Dutch go out of* Verona. Novara *is defended by the Switzers.* Alviano *doth in vain aſſault* Verona. *The attempt of taking* Padua, *by Biſhop* Gurghenſe, *the Emperours Lievtenant; The Siege is given over. Various accidents which befel the Common wealth. The War by reaſon of the Winter, is deferred till a better ſeaſon.*

THE Common-wealth of *Venice*, for the long continuance of her Command, and for the excellency of her Government, is deſervedly held to be the goodlieſt, and moſt fortunate, of as many as ever were in the world; and if her remarkable Actions, both of

Peace and War, had been more lively kept in memory by writing, and by mens mouths; ſo as her Fame had been equal to her deſervings, ſhe would by this time have arrived at ſuch Renown, as her glorious Actions would have far exceeded the memory of all other Cities, *Rome* only excepted. And certainly, that ſuch a flouriſhing Common-wealth; both for good Laws, and wholeſome Inſtitutions, ſhould not, in ſo long a concourſe of time, have atchieved greater Empire; And alſo, that the glory of her Enterpriſes hath been ſo little celebrated by famous Writers, and not preſerved in that Dignity, and Splendor, as becomes their merits, ought not to be imputed to the baſeneſs nor wretchleſneſs of her Inhabitants, but rather to their Modeſty: For the cuſtom of our fore-fathers, was not to undertake War out of a deſire of Rule, but to preſerve their Liberties: and being wholly intent upon the welfare of their Country, they did not mind their own greatneſs; but ſtudied more to be, then to appear, good. Hence it was, that not placing the chiefeſt Glory in extent of Empire, or in the praiſe of other men; but in the good Government of the City, and in the uprightneſs of their own conſciences; they loſt many occaſions of aggrandizing their Common-wealth, and ſuffered many of their glorious Actions, to ſleep in ſilence: But in the following Age, the Common-wealth being much encreaſed in Citizens, Riches, and Laws, whereby ſhe had drawn upon her, the envy of many other people; it might eaſily be known by their dangers, and by their affairs, that the Common-wealth ſtood in need of larger Dominions, and of greater Forces; to the end that ſhe might provide for her ſafety, and for her plenty, both by Sea and Land: Therefore whereas formerly our Anceſtors, being provoked to war by their Neighbors, thought they had done enough if they kept themſelves from being injured by them; They began to take in Cities, and to enlarge their borders on all ſides, to the end that they might put their Affairs into a ſafer, and a more honourable condition. It alſo oft times hapned, that by their civil ways, without any noiſe of war, which was ſuppreſt by peace; by their negotiations, and hopes of tranquility, they won upon the Peoples good will, and did enlarge their Confines; In ſo much as the City being already become very powerful, both by Sea and Land; ſhe ſeemed to repreſent the greatneſs and Majeſty of the ancient Romans: Which things, if they had been ſooner done, the City of *Venice* would have arrived to ſuch a height, as ſhe might have been paralel'd to the Common-wealth of *Rome*, for Empire, and warlike Glory: But this advice was ſo long a taking, as that all things fell our croſs unto her: For the Times began already, apparently to favour the *Ottoman* Family, which being come from a ſmall beginning, it is a wonderful thing to ſay how ſoon it increaſed; ſo as having by great conteſt in war, overcome many Kings, and States; and by its formidable greatneſs, utterly ruined the Eaſtern Empire, it bereft the Venetians of all hope of inlarging their Dominion in the Maratine parts: Other hopes likewiſe of happy ſucceſs, were by a ſhort delay ſpoiled, and corrupted; for if the Common-wealth had turned her Forces ſooner upon the Vicegerents of the Empire; who taking occaſion by reaſon of the

Emperors

Emperors troubles in the tedious wars of *Germany*, uſurped the free Dominion of many of the nobleſt Cities of *Italy*, She might eaſily have regained them from their unlawful poſſeſſors, who were yet weak and of no repute. And then *Italy* being ſubdued, how eaſie it was for them to ſubdue all other Nations, and to ſpread their Empire from the Eaſt unto the Weſt, is eaſily demonſtrable, by the very proceedings of the Romans: But howſoever the Forces, Cuſtoms, and Laws, of this rich and flouriſhing Common-wealth, continue in greater vigor, and the Fates will one day open them the way to great Atchievements.

I have propoſed unto my ſelf to ſpend the time which ſhall be permited me, in writing the Actions of this ſo famous City, as well in times of war, as of peace; the memory wherof, I will endeavor to leave to poſterity, with as great ſincerity, and uncorrupted Faith, as I poſſibly can. I thought it became me chearfully, and readily, to undertake this, being laid upon me by publick Commiſſion, that I might imploy my time in the ſervice of this my Noble, and dear Country, in that point wherein (as I have ſaid) the care of our Predeceſſors may ſeem ſometimes to have been wanting; in which duty aſſuredly I will do my beſt. Therefore, laying aſide all partiality and paſſions, I have, with a peaceable and free mind, undertaken this buſineſs; and if any one ſhall peradventure think, that I do ſometimes praiſe the Affairs of the Venetians too highly; let them excuſe me, and think, that it is not the love of my Country that moves me thereunto, but only the deſire of ſpeaking truth; the memory of theſe times, and men, not being to be ſufficiently celebrated, whoſe excellent worth was able to govern ſo many affairs, and to ſuſtain the violence of adverſe fortune.

I am by the commands of the Counſel of *Ten*, the ſupream Magiſtracy of this our Country, to take the riſe of this my Narration, from the time wherein the Hiſtory of Cardinal *Bembo*, a Famous Perſonage ended, and therewith the League made by the Venetians, with Pope *Julius* the ſecond, and with *Ferdinand*, King of *Spain*, againſt the French; which League ended almoſt together with the life of this Pope. It will be good and uſeful, that in the continuation of this Hiſtory, the perfect form of our Republick be repreſented; wherein may be ſeen the true Image of perfect Government, for thoſe things to which the wit of man hath not been able to attain, in their fancying the Government of an excellent Common-wealth, are all ſeen to be confirmed by time and experience, in the City of *Venice*. The memory of theſe times will afford various Examples of both Fortunes, which may help very much to the acquiring of State wiſdom; and moreover, many Teſtimonies of worth, whereby great moderation and conſtancy, in proſperous and adverſe Fortune; at home, and in the wars, true Juſtice and Fortitude, may be found in our Citizens. But before I begin what I intend to ſay, I muſt expound ſome things, taking them a little higher, to the end that the truth of what is to be ſaid, may appear the more clearly.

It was already long ſince *Italy* was fallen into great calamity, and being become the Seat and Receptacle of Forraign Nations, ſhe advanced a pace towards a long and hard ſlavery; being by them rob'd of

her Empire, and of her Military glory: For the French having a little before the time from which I am to take the riſe of this my Hiſtory, aſſaulted the Kingdom of *Naples*, by the means and advice of *Lodowick Sforza*, Duke of *Millan*, (who did not therein foreſee his own ruine) the way was ever afterwards laid open for all the Italians greateſt enemies to enter *Italy*, to her prejudice and ruine: For all our Princes being deſirous of Noveltie, and confiding in Forreigners, they waged war againſt themſelves, renting this their unfortunate common Country in pieces by the Sword, and by all injurious proceedings, for they beleeved they might eaſily come by thoſe Dignities and States, by diſturbing her peace, which they diſpaired of obtaining whilſt *Italy* was in a quiet condition; wherein how they were cheated, the event did prove: For they ſoon ſaw thoſe evils turned upon themſelves, which they had prepared for others; In ſo much as there was not any one part of this Noble Country, which taſted not deeply of the miſeries of war; and which being long tormented with ſlaughters, rapine, and all ſort of cruelty, hath not loſt almoſt all their ancient Priviledges and Dignities, and changed their whole Aſpect. The unlooked-for coming of the French into *Italy*, whether they brought a dreadful and unuſual way of warring, did ſo terrifie the Kings of *Aragon*, as having more reſpect to their ſafety, then to their Honour, they forſook a Noble Kingdom, and left all things as a prey to the avarice of the Conquerors. But the French, who had got the Victory, more by an opinion which was had of their Forces, then out of meer worth, did through their negligence, loſe the fruit thereof, and were ſoon driven home out of *Italy*: which was chiefly done by the advice and Forces of the Venetians; And had our Princes been able then to have bounded their Appetites, the power of the French had not peradventure, extended it ſelf beyond the confines of their own Kingdom. But hardly was this firſt Combuſtion over, when ſuddenly another war was kindled in *Italy*; the ſame way of civil diſcord being opened unto the French, by which they had at firſt entred our Countries: Their King *Lodowick*, the twelvth, having made a League with the Venetians, did again aſſault *Italy*, with yet a greater preparation for war, and won one of her moſt fruitful Provinces, and which did moſt abound in Inhabitants, and goodly Cities, having driven the Family of the *Sforza*'s out of it: And ſoon after, having a mind to be Maſter of all *Italy*, calling in the Spaniards to aſſiſt him, he, together with them, poſſeſt himſelf of the Kingdom of *Naples*. Great contention aroſe between theſe two Potent Kings of *France* and *Spain*, about the diviſion thereof; and *Italy* being made the Seat of war, they often fought with various ſucceſs, and keeping themſelves out of danger, ruined the Countries of other men with ſword and fire. In theſe troubleſome times, whilſt *Italy*, was full, almoſt in all her ports of Foreign Armies, and troubled with various ſucceſſes of war, the Affairs of the Venetians went peacefully, and proſperouſly on; for Fortune not having as yet begun to frown upon them; and they having accomodated the differences between them, and *Bajazet* the Emperour of the Turks, with whom before they had made war, and put all their Maritime parts into a peaceful condition, they turned

their

their thoughts upon their Land Militia, and to their Dominion on *Terra firma*; and did with all diligence ſtudy how to increaſe their Forces, and their Empire; that their Common-wealth might be able, when occaſion ſhould require, to reſiſt forreign Forces. The Dignity and Fame of the City of *Venice* was hereupon ſo much increaſed, as it now held the firſt place for Authority and Power, in all *Italy*; and by common conſent all differences were referred to her: there was not any one who intended to attempt any thing upon *Italy*, who did not chiefly indeavor to have the Venetians for their Friends, and Confederates.

Thus *Maximillian* of *Auſtrea*, King of the Romans, Elect Emperor of the Weſt, deſirous to come into *Italy* to receive the Enſigns of Empire, according to the cuſtomes of his Predeceſſors, and to reſtore *Italy* to her Liberty, by freeing her from the ſevere ſlavery of the French; and to reduce her under the civil *Germane* Empire, endeavored very much to win the Venetians to join their Forces with his, or at leaſt not to have them his Adverſaries. But the Senate of *Venice*, not willing to make more way for the barbarous Nations to ruine *Italy*, whereby ſhe might draw upon her the hatred of all her Neighbour Princes, reſolved not to forego the friendſhip which ſhe had contracted with the French, but to oppoſe the Emperour *Maximillian*, if he ſhould come into *Italy* in a war-like poſture. Hereupon aroſe war between them, which hapned ſucceſfully; for the Venetians entring with greater Forces into the Emperours Confines, took from him ſome Caſtles, which belonged to the Patremony of the Houſe of *Auſtrea*, and joyned them to their Empire. The other Princes did very much envy the proſperity of the *Venetians*, where power being become ſo formidable, they thought fit to ſuppreſs: wherefore allmoſt all the Kings and Princes of *Europe*, conſpired againſt her, and proclaimed war againſt *Venice*, *Lodowick*, King of *France*, being the chief Author thereof, who was obliged to the Common-wealth by many ancient and modern good Offices, wherefore ſhe thought ſhe might very much confide in his Friendſhip. As ſoon as this unexpected news came to *Venice*, the Senators not ſhewing any ſign of fear of this ſo great and dreadful War; but being reſolved to meet the Enemies Forces, left nothing undone which might make for their defence, and which might be done by Advice, Gallantry, and Force of Arms. But now they muſt give way to adverſe Times: the Common-wealths Army did unfortunately fight the Enemy, upon the Banks of the River *Ada*; and after the bad ſucceſs of this Battel, as if the Common-wealth had received a fatal blow, out of a ſudden diſpair, ſhe freed the Nobleſt Cities of her Dominions, from their former Oaths; and gave them leave to ſubmit unto the Enemy: So as falling on a ſudden from the hight of Happineſs into great miſery, ſhe was a great Example of the variety of humane Affairs. Yet ſoon after, the Senators reſuming courage, began to Rally their diſperſed Forces, to raiſe more Forces; wherewith in a ſhort time, the Enemies Forces being ſeparated, and they having gotten ſome of the Enemies to joyn with them againſt their own confederates, they revenged themſelves of the French, who were the firſt occaſioners of their

their Calamity, and drove them out of *Italy*; and did likewiſe recover, and defend many of their Nobleſt Cities and Caſtles: by which ſucceſs, growing higher in their hopes, they oft times refuſed peace when it was offered them; being reſolved either to obtain ſuch conditions, as whereby they might recover their ancient State, or elſe put themſelves again upon the utmoſt dangers of war. Wherefore all men ſaid, that even in the obſcurity of ſo much adverſe fortune, ſome light did yet remain of the antient Glory of *Italy*, and of the Venetian vertue, in the perpetual conſtancy of that Senate, and in their generous invincible fortitude of Spirit. The Venetians oft times when they were worſted, treated with their Enemies which had overcome them, as if they were to give, not to receive Laws; demanding reſtitution of whatſoever was theirs before the war began, before they would lay down Arms. They had by this time recovered the Cities of *Padua*, *Trevigi*, *Vicenza*, *Crema*; and beſides theſe, the Towns in *Freuli*, and the Cities of *Feltre*, and *Belluno*, ſubmitted to the Venetian Empire; but *Verona* was ſtill in *Maximillians* hands: the Viceroy of *Naples* held *Breſcia*, whereinto he powered a great many Spaniards; and the Switzers having won *Cremona*, held it in the name of *Maximillian Sforza*: *Ferdinand*, King of *Spain*, poſſeſed the Towns and Havens of *Puglia*, which formerly belonged to the Common-wealth; having reſtored them to the Kingdom of *Naples*, as Members thereof. And the Caſtles of *Romagnia*, which were won by Pope *Julius*, were by him annext to the Eccleſiaſtical State. The Common-wealth was not then upon any good terms with the Pope, nor with the King of *Spain*, though not long before ſhe had entered into League and Friendſhip with them: Not with the one, becauſe he did favour *Cæſar* too much, and not with the other, becauſe contrary to Articles, he detained the City of *Breſcia*, which appertained to her. The Switzers friendſhip was greatly ſuſpected, though they profeſſed adherence to the Common-wealth; as well by reaſon of their ancient repute of not being over faithful, as alſo for the new ſucceſs of *Cremona*. But ſhe profeſt open enmity to *Lodowick*, King of *France*; and the time of League made for ſome Months with the Emperour *Maximillian*, was expired, all Treaties of peace between him and the Venetians having always proved vain; out of their conſtant reſolution to recover, and the like in him not to quit *Verona*.

This was the Condition of the Times, and of the State of *Venice*; When in the beginning of the year 1513. counting from the Birth of Chriſt, and 1092. from the building of *Venice*, *Leonardo Loredano*, being then Duke, which is the higheſt degree of the Common-wealth; there began ſome appearance of peace and quiet, after ſo many troubles; for the French, who had been the beginners of the late Calamities, were already driven out of *Italy*, and had the Mountains given them for the bounders of their Empire, and together with them it was thought that the ſink of all other miſchiefs was thrown out. It was to be conceived by no improbable Arguments, that Peace would be acceptable to all thoſe who had any Dominion in *Italy*; *Cæſar* was not thought to be able of himſelf to make good the War, having no hope of aſſiſtance from the French, and invironed with many neceſſities;

ceſſities; wherefore it was likely that he would give way to ſome agreement; nor were the Venetians averſe unto it, being now by the continual troubles of ſo many ſore wars, invited to reſt. The Pope, who had wont to boaſt that he by Counſels, had freed *Italy* from the ſlavery of the French, it might with reaſon be thought, that nothing could be more deſired by him then this; That, ſince he had much inlarged the Churches Dominions, and re-inveſted the Duke of *Millan* in his State, the Affairs of *Italy* might begin to be in a better condition by injoying peace. And it was very manifeſt, that *Ferdinand* King of *Spain* was to deſire peace more then the reſt: This wiſe Prince knew that it was by Peace that he was to confirm himſelf in his new poſſeſſion of *Naples*, and by his own induſtry, or other mens negligence, increaſe his Force and Reputation; therefore under appearance of the Common good, but indeed minding more his own advantage, he had oftentimes ſent Embaſſadours to *Ceſar*, and to the Venetians, labouring to compound their differences. But hardly did this light begin to appear out of cloudy by-gone-times, when ſuddenly it vaniſhed.

Some ſeeds of the former miſchiefs remained yet in *Italy*; for the ſtrong aſtles of *Genua*, *Millan*, and *Cremona*, held ſtill for the King of *France*, and many factious men began to deſire Novelties; and to the terror of all men, news was ſpread abroad of new ſtirrings in *France*, which as it was believed would ſuddenly break forth into open war. *Lodowick* did greatly deſire to recover the State of *Millan*, and his ancient Reputation; and he was much the more incited by the diſcord of the Colleague Princes, hoping that he might eaſily divide them, and get ſome of them to joyn with him, when he ſhould ſend his Army into *Italy*. He therefore ſometimes egg'd on *Ceſar* to war againſt the Venetians, and ſometimes the Venetians againſt *Ceſar*. He offered all his Forces to each of them, he propounded great rewards of Victory; he made himſelf appear to them to be in a condition of joyning with any one of them, when the other ſhould undervalue his Friendſhip. Moreover, to the end that a more firm and inviolable agreement might be made between them, he promiſed *Ceſar* to give him his Daughter *Renea* for wife, to his Nephew *Charls*, or elſe to his Nephew *Ferdinand*, and to give with her for Portion, the State of *Millan*, when it ſhould be regaind by their joynt Forces. The Pope was hereat greatly troubled; for he ſaw that great dangers were threatned to *Italy*, by the power of the French, which he did no leſs hate then fear: but he was much in doubt which ſide he ſhould favour: If he ſhould lean to *Ceſar*, he feared leaſt the Venetians having no hopes of peace, ſhould have recourſe to the friendſhip of the French, and ſhould endeavour to ſecure themſelves by their Forces; ſo as he ſhould loſe all that Glory, which during all the time of his being Pope, he had ſo much laboured after. And on the contrary, if he ſhould loſe *Ceſar* by aſſiſting the Venetians, he thought he had not ſufficiently provided for all dangers; and being very jealous, he perſwaded himſelf it might eaſily happen that *Ceſar* ſiding with the Council at *Piſa*, which the King of *France* had long before ſet up againſt him, and which was at this time removed to *Lions*, his Glo-

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ry, and Dignity might be expoſed to great danger. But a fervent deſire to get the City of *Ferrara* did moſt of all prevail with the Pope in making him alter his firſt reſolution of aſſiſting the Venetians. Rejecting therefore at the laſt all things which might perſwade him to the contrary, he reſolved to be govern'd by *Cæſars* Intereſt; and whereas formerly he had wont with great dexterity and humanity to exhort the Venetians to Peace, he began now to threaten them ſeverely, if they did not accept thereof upon whatſoever ſevere condions, as ſoon as it ſhould be propounded: Whereby he hoped to induce *Cæſar* to give over the defence of *Ferrara*, which loſing his aſſiſtance, muſt needs fall into his hands. But the Venetians being certainly advertiſed by their Embaſſadour *Franciſco Foſcari* of theſe the Popes new inventions, began to liſten to the reaſons which had been many times before urged by *Andrea Gritti*, of joyning in League with the French.

This *Andrea* being taken Priſoner in *Breſcia*, and afterwards carried into *France*, was for his wiſdom, good behaviour, and affability, very well eſteemed of by all men, and eſpecially by the King, and kept with great reſpect and honour, ſo as he now convers'd and treated in the Court, much liker an Embaſſadour of his Country, than a Priſoner; the Venetians thought it an unworthy thing, and not to be endured, that their proſperous Succeſs in War againſt the French had brought them no advantage, by reaſon of the great Injury that was done them by their Friends and Confederates; who notwithſtanding would have it believed that they had undertaken that War chiefly for the Venetians good, and that their Common-wealth might flouriſh again. By which appearances the Venetians being nouriſht in hopes, they were the cauſe why they willingly continued the War, underwent much labour, and danger, not ſparing for expences; but as ſoon as the French had a way made them for the League, *Conſtanſo Ferrario* was ſuddenly ſent to *Venice* to negotiate it, not without the Kings conſent and knowledg. This man brought Letters with him to the Senate, from *Giovanni Giacopo Trinuſio*, one who was then in great Authority with the King, wherein he appeared to be very well inclined to the Common-wealth, and then ſhewing the reaſon which had moved him to ſend this his Servant of purpoſe to them, left the whole Authority of negotiating, and concluding the buſineſs to him; that it might be the more cloſely carried, this buſineſs of Treaty touching the League with *Ferrario*, was committed to *Antonio Fuſtiniano*, one of the prime Senators, and who was then in great eſteem for his Wiſedom. Theſe after divers meetings agreed, that ſome things being altered which the condition of the times did require, thoſe capitulations ſhould continue which were made ſome years before, when the Venetians joyn'd in League with the French againſt the *Sforza*'s. *Gritti* was made acquainted with all this, and was deſired that he ſhould by all means endeavour, that this Friendſhip and Peace might be confirm'd by the King as ſoon as might be. *Lewis* ſeemed to be content with what was done, and promiſed to make good all that had been agreed upon by *Ferrario*, except that Article of yeilding up *Cremona*, and

Giaradada

Giaradada to the Venetians; which places he abſolutely denyed to ſurrender up to any. The Venetians would very gladly have had *Cremona* reſtored: for when they called to memory what expence and labour they had been at in the getting of it, the more deſirous they were to re-poſſeſs it. To which purpoſe they uſed theſe reaſons to the King, that either of their States ought to be bounded by remarkable Confines, to take away all future occaſions which might ariſe of breaking their Amity, which could be none elſe but the two Rivers of *Poe* and *Ada*; that the Cities of *Breſcia* and *Cremona* were ſo ſcituated, as unleſs they were Maſters of *Cremona*, their Dominion muſt be continually divided and weak, and ſubject to many Inconveniences. That the better to ſtrengthen the new League, it was beſt to renew it upon the ſame conditions which were formerly accepted of by the King, that the King could not retract (without injury to them) from any thing which was treated upon and concluded by *Ferrerio*, not without his knowledg. Thus whilſt both the parties were firm to their opinions, Affairs grew every day more difficult, and there appeared leſs hope of bringing them to their deſired end. The Pope was very much moved, when he heard of this Treaty, though it came to him but by an uncertain Rumor, and was occaſioned rather by Jealouſie than by apparent Evidence, he therefore being deſirous to keep the French and the Venetians divided, began to lay aſide much of that ſeverity wherewith he had wont to treat with them, and endeavoured to ſweeten them with many Courteſies and Humanities. He excuſed himſelf for having entred into a new League with *Cæſar*, whereunto he was inforced, for the avoiding of many miſchiefes: He promiſed that when he ſhould have ſecured his own Affairs, he would declare himſelf a Friend to the Commonwealth; that the mean while he would not take up any Temporal Army againſt them, but would annull the Eccleſiaſtical Cenſures which he had laid upon them. Moreover the Switzers exhorted thereunto by Cardinal *Sedunenſa*, a great Friend to the French, and being alſo ſtirr'd up by the Pope, ſent their Embaſſadours to *Venice*, to uſe their Authority in this buſineſs, which at this time was very great with all Princes, out of the high eſteem which was had of their Military Valour. Theſe exhorted the Senate to Peace, and making great boaſts of themſelves, and of their Power, ſtrove to make all other Friendſhips leſs ſafe, and leſs deſirable than theirs. Likewiſe by Adviceof the ſame Pope the Vice-roy of *Naples* ſent *Pietro di Caſtro* to *Venice*, to let the Senate underſtand that the Vice-roy had Power to prolong as long as they ſhould pleaſe, the Peace which but a little before they had concluded with *Cæſar*, by *Ferdinand*'s procurement, and to uſe all means to confirm ſuch as were jealous in their ancient Friendſhip and Affection with his King. The Senators being aſſaulted by theſe ſeveral Adreſſes, as if it had been by ſo many Engines; whereas they were joyntly minded before, to make Peace with *France* and renew the War, ſome of them began now to think upon Peace; which they did the ſooner, becauſe News came every day from ſeveral parts, of great Preparations for War, which *Henry* King of *England* was making to aſſault *France*. Whence it

was to be feared that King *Lewis* being busied in defending his own Kingdomes, could not that year bethink himself of the Affairs of *Italy*, nor imploy his Forces therein: Therefore as soon as any Proposition was made tending to the new League, the others by spinning out time endeavoured to abstruct the business.

They put them in mind of the great miseries of those times, affirming that after so much labour and danger it was now time to endeavour Peace to themselves; and their Subjects. That all humane things were governed with a certain variety and change, and by a perpetual turning about, were seen sometimes to increase, sometimes to diminish; that their Common-wealth had enjoy'd Prosperity for a long time; it now became them to bear with some Adversity, that when the times should alter, she might recover her ancient Reputation, Empire, and Glory. That therefore they were to use such Wisdom and Temper, as not to bring their Common-wealth to ultimate ruine, by pressing upon time, and by too hastily accelerating the new growth of their Common-wealth; that all Italy *might bear witness of the French mens cruel dispositions, which being imperiously used by them as well in Peace as in War, might prove how this Nation was equally troublesome and insupportable both to their Friends and Enemies. That to open the way again to this barbarous Nation, was to return* Italy *into much misery and calamity. That* Maximillian's *nature was such, as through his Inconstancy and immense Prodigality, which had oft time brought him to greatest Extremities, they might assuredly hope shortly, and at no great expence, to recover all that he possest of theirs.*

But others Laboured to perswade the contrary, who were of opinion, that a high, though no assured hope, ought to be preferr'd before safer, but more humble thoughts. They said the Venetians were never so overcome by fear, as by so great a desire of quiet, to forego all occasions of just and glorious War. That it was therefore, that the fame of their Common-wealth was so highly extoll'd, and lowdly cryed up even in the farthest distant Nations. And that she had then purchas'd most praise, when she appeared to be almost extinct, triumphing over victorious Fortune. That they should still keep the same noble resolutions; for all things do at last bow to Worth. That their greatest dangers were already over, that they did not fight now for safety, but now for Glory and Empire. That since they had so freely undergone the weight of so great War, there was no necessity of oppressing the little remainders by Peace and Agreement, but to secure their Affairs for a longer time by a famous Victory: That they should remember what the common Proverb sayes, That every one builds up his own Fortune. *That the loss at* Geradada *was accompanied by many other unfortunate successes, because dispairing so soon, they neither hoped for, nor put for any thing. But as assoon as they began to rouze up their minds, their Fortune began likewise to rouze up, and their good hopes were accompanyed by good success. That if the Affairs of* Italy *should be established in a setled Peace, and that* Venice *now accustomed to the Inconveniences of War, should be abased with idleness and wantonness, it would be too late to hope for the recovery hereafter of her former State and Dignity: That the condition of* Italy *was now such as she needed not to fear any prejudice by the coming in of the French, but that she might the rather recover her liberty by means of their Forces, so much the more easily, for that*

that being now Lorded over by ſeveral powerful Princes, every one of their Authorities would become weaker, and leſs formidable; and one not bearing with an others greatneſs, it might ſo fall out as ſhe might ſhake off the yoke of all forraign Nations. That if ſhe ſhould now ſit down by ſo great injuries done her by her Collegues, ſhe would aſſuredly be hereafter ſcorn'd by all people, and injur'd without any manner of reſpect; that this might be argued, by the French mens ſo much deſiring amity with the Commonwealth for no other reaſon, ſave only that they knew how generous and powerful ſhe was by the revenge which ſhe had taken of them.

From this diverſity of opinions and contention, the advice for War or Peace was carried on uncertainly: The doubtfulneſs of the thing it ſelf was rendred yet more doubtful by the nature and condition of thoſe with whom they treated. For the Emperour *Maximillian* was of a lively Spirit, able Body, patient in undergoing Labor, and with all was well acquainted with Military Affairs. But his drifts and affections were contrary to one another: He was haſty in Council, his Speech and Actions differ'd, he willingly imbraced all that was preſented unto him, but did not much minde the effecting of them. The Name of the Empire was large and magnifick; but this Dignity was rather ſuſtained by an appearing greatneſs, then by any real ſtrength. It was otherwiſe with King *Lewis*, the power of whoſe Kingdom was very great, and his deſire of War no leſs. But his deſire of Dominion was ſuch, as he made it lawful to break his word, and to violate all Juſtice, which the Venetians were ſufficiently taught by the remembrance of their late received Injuries: Therefore as his Friendſhip ſeemed in ſome reſpects greatly deſireable; ſo in ſome other it was as dangerous and ſuſpitious. No certain hope was to be built upon the Popes, nor the King of *Spains* promiſes; their aſſiſtance being weak and uncertain, and their Counſels not very ſincere, which was ſufficiently witneſſed by their paſt Actions: So as it might eaſily be known, that their thoughts were ſet only upon their own particular deſigns, not upon the preſervation of the Common-wealth. Hence it was that the hopes and hazards of War were equally poyſed. The Senators opinions being thus divided, the good Fortune of the Common-wealth did at laſt decide the buſineſs, which had deſtinied her to a larger and more laſting Empire. For this buſineſs being long diſcuſt by the Colledg of the *Savii* (who are ſixteen pickt out by the Senate, diſtinguiſht amongſt themſelves by ſeveral degrees of Dignities, and by diſtinct Offices, to whom it belongs to adviſe of all publique Affairs, and report them to the Senate) it was by a joynt Vote propounded, that by all means the League was to be made with the French; whereby the Common-wealth might be freed from the Treachery of the Confederates. The Senate was well pleaſed with the agreement, and with almoſt an univerſal conſent, the renewing of the War was agreed upon: and that the buſineſs might be the more eaſily proceeded in, (they not having of many days received any Letters from *Gritti*) the Senate ſent one ſpeedily away to treat the buſineſs with the King, and *Luigi di Pietro*, Secretary to the Council of *Ten*, was choſen out to this purpoſe. He was enjoyn'd firſt to endeavour *Gritti*'s liberty, if it were not al-

ready granted him: For the Senate had at the ſame time choſen him for their Embaſſadour, authorizing him to confirm the agreement, and to bind the Common-wealth by oath, to the obſervancy thereof. but that if *Gritti*'s ſetting at liberty ſhould be too long delayed, that he himſelf ſhould act that part with the King: that he ſhould leave nothing undone to get *Cremona* and *Giaradada* to be reſtored to the Commonwealth: but that if he ſhould finde no hope thereof, he ſhould not notwithſtanding delay ſetling the agreement; provided that things agreed upon ſhould imediately be put in effect, and that the Kings men ſhould forthwith come into *Italy*. For all the hopes of Victory ſeemed to conſiſt in making haſte, and in the terror of a ſudden War, whilſt the Enemies being but yet weak, might be eaſily ſuppreſt. But before the Secretary could get to the Court of *France* the Pope unexpectedly dyed, notwithſtanding which News, he was not ſent for back, it being uncertain who ſhould be choſen next Pope, and no leſs uncertain how he would ſtand affected to *Venice*; and howſoever the Senate thought the Friendſhip of ſo great a King muſt be a great Eſtabliſhment and Reputation to their Affairs. It was ſaid that a great affliction of mind was the chief cauſe of Pope *Julio*'s death; for being very much ſubject to paſſion, and immoderately deſirous of Glory, he could not long lye under the grief, hearing his advice mightily blamed by all men: That by his too much ſeverity he had forced the Venetians to make Friendſhip with the French, and was cauſe of re-kindling the War in *Italy*, which not long before he had much to his Praiſe, extinguiſhed. It was evidently ſeen by many ſigns that *Julio* was of a very eager Spirit, which neither his Age nor Dignity was able to correct or temper. As ſoon as the Secretary was come to *France* the King granted *Gritti* his full Liberty, and the League was ſuddenly concluded upon theſe conditions.

That Cremona *and* Giaradada *ſhould be underſtood to be annext to the State of* Millan, *and to belong unto the King; but that* Breſcia, Burgamo, *and* Crema *ſhould remain free to the Venetians, and that the King ſhould quit all his Claim or Right therein to them. That the Collegues ſhould be bound to aſſiſt each other, and to run the ſame fortune in War, till ſuch time as the King ſhould be Maſter of the whole State of* Millan, *and that likewiſe the Common-wealth ſhould be re-inveſted in all that ſhe was poſſeſt of in* Terra Firma *before the War. That all Priſoners on either ſide ſhould be ſet at liberty and reſtored to their Goods and Countrie; and that free commerce might be granted both in the State of* Venice *and in* France. *It was afterwards added that by joynte conſent they ſhould uſe all diligence to draw any Prince of* Italy *into the League, and particularly the Pope, who if he would enter thereinto ſhould be allotted the firſt place.*

The League being thus concluded, and eſtabliſh'd by Oath on all ſides, free power to depart the Kingdom was permitted to *Gritti*, to *Bartholomeo d' Alviano*, and to all the other Priſoners. Things being thus diſpoſed of and confirmed, the Senate thought it was fit to give an account thereof to the other Kingdomes, and chiefly to the King of *England*, which by publique order was done by the Common-wealths Embaſſadour, then reſident in that Court. Who ſaid,

That

That the Venetians moved by the Counſels and friendly Advertiſements of that King, had the more readily accepted of Peace; that they had with patience ſuffered many unjuſt offences done by the Collegues, to the end that by their Friendſhip, ſome occaſion might be offer'd of coming to a fair agreement with Cæſar. *But that now it was too apparently ſeen that his Affairs grew dayly worſe and worſe; and that the League being broken, not under the appearing name of Peace, but with apparent Injury, he plotted againſt their Liberty. So as being violenced by neceſſity, and not to abandon the welfare of the Common-wealth, they had contracted Friendſhip with the French. That they call'd God and man to witneſs the ſincerity of their Souls and Counſels, and of the preſent neceſſity. But they excuſed themſelves handſomely to the King of* Spain, *laying all the fault upon the late Pope; for that being long troubled, and confuſed by his dubious and importune Counſels, and alſo often provoked by Injuries, they were inforced to betake themſelves to new Friendſhips, and to better helps to preſerve their Affairs, which were in danger of precipitation. But howſoever they ſaid they did not contemn the League which they had made with that King, but that they deſired to continue his Friendſhip.*

This mean while *John*, Cardinal of *Sancta Maria* in *Dominica*, one of the Houſe of *Medeci* was choſen Pope by the univerſal conſent of the Cardinals. All men were over-joy'd with this Election, but chiefly the Venetians, as thoſe, who had always been very kind and civil to the Houſe of *Medeci*, which was at that time received into the City, and put into the number of the noble Families, in whom the power of chuſing the Magiſtrates, and the Majeſty of the Empire in the Common-wealth of *Venice* lay. Wherefore the Senate hoped they might eaſily draw the new Pope to joyn with them in League and Friendſhip. But *Leo*, as ſoon as he was made Pope, had many high thoughts, revolved many things in his mind, fitting his Counſels ſometimes for War, ſometimes for Peace. He was moved by his ancient Cuſtomes, and by the Life which he had formerly led to imbrace quiet, chiefly now, when he found he was in ſuch ſupreme Authority: He thought it became him, who had always profeſs'd an Inclination to Learning, and to the Love of the Liberal Sciences, to foment Peace and Concord, by which thoſe Studies are nouriſhed, and do marvelouſly increaſe. Moreover he was to have reſpect to his high Dignity, wherein he knew he had taken upon him a great Charge, eſpecially ſince he had raiſed ſo great an expectation of himſelf amongſt all men, as he was very vigilantly to think upon the common welfare and ſafety; to the end that *Italy* and all other Nations who hoped to find ſome eaſe to their long ſufferings, by his Popedom, might enjoy peace and ſafety. To theſe Conſiderations it was alſo added, that having often times tryed adverſity, he ought to ſhun all occaſions of putting himſelf into the hands of Fortune. By experience of the late evils he did hate the name of War. But yet he thought not peace ſafe, amidſt ſuch rumour of Wars and general Confuſion. He knew that men were naturally apt to grow inſolent by ſucceſsful victory, which bore them headlong to ſatiate all their appetites. That therefore whoſoever ſhould prove Conquerour was to be feared; that all Forraign Prin-

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ces had ſo great a deſire to be Maſters of *Italy*, as whoſoever of them ſhould be very powerful, would endeavour to bereave all the weaker Princes of their States. Nor was the memory of the laſt Pope a ſmall means to incite *Leo* to War, finding that by his Actions and diligence, the Church Territories were very much increaſed both for Dominion and Reputation. But if he ſhould reſolve upon taking up of Arms, he was in great diſpute, with which party he ſhould ſide. He was much troubled to think of the returning of the French into *Italy*, remembring the late private Injuries; and calling to mind the dangers of his Predeceſſor *Julius* the ſecond, and thoſe wherewith he himſelf was likewiſe threatened by the Pyſan Council, which was removed to *Lyons*, but not extinct; he held the Power of the French to be very formidable. But on the other ſide, the French being joyn'd with the Venetians, did dayly increaſe ſo much in Force and Reputation, as no apparent means was ſeen how to make head againſt ſo great a Power. He knew that the Cities in the State of *Millan*, being plundered ſometimes by their Enemies, ſometimes by their Friends, were ſo exhauſted, as it was impoſſible to get any conſiderable ſum of money from them to maintain the War. And the Switzers, in whom all the hopes of ſafety ſeemed to remain, were known not to be willing to undertake any thing which they might not greatly gain by. And an opinion was had of them, that they had ſo given themſelves over unto Avarice, as not being with-held by any ſhame, they grew oft times ſo very greedy and ſo immoderate in their demands, as the Treaſure of a King was not able to ſatisfie them. Nor ſaw he how he could lay any good Foundation for his deſigns, upon help from the Spaniards, though their Actions ſhould be anſwerable to their words. *Leo* being thus full of various thoughts, did often alter his opinion, and was not ſtedfaſt to any one reſolution. In the beginning of his Popedom he by his Briefs had exhorted all Chriſtian Princes to peace and union, and to bring them the more eaſily thereunto, he reſolved ſo to carry himſelf, as not to ſeem to incline to either party. Yet at the ſame time, as if he had laid aſide all hopes of agreement, he incited the Venetians againſt the French, endeavouring to perſwade them, that not only the Common-wealth of *Florence*, would ſide with his Authority, but that the Switzers would take up Arms, for the Liberty of *Italy*, and joyn in League with him and the Duke of *Millan*. But the Venetians would not harken to this Advice, as well for that they thought they ought not to forſake the certain League which they had already made with the French out of any vain hopes; as alſo that looking more inwardly into the truth of the buſineſs, they knew that thoſe things which at firſt ſight did promiſe apparent liberty, did much increaſe the dangers, and haſten the Slavery of *Italy*. For it is moſt certain, that the French had not ſo regulated their deſigns by the Forces and favour of the Venetians, but that they treated the ſame time concerning divers things with *Ceſar*, by whom they were ſure they might always be eaſily received, for he very much deſired their Friendſhip; neither did they think it was harder to agree with the King of *Spain* for what concerned *Italy*, ſince they had already

ready accomodated their moſt important buſineſſes with him, beyond the Mountains. *Ferdinand* who was a very wily Prince, was already accuſtomed to abuſe the French by his wary Courſes, and to reap the fruit of their Labours. Therefore the Venetians minded the Pope that there was nothing more dangerous, then by too much truſting the Spaniards, to put the whole Affairs of *Italy* into their hands; that they had condeſcended that an Italian Duke ſhould be Maſter of *Millan*, becauſe they knew he was rather to be a Prince in appearance than in effect, whereby they hoped they might reduce that State upon the firſt occaſion that ſhould be offered, under their Dominion. That therefore moved by the ſame Intereſts, they profeſs'd now to defend *Maximillian Sforza*, that they might make uſe of the Millaneſes and of the Switzers, to drive the French out of *Italy*, whom they thought they ought only to fear. That it might clearly be ſeen the Spaniards did no leſs aſpire to the Empire of *Italy*, then did the French; but whereas theſe made their way by open Force, the others finding themſelves to be too weak, ſought to work their ends by cunning and by cozenage, and did under a colour of Friendſhip with the Italians, undermine their Liberties. That therefore it was very advantageous to ſuffer the Forces and Reputation of an other Forreign Prince to increaſe in *Italy*, to obviate their Power, ſince that the Italians, who had been ſo long afflicted with War, were not able of themſelves to defend themſelves againſt Forreign Nations.

The Venetians did by theſe reaſons make good their Counſels and Actions, but whilſt theſe things were in Treaty with the Pope, all ſides made diligent preparations for War. Nay Princes ſeemed to be the more ſet thereupon, for that *Leo* by his various thoughts and promiſes, made many of them hope to be able to maintain the War by his Help and Authority. But the Venetians were more ſollicitous in this buſineſs then the reſt, as thoſe who found themſelves moſt neceſſitated to continue the War; therefore they raiſed men diligently in all parts to make up an Army. They ſollicited the King of *France* continually to come ſpeedily into *Italy*, ſhewing him that the Victory conſiſted chiefly in celerity. That if ſuch Cities as were not yet provided of Garriſons ſhould be on the ſudden aſſaulted, they might be eaſily reduced into their Power. But that if the buſineſs were ſpun out in length, greater difficulties would daily ariſe. King *Lewis* being moved by theſe Exhortations, bent himſelf wholly upon this War: and being deſirous to imploy his whole Forces therein, he agreed with *Ferdinando* to lay down Arms on the other ſide of the Mountains for a certain time. This King was ſo carryed away with a vain glorious deſire of recovering the State of *Millan*, as he valued neither fear nor infamy. So as not caring what blame he might incurre thereby, he by this ſuſpenſion of Arms gave over his Friends and Kinſmans Cauſe, the King of *Navarr*, who for having taken part with the French, was a little before driven out of his Kingdom by the Spaniards, and reduced to a miſerable condition. And being likewiſe advertiſed of great preparation for War made by *Henry* King of *England*, a powerful Prince, to aſſault *France*, he contemn'd

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the Forces of that Kingdom, though they had oft times made the French feel them to their Coſt. For having already in his mind taken in the whole ſtate of *Millan*, and taken the Victory for granted, he thought he might bring back his victorious Army time enough to defend his own Kingdom, before the Engliſh, deveſted of all Military Preparations by reaſon of their long Peace, could provide all things neceſſary for ſo great an Enterprize. All the Kings men met then according to Orders, in the City of *Suſa*, that they might the more eaſily paſs from thence into *Italy*. *Lewis* Lord of *Tremuglia*, a Perſonage very famous both for his Birth, and for many places which he had diſcharged, was made chief Commander of the Army. Yet the War was for the moſt part govern'd according to the pleaſure of *Giovanni Giacomo Trivulcio*, who was at that time in great eſtimation for his great experience in Military Affairs. 'Twas ſaid that the French Army conſiſted of about 20000 fighting men; the Venetians muſter'd 8000 choice Italian Foot, to which were added 200 Curaſſiers, and 500 light Horſe, and a great Train of Artillery, which did much ſtrengthen the Army. Two noble Venetians, *Domenico Contareno*, and *Andrea Loredano* were the Commiſſaries general, whoſe particular care it is to provide Victuals, Monies, and all things requiſite for the Army, and then to be aſſiſtant in their Advice to the Captain General in all difficult buſineſſes; for the Venetians do themſelves execute all the places of the Militia by Sea, but in *Terra firma*, by their ancient wont, and the Cuſtom of their Fore-fathers, they manage their War by Forreigners. At this time *Bartholomeo Alviano* was Captain General of the Venetian Army, who being lately returned from *France*, and Count *Pitigliano* being dead, was choſen by the Senate to ſucceed in his place, with the ſame Conditions, which were granted formerly to *Pitigliano*. His yearly pay was 50000 Duckets, and he was bound to keep ſtill on foot 300 Curaſſiers, and 500 Croſs-bow men on Horſe-back, to be ready upon any occaſion to ſerve the Common-wealth. This man when his place was conferr'd upon him, went to the Army, which was then upon the Banks of *Adice*, and thinking it fit to be ſpeedy in the buſineſs, began forthwith to exhort the Senate that he might anticipate the time, and that they would ſuffer him to march with his Army into the ſtate of *Millan*, whilſt the Enemy were unprovided of aid, and the Cities ungarriſon'd. That all other attempts would be in vain, or to very little purpoſe: that it was requiſite that the Venetians ſhould run the ſame fortune as did the French in this War. That if Affairs ſhould go well with them, it was no queſtion but they were to ſhare in the good Fortune; but if otherwiſe, they had no hope, neither of getting any thing, nor yet of keeping any thing that they had lately re-gained. But the Senate after they had well and narrowly examined the buſineſs, reſolved that the Army ſhould not paſs the Rivers of *Po* and *Ada*; for what remain'd they left the whole managing of the War free to *Alviano*, with leave to direct his Forces and Deſigns, whither he ſhould be invited by the negligence of the Enemy, or adviſed by his own Induſtry and Reaſon. There was not as yet any certain News come

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that the French were paſt the *Alpes*; therefore the Senate thought it a raſh Counſel to leave their Countrey expoſed to the Injuries of the Enemy, and to ſend their Army to a place, from whence, in any caſe of adverſe fortune, they could not return. But *Alviano*, being very fervent in all he took in hand, and very quick and bold, thinking that the occaſion and the preſent condition of Affairs invited him ſo to do, reſolved to advance immediately with his Army, and took his way firſt towards *Verona*, hoping to get that City. *Pandolfo Malateſta* was taken into pay by *Ceſar* at this time, and made Governour of one of the Towers, who allured by greater rewards, had ſided with the Enemy when Affairs went ill with the Common-wealth. This man had agreed with ſome Citizens who ſtood well affected to the Venetians, to let in *Alviano* by St. *George* his Gate, as ſoon as he ſhould be come unto the walls of the City. But the Conſpiracy being diſcovered, and *Alviano* knowing that the Town could not be eaſily ſtormed, as alſo that though he ſhould take the Town, he muſt ſpend much time in taking in the Towers, he thought it better to haſten towards *Cremona*, and in his March thither took the Town of *Vallegio*, and the Caſtle of *Peſchiera*; places for their ſcituation very fit and convenient for the State of *Venice*. He gave the charge of *Vallegio* to *Zacharia Ghiſi*, and that of *Peſchiera* to *Luigi Bembo*, and gave 200 Souldiers a piece to each of them. The News of the Venetian Armies approach being come to *Cremona*, thoſe of the Town who were of the contrary Faction, ſoon left the City, and the reſt who were of the Province of *Marcha*, received *Alviano* and all his men readily into the City, who were allowed to plunder a thouſand Spaniſh Foot, and 200 Curaſſiers, who had the cuſtody of the City; the Commanders not ſuffering any prejudice to be done to the Citizens, and keeping the Souldiers from plunder. As ſoon as *Alviano* was entred within the Walls, he ſoon made himſelf Maſter of the whole City; for the Caſtle whereinto the Venetians had formerly put a Garriſon, who had ſent a ſupply by *Renzo de Ceri*, held ſtill for the French.

Alviano *diſplaying the French Colours upon the Walls, let the City know that he received it in the Name of* Lewis *King of* France, *for whom* Theador de Triulcio, *who was then his Legate in the Venetian Army, did take it. He afterwards endeavoured to free the Common-wealth from any blame, if having tryed all things in vain ſhe were forced to accommodate her ſelf to the Times, and yeild up ſo rich a City, and one which ſhe did ſo dearly love, to another. He moreover exhorted the City to keep their Loyalty to ſo puiſſant and bountiful a King; under whoſe Government, if they would be honeſt and faithful men, they might promiſe themſelves to live for ever after ſafe, and free from many grievances: for which they were obliged to the Venetians, who had procured them that good which they could never have hoped for from the afflicted Fortune of a petty Duke.*

Theſe things being ſo happily and ſo ſpeedily done, wonne great Reputation to the Venetian Army; in ſo much as *Soncino*, *Lodi*, and other Towns of *Giaradada*, following the Example of *Cremona*, ſurrendered themſelves to *Alviano*. But the Venetians fared other-

wiſe in the Territories of *Verona* and *Vicenza*: For after *Alviano* was gone with his Army, and had left ſmall Garriſons in the Cities and Towns which held for them, and that *Sigiſmonde di Cavalli* Commiſſary General of the Venetian Militia ſtay'd behind with ſome few men at St. *Bonefaccio*; the Germans, who kept *Verona* being adverti-ſed thereof, ſallied out of the City with 2000 Foot and 500 Horſe, and unexpectedly aſſault the Commiſſary. Our men, who for the moſt part were rude and unexperienced, troubled at the ſudden aſ-ſault, betook themſelves to their heels, and thoſe few which ſtayd and would ſtand the Enemy, being forſaken by their Companions, fell into their power, and amongſt thoſe *Coſtanzo Pio*, a man famous for Birth and Worth. The Commiſſary *Cavalli* ſeeing all his men routed, and chiefly the Alban Horſe, wherein he had placed his chiefeſt hope, began likewiſe to run, and with him *Giovanni Forte*, a Captain of Curaſſiers, and a Troop of Horſe which had tarryed with him; wherewith they got to *Cologna*; but were ſo hotly pur-ſued by the Enemy, as being hardly entred the Town, and not ha-ving any the leaſt time to take a better Garriſon into the Town, or to put the men who were there in a poſture of defence, they under-ſtood that the Enemy were come, and were about the Walls: The Town being therefore ſtrongly aſſaulted, and but ſlenderly defended, was ſtorm'd and ſackt. *Cavalli*, and *Vettor Malipiero*, Mayor of the Town, together with ſome others of quality, knowing that they were not ſafe in the Caſtle whereinto they were retired, yielded themſelves up to the Enemy, and were by them taken Priſoners. The Dutch men loaded with prey, and not having received any harm returned back to *Verona*, the Enemies grown inſolent by their ſucceſſes, began to promiſe themſelves greater proſperity; and thus going forth of the City with 4000 Foot and 500 Horſe, they mar-ched towards *Vicenza*; which coming to the knowledg of *Giovan Pa-olo Manfrone*, who had the keeping of that City, he took in many Countrey men to a Band of Souldiers which he had with him, and provided for any accident that might happen.

But the Dutch men over-running the Territories of *Vicenza*, ru-in'd all things with ſword, fire, and rapine; and being come to the Town of *Arzignano*, after having taken it, they committed great ſlaughter amongſt the Townſmen, ſet fire on the Caſtle, and on o-ther Buildings, and diſpairing of ever getting the Town of *Vicenza*, they returned ſafe to *Verona*. Whilſt Affairs went on thus in theſe parts, tumults did dayly increaſe, and diſorders grow greater in the ſtate of *Millan*; nothing there was ſafe or quiet. There was neither City nor Caſtle, which either could, or endeavour'd to re-ſiſt the Enemy: for the people of *Millan*, and the other Towns there-about, being moved again by the approaching of the Venetian Ar-my, and by the French mens paſſing over the *Alpes*, began to wa-ver in their Loyalty. The people wearied but a little before with the Government of the French, did very much deſire the return of the Sforzas, their ancient Lords and Maſters: But finding afterwards that they had not got that Liberty nor Immunity which they expect-ed (for *Maximillian* their new Duke, being but a weak Prince, was

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forced to burthen the State with many impoſitions, and being jealous of many, was neceſſitated to injure many for the better ſecuring of his Dominion) changing their minds, as is common with the vulgar people to do, were deſirous of Novelties: thinking that for the future they ſhould be in better condition, and under more juſt Laws, if the State ſhould return again to be govern'd by the French. Many alſo who hated idleneſs and quiet; ſome who were poor and baniſht, and other moved by the diverſity of Factions, favour'd the French. Therefore Count *Mauſocco*, ſon to *Giovan Giacopo Trivulſio* being gone with a Troop into ſundry places to make the people riſe, finding them ready thereunto, did eaſily work his ends. Moreover *Sacramoro* Viſcount, who had the Charge of beſieging the Caſtle of *Millan*, forſaking the Sforzas as ſoon as he ſaw them forſaken by Fortune, wheeled about with her, and ſuffering the beſieged to be relieved both with men and victuals, diſcovered himſelf ſo far an Enemy to Duke *Maximillian*, as it was now ſaid abroad that he did not only plot againſt his State, but againſt his life. *Maximillian* being therefore greatly troubled, ſeeing his Affairs in ſo bad a poſture, and ſeeking to provide for his own ſafety, retired with ſome few Horſe into *Novar*, to try the utmoſt of his Fortune. For he underſtood that ſome Troops of the Switzers were already got thither, expecting to be followed by many others of their Nation, who came in much greater numbers to defend that State. Wherefore the Millaneſes, ſeeing their City bereft both of Commander and Souldiers, that their Caſtle which was well garriſon'd, was in the hands of the French, and that the Enemies Army drew neer, ſome allured by hopes of better Fortune, others moved by fear, thought it beſt to put themſelves willingly into the power of the French, and to this purpoſe to ſend Embaſſadours to the General of the Venetians Army, who having already made a Bridg over the *Ada*, threatned to bring his Army before the Town. This mean while the French, with whom was *Andrea Gritti*, as Embaſſadour from *Venice*, aſſaulted *Italy*, took many Cities and Caſtles, ſome by ſlight skirmiſhes, ſome without any withſtanding. Thus the ſtate of *Millan*, ſtraitned at one and the ſame time by the French and the Venetian Armies, fell in a ſhort time into the French mens hands. Two only Cities, *Novar* and *Como* held ſtill for *Maximillian*. The Venetians heightning their hopes by theſe proſperous ſucceſſes, promiſed unto themſelves a happy end of all the War. Their Army was grown into ſuch Reputation, after the getting of *Cremona*, as *Renzo da Ceri* being ordered by *Alviano* to go with a Band of Souldiers to recover *Breſcia*, the City yielded as ſoon as he came before it. For the Spaniards who had the Guard thereof, when they heard of his approach, withdrew themſelves into the Caſtle. There was but one thing which appeared might hinder the conceived hopes of Victory, which was, that it was ſaid, the Switzers had ſo zealouſly undertaken to protect Duke *Maximillian*, as it was thought they would prefer his honour, before whatſoever other thing. Their Nation was then in very great eſteem, out of the opinion which was had of their excellent Diſcipline in War. Wherefore they were

much celebrated and feared by all people. So as blown up with Pride for having once had good ſucceſs in their attempts, chiefly becauſe the French Forces were once worſted by their means, and Duke *Maximillian* reſtored to his ſtate, aſpiring yet to greater Glory, they did totally deſpiſe the French Nation, which they had once overcome. Their haughty minds could not endure to be deſpiſed and under-valued by King *Lewis*, who when there was a treaty of renewing the League with them, ſeemed more deſirous of ſome little advancement of Moneys, than of their Friendſhip; whereupon the buſineſs remain'd undecided. Theſe men ſaid that they had always highly eſteemed the King of *France* his Friendſhip, that they had toyled very much in ſeveral Wars to the end that he might by them receive Glory, that having by their egregious actions deſerved much better ſalary then they demanded, they could not receive ſuch reaſonable reward from that ungrateful King, as they by their ſervice and hazard had won. King *Lewis* repenting this his advice, ſent his Embaſſadours to their Dyets to accord thoſe differences, who though they had endeavoured to pleaſe ſome of the beſt amongſt them with preſents and promiſes, yet could they not get them to receive the King into their Friendſhip. 'Tis thought that the hopes of great Reward, and an Opinion of vain Glory did incite the multitude to fight againſt the King of *France* ſince they ſaw their Friends and Companions rich, and return'd with Conqueſt from the late Wars of *Italy*. The Popes authority and exhortations were added to theſe things; for *Julio* was wont mightily to magnifie the Helvetians, whom he had honoured with the glorious title of *DEFENDERS of the ECCLESIASTICAL LIBERTY*: and *Leo* did continually, though under-hand, ſolicite them to take upon them the defence of the ſtate of *Millan*. Beſides he had ſent them a certain ſumme of Money, by *Morone*, *Maximillian*'s Embaſſadour, under pretence that it was due unto them for ſervice done in the other Popes time.

And ſince the recent Memory of the glorious Actions done by that Nation invites me thereunto, I have thought it greatly ſuiting with the buſineſs which I am now in hand with, to ſay ſomething of their Cuſtomes and Diſcipline.

The Switzers are a Nation of Ruſticks, far from any neatneſs or civil breeding, but very deſirous of War, and for ſtrength of body, beyond all the Nations of Europe. *They inhabit thoſe high Hills which bound* France *on the Weſt ſide, and on the Eaſt and North Confine upon* Germany. *Therefore as formerly this Countrey was held a part of* Gallia Belgica, *ſo now it is placed as a member thereof, within the Confines of* Germany. *The Inhabitants ſuffer much in the ſcarcity of all things, by reaſon of the Countries barrenneſs; the which they uſe to remedie, not by cultevating the ground, or by marchandizing, as other people for the moſt part do, but by the pay which they get in the Wars: They think that curious and delicate living makes men effeminate, therefore deſpiſing Learning and all civil Adornments, they ſpend their lives in continual ſweat and labour. So as being naturally ſtrong of body, and accuſtoming themſelves to hunger, watching, cold, and thirſt, they do ſo ſtrengthen themſelves, as they can eaſily undergo the hardeſt things. As ſoon as their years will ſuffer them*

them to bear Armes, they leave their own homes, put themselves into other Princes pay, and learn all Military Affairs in Armies. Hence is it, that strength of body, and experience in War, makes these fiercely minded men, so daring, as they dread not any Enemie; nor is there any Enterprize so hard or difficult, which they do not willingly undertake; whereby they have won singular praise for matter of war, amongst all Nations: and their Discipline is chiefly esteemed in pitcht fields, when people fight with Banners flying. For they so order their Squadrons, as they stand fast and firm, and bear any shock of the Enemy without any disorder. But this their great Industry is marr'd and corrupted by many bad Customes, so as they deserve not that praise which is due to true Worth. For they esteem nothing a fault in War, but to fear the Enemy, and think it not a fault for able valiant men, to take Liberty in committing other faults, so as the Soul being sick and weak in what concerns true Honour, suffers her self the more easily to be contaminated. They have often therefore been observed to despise Loyalty, to refuse obedience even to modest Commands, and to measure all things according to their own Interests, more then according to Honesty. They have Liberty in great esteem, and veneration, and profess the maintaining thereof more than any other Nation doth. Wherewith being contented, and secured by their cragged situation, they go out of their Confines, not with any intention of inlarging them, but to fight for other mens Power and Glory. So they exercise the Militia rather for profit and private praise, then to acquire Empire and publick Dignity. They are divided into many Communalties, which they call Cantons; and order their Affairs after a form of civil Government, according to the Rules of a popular State. Every Canton hath its particular Laws, and have peculiar Magistrates to do them Justice. But when they treat of most important businesses, which appertain either to War, or Peace, they all convene in a common Council, which according to occasion is appointed in several places The way to publick Imployments is open to all, for valiant Actions are those which are only esteemed as ornament and greatness in this Nation, which knows no other Riches or Nobility then what is placed in Military Valour. Finally their whole Life is nothing but Warfare, whereby they have won such Reputation with all other Nations, as great provisions are paid in unto them, both in publick and in private, by the most potent Kings of Europe. *And Embassadours are sent to them from all parts, to seek League and Friendship with them. But the Switzers seemed to love the Venetians above all others, only for the name of Liberty which is so acceptable to them. Therefore our Common-wealth, to honour them the more, was wont to call them not only Friends, but Cousins, and hath often made use of their Friendship, particularly at that time when by their assistance they drove the French out of* Italy.

Therefore the Venetian Senate relying much upon the Switzers, chose *Pietro Stella*, Secretary of the *Consiglio di Pregadi*, and sent him to them in the Common-wealths name, to endeavour the taking of them off from the League which they had made with their Enemies, and to reduce them to Friendship with the French. But when the Secretary was come to *Zurick*, and began to acquaint them with his Embassie, the fierce multitude, highly incens'd against the King of *France*, could not only not be perswaded so to do, but scandalized

zed with the motion, ſuffered themſelves to be ſo carried away with an uncurb'd fury, as violating the Laws of Nations, they uſed violence upon the Venetian Secretary, who with much ado and by means of ſome of the chiefeſt, and wiſeſt amongſt them, eſcaped the danger, and by order from the Magiſtrates was ſecured in his own houſe. The Council being then called hereupon, war againſt the French, was with ſuch joynt conſent and ſuch fervour reſolved upon, as moſt upon receiving very little pay, and many without anypay at all, made themſelves be liſted in the Militia, and having in a ſhort time made up a numerous Army, they began to fall down by Squadrons into the Dukedom of *Millan*. When the French Commanders heard that they were come, they were much troubled, remembering their gallant late actions; but conſidering that they had neither Horſe, Victuals, Artillery, nor any other thing fit for an Enterpriſe, they thought they were not to fear ſuch Enemies as came without any warlike Preparations, rather to pillage than to fight. So as they thought that being diſſipated by their own neceſſities, they would return home without doing any thing, as they had ſometime formerly done. Therefore the French not valuing this the Enemies ſuccour, left the City of *Alexandria* well garriſon'd, where they had made their firſt ſtay, and march'd with their Army towards *Novara*, they intended firſt to try the Switzers with gifts and promiſes, and ſee whether they could ſooner overcome them with Gold, then with the Sword; hoping that they might eaſily bribe them to deliver up Duke *Maximillian* into their hands, following therein the example of their own Countrey-men, who had violated their Faith ſome few years before to his Father *Ludwick*, in the ſame place: Which though it ſhould not ſucceed, thought the taking of that Town would prove no hard buſineſs, wherewith they hoped the War would be ended. But this advice was even then blamed by men of great Experience and Fame in Military Affairs, who ſaid the French did not manage the War well, who having already reduced almoſt all the Cities and Caſtles in the Sforza's poſſeſſion, had bent all their Forces upon the taking of *Novara*, where they would find imployment for a good while; when to have done well they ſhould have marched forward with their whole Army to encounter the Spaniards, whom when they ſhould have overcome, and driven out of the State of *Millan*, it might be hoped that the Switzers ſeeing themſelves deceived in their hopes from the Spaniards, would take ſome other courſe, now that they were not far from their own homes. Therefore *Gritti* had often times exhorted the French Commanders to mind chiefly the beating of the Spaniſh Army, whereon the Enemies chief refuge did ſeem then to depend, and the maintaining of the War. And the Venetian Senate, thinking that the Enterpriſe ſhould be handled thus, had given order to their General, and to their Commiſſaries, to make a Bridg over the *Ada*, giving out that they would ſuddenly paſs their men over to meet with the French, to the end that the Spaniards frightned thereat, ſhould not only forbear ſending ſuccour to the Switzers, but might be inforced to think of their own ſafety, and retire into the Kingdom

of

of *Naples*. The Vice-roys mind was various and uncertain, and his way uncertain; for being gotten but a little from the River *Trebbia*, he returned the next day to the ſame place, and quarter'd his Camp there, which made all men grow jealous of him, it not being evidently ſeen whether he meant to retreat, and abandon the Switzers, or by ſeeming to do ſo, to aſſault the Venetian Army at unawars: But ſeeing that he kept the ſame Quarters a good while, every one believed that he ſtay'd expecting the event of things, and accordingly to govern himſelf, either in continuing Peace with the Venetians, or in making open War againſt them. Therefore the Venetian Senate carrying themſelves in all their reſolves, according to the variouſneſs of his Deſigns, ordered *Alviano*, that if the Spaniſh Army ſhould paſs over the River *Poe*, to joyn with the Switzers, who marched towards *Novara*, that he ſhould advance with all his Forces to free that City from being beſieged, and to give credit and aſſiſtance to the French Affairs. But that if they ſhould paſs the *Poe* on the lower ſide, and that he did conceive they meant to come upon the Territories of *Verona*, to joyn with the other Enemies of the Common-wealth; that then he ſhould keep his men in ſuch a place as he might be ready to aſſiſt whereſoever need ſhould require. *Alviano* therefore halted with his Army in the Territories of *Cremona*, that he might turn any whither according to the Proceedings of the Enemy. This mean while the French had in vain made many aſſaults upon *Novara*, which was ſtoutly defended by the Switzers, and now diſpairing to take it by force, they were in a great ſtrait; for they had certain Intelligence that the Defendants did dayly expect great ſuccours: Wherefore the undertaking grew more difficult; they thought that if they ſhould give it over and retreat, the honour of their Army would be much leſſened, and the Enemy would be thereby much incouraged; and if they ſhould tarry longer in the ſame Quarters, they ſaw it would be to no purpoſe, and not without danger. Some of the Commanders were of opinion that the Army ſhould remove from thoſe Mariſh Grounds, and march into open *Campagnia*, where the Chivalry, wherein their chiefeſt hopes lay, might ſhew their Worth. That therefore they ſhould go to encounter the Enemy, and ſet upon them on their way, whom they might eaſily overcome, ſince they were unfurniſh'd of all warlike Preparation. But *Trivulſi*'s opinion prevailed, whoſe experience Fortune began already to mock. He ſaid they were not to hazard themſelves upon the uncertain Event of a Battle, wherefore they withdrew two miles further from the City, and encamped themſelves neer the River *Mora*, to the end that lying in a ſafer place they might keep the Enemy from Victuals, and by this means inforce them to ſurrender. When the French had altered their Quarters, the Switzers not ſeeing the Enemie appear any where, entred ſafely into the City of *Novara*, and were exceeding joyfully received by the beſieged; and without taking any manner of repoſe, they called a Council of War, and began to conſult how they were to carry on the War, and ſuddenly it was reſolved with a general conſent, that they would aſſault the Enemies Camp the next night.

They

They were so inflamed with a desire of Glory, as they despised the worth of all other Nations, which heat of theirs was made the greater by the exhortations of some of the Commanders, who labour'd to perswade the multitude,

That Affairs would grow worse by delay, that dangers did dayly increase, and that therewithal Glory would decrease. For they knew that some other of their own Companies would shortly come in to their succour; which, in case that they should get the Victory, would usurpe the greatest part thereof: And that notwithstanding, after such an assistance, their condition would be impared, if they knew not how to make use of the present occasion of fighting, which was offer'd them. For that there was certain News come that both many Foot and Horse were come into the City of Alexandria, *sent by the King of* France *to joyn with his Army; which if they should be suffer'd to joyn with the rest of the Enemies Forces,* Maximillian's *Affairs, and the defence of that City would be reduced to great difficulties. That therefore a short delay might produce great difficulties, and spoil a fair advantage. That they were to make use of the opportunity of place, and time which was offered them, whilst they had means so to do. That they had then great commodiousness to order their Army in the open Campagnia, and to assault the Enemy, who were not encamped in any strong scituation, nor had yet time to fortifie themselves by Art, or by their Souldiers labours; so as those little works wherein the Enemy were, would rather prove a hinderance, then an advantage to them. But that above all things nothing made so well for them, and so ill for the Enemy, as the obscurity of the night, for then they could make no use of their Guns, wherein they placed their hopes of Victory, more then in their own courage: Moreover they came with resolution and minds prepared to fight, whereas they should find the Enemy half asleep, astonish'd at the Novelty and unexpected Assault, expecting nothing less at such a season, then battle. That they should not fear the smallness of their numbers, nor for that lose any of their ancient Courage, since the Enemy, though they exceeded them in the multitude of men, were not to be compared to them for Valour. That if they should put this off till another time, there was no hopes hereafter of Battle, whereof the Enemy would be very far from giving any occasion, as they who having opportunity by time to fortifie their Camp, and being sure to keep the City from Victuals, hoped to get the Victory with less hazard. That gallant men might be thus indangered by base people, when they should suffer themselves to be reduced to such necessity, as they must either fight upon much disadvantage, or else being tyred out with want and molestation, fall at last into the Enemies hands. That it better became their Generosity to run the same hazard of life by making Tryal of their Valour, then by suffering the Inconveniences of a Siege. That it was greatness of Spirit, not wariness which was the true Ornament of Souldiers.*

These warlike men being wholly set on fire by these speeches, they all with lowd voice desired to be led on to the Enemy. And feeding themselves with the desire of Glory, and hopes of Victory, were not overcome by the wearines of the way. The Commanders praising their Courage and Resolution, dismiss'd them, ordering them to be in readiness with their Armes, against the sign should be given.

given. The French having been in Armes all that day, and part of the night, and being told by their Scouts, that all was quiet in *Novara*, had betaken themſelves to their reſt; and this being the firſt night after the raiſing of their Army, they lay ſcatter'd and confuſedly amongſt their Baggage. The better half of the night being paſt over in ſilence, 10000 Switzers ſallied out of the Town, and having divided themſelves into three bodies, marched ſpeedily ſtrait towards the Enemy, and proceeded in ſuch order, as the farther they advanced, the farther did the Army ſpread abroad. The greateſt Squadron was ordered to aſſault the Enemies Camp on the Front, and to begin the Battle: The other two, when they ſhould be come to the Flanks of the Camp, were to tarry there, and keep the French Horſe from ſuccouring the Foot. The Switzers began now to march with diſplayed Banners againſt the Enemy, who being advertiſed of their coming by their Scouts, had but very little time allowed them to ſtand to their Armes, and put themſelves in order; for being ſtartled out of their ſleep, and the Commanders being no leſs abaſh'd at the firſt with the Novelty, then the reſt, they were much terrified, not knowing well what to do; yet ſoon after, gathering ſuch Troops together as the ſuddenneſs of the accident would permit, they began to give order for ſuch things as were moſt neceſſary; and the Souldiers following their Commanders Orders ſtood to their Arms, and got to their Colours as well as they could. *Trivulcio* kept in the midſt of the Battle, Monſieur *de Tremuglia* took care of the right Flank, and *Ruberto Sedanio* commanded the left: *They all of them exhorted their men the beſt they could valiantly to withſtand the Enemy, affirming they had no reaſon to fear them, who were weary and tired with their Journey, whilſt they themſelves were freſh and luſty. They ſhew'd them how much ſuperiour they were to the Enemy both for advantage of Place and numbers of men; that they wanted nothing to obtain the Victory, if they were not wanting unto themſelves in boldneſs and Courage.*

The firſt thing the French did, was forthwith to order their Artillery againſt the Enemy, whereby to retard the Violence of the Aſſaulters. But the Switzers, though many of them were ſlain by the Cannon, keeping their Orders, advanc'd, and bending towards the right hand, they wonne the Ditch, which did inviron the French Camp, and addreſt themſelves againſt the Enemies middle Squadron, which conſiſted of Dutch Foot, and wherein their chiefeſt ſtrength lay. Thus a cruel Battle was begun, all ſides fighting with no leſs hatred then Courage: For theſe two Nations, as they uſe almoſt one and the ſame Diſcipline in War, ſo being Rivals in Glory, they ſtrive for Precedency in Military Valour. The Dutch were not to be made forſake their Station, and the Switzers were very loth to depart without Victory. The Iſſue of the Battle was therefore a long while doubtful; but the other two Squadrons of the Switzers, which were ſent on the Flanks of the French Camp, being ſafely got neer the Enemy by by-ways, whereby they eſcaped the danger of the Cannon; and ſeeing that the Horſe diid not move to ſuccour their Foot, they put on another Reſolution; the one of

them assaulted the Camp in the Rear, where the Souldiers that were on that Guard being slain, and run away, it turn'd suddenly to pillage the baggage; the other moving with great violence against the French and Navarese Foot, who guarded the Artillery, and making them run, advanced to succour their own men, who were fighting with the Dutch; and coming very opportunely, fresh and intire upon the Enemy who were wearied, and weakened with fighting, put them into great disorder. This mean while it was noised, that the Switzers were entred the Camp, and were pillaging the Baggage; which as soon as the French Horse heard, who till then had stood still, neither spur of Honour, nor fear of Infamy, being of Power enough to make them enter the Battle, they suddenly ran behind the Camp, to recover the prey from the Enemy. Therefore the Dutch being assaulted on all sides, and forsaken by their Friends, were at last forc'd to yield. The Commanders and all the rest seeing all hopes of Victory lost, fled, and provided as well as they could, for their own safeties. The French Horse, as if they had quite laid aside their ancient Discipline, did nothing that day worthy praise. There are some notwithstanding that say, that being placed in an ill Quarter, because there was a great Fen between them and the Enemy, they were so hindred as they could not get out of the Camp, nor put themselves into the Battle. This was the Battle of *Novara*, which I thought I could not pass over with silence, as well for the weight of the business it self, as likewise for the great Calamities which by reason thereof befell the Venetians. Great alteration of Affairs arose suddenly in *Italy* from this adverse Fortune of the French; and especially of those wherein the Venetians were concerned; For though the greatest part of the French Army, and chiefly the Chivalry, was got safe into the City of *Alexandria*, the Enemy wanting Horse to pursue the Victory, yet the French, parting soon from thence, retreated to *Piemonte*, using no less diligence to return into *France*, then they had done to come for *Italy*. But *Gritti*, who being then in the French Camp, accompanied them in this their fight, was not wanting in exhorting them not to be dis-heartned so soon at Fortunes first blow. He put them in mind, that by this their immoderate fear they would beget an opinion in men, that what had befallen them by chance, and through the obscurity of the night, proceeded from the Enemies Gallantry, or else from their Cowardize, and that so they would make that their own fault which was the fault of Fortune. That by this base flight the King of *France* would suffer in his Honour, and the Fame of that Nation, glorious for so many Victories would be obscured. *Trivulcio* and the other Commanders used the like Perswasions; and it fell out very opportunely, that in their retreat they met with some Foot Companies, and some Troops of Horse which the King had formerly sent to recrute his Army into *Italy*. But nothing was sufficient to make them stop; they despised their Commanders exhortations and commands, all Military Honour, and whatsoever else, suffering themselves only to be guided by their own Wills. Therefore *Gritti* seeing the French Army wholly defeated, and knowing he could be no longer serviceable

ſerviceable there for his Common-wealth, return'd by *Savona* to *Genoa*, and from thence took his way towards *Luca*, and at laſt after much ado, and having ran many hazards, got ſafe to *Venice*, from whence he had been four years abſent. After this Victory, *Maximillian Sforza*, who being but a little before neglected by all his own men, was not in any good condition, did hereby get ſuch Reputation, as the peoples minds altering together with Fortune, Embaſſadours flock apace to him from all his Cities to return under his Obedience; and the Millaneſes by a ſolemn Embaſſie of the chiefeſt of their City, did ſtrive moſt of all to obtain his favour and pardon, excuſing their Rebellion, and ſhewing themſelves willing to do whatſoever he ſhould command them. The Cities were received into favour, upon condition that they ſhould pay a certain ſum of money to the Switzers, that ſo they might reap the fruit of the Victory which was got by their labour and hazard.

The Vice-roy this mean while, who keeping his Spaniards within their Quarters upon the River *Trebia* even till this day, which was the thirteenth of *June*, had not diſcovered himſelf to be Enemy neither to the French nor Venetians; following the Fortune of the Conquerors, paſt over the *Poe*, and marched towards the Territories of *Cremona* to aſſault the Venetian Camp, which he knew was there: Which when *Alviano* underſtood, and finding that the people began to tumultuate in all parts, and that being already begun to be Enemies as well to the Venetians as to the French, they prepared to take up Arms in *Maximillians* behalf, he thought it became him to haſten out of thoſe Confines, and to draw his Army ſafe out of ſo many difficulties. The Senate hearing the bad News of the rout of the French, had ordered their General, and Commiſſaries to retreat with their Camp to *Valeggio*, to defend their Confines; but that they ſhould proceed in ſuch manner, as their Retreat might not ſeem a running away, whereby their Friends might grow fearful, and their Enemies be imboldned. Yet *Alviano* putting on ſuch reſolves as became him to do upon ſuch an accident; ſeeing his Affairs grew dayly worſe and worſe, withdrew haſtily with his Army to the Territories of *Verona*. But *Cremona* having none to defend her, when he was gone, fell quickly into the Spaniards hands, which was ſack'd for having received the Venetian Army within her Walls. Thus the Vice-roy, ſeeing that other mens dangers had opened a ſafe way unto his Counſels, reſolved to make uſe of the Occaſion, and to fall at the ſame time upon divers Enterpriſes. He ſent *Proſpero Colonna* with 3000 Foot, and 300 Horſe towards *Novara* to recrute *Maximillian* with freſh men, if he needed them. He ordered *Franciſco Hernando* Marqueſs of *Peſcara* to march with a good Band of men towards *Genoa*, willing him to make what haſte he could, to the end that he might aſſault the City at unawares, and drive *Adorno* out of it, who was newly made Duke, and who was of the French Faction, and to put *Ottaviano Fregoſo* into his former place, and uſe all means poſſible to reduce that City to *Ferdinands* devotion; which things were performed very boldly and luckily by the Marqueſs. The Vice-roy paſſing with the reſt of his Army firſt o-

ver the *Poe*, and then over the *Ada*, entred the Venetians Confines, and took *Breſcia* and *Bergamo* almoſt without any gain-ſaying, together with many Caſtles in thoſe Territories wherein were left either no Garriſons at all, or but very weak ones. Theſe towns were received in *Cæſars* Name, and according to the abilities of each of them, had great Fines ſet upon them, which being ſeverely raiſed, were diſtributed amongſt the Spaniſh Army. *Alviano* being very much grieved to ſee himſelf bereft of that Glory, whereunto he had with great hopes aſpired, but not any whit leſſening his deſires, and reſolving howſoever to make ſome gallant Attempt, did without difficulty take the town of *Liguago* as ſoon as he came into the Territories of *Verona*, and leaving *Giovan Paolo Baglione* with 2000 Foot and a good Troop of Horſe to take in the Caſtle, he march'd apace with the reſt of his Army to *Verona*, to endeavour the taking of that City by an unexpected Aſſault. *Baglione* apply'd himſelf diligently to the taking in of the Caſtle, and having beaten down part of the Wall near the Gate with his Artillery, took it after it had been long and valiantly defended by the Spaniards. Whereby he according to his deſerts received thanks by publique Order from the Senate. But ſoon after finding that the town could not be made ſafe in any convenient time, and that when it ſhould be ſo, it would require a ſtrong Garriſon to keep it, they adviſed the General and Commiſſaries, that taking out the Artillery and Victuals, and burning, or throwing the other things into the River, which they could not eaſily carry away, whereby the Enemy might be deprived thereof, they ſhould quit it, ſlighting the Caſtle and the Walls; which was immediately done. This mean while, *Alviano*, being of a ready and ſharp wit, coming with miraculous ſpeed ſo before the City of *Verona*, placed his whole Army on that ſide which appeared to be weakeſt, and having by frequent ſhot of cannon thrown down a good part of the Walls, and thereby made way for an Aſſault, he made all his light Horſe advance, and followed in very good order with the reſt of his men, that his Army might ſeem the greater, and more terrible. Then chuſing out 3000 of the moſt valiant, he divided them into three Squadrons, ſo as they might undergo the labour and peril by turns, and might according to occaſion aſſiſt one another. With theſe he gave the firſt Aſſault ſo fiercely, as thoſe who were within upon the Guard of the Wall being frighted, our Souldiers ſcaled the ruin'd Walls; but the Wall was ſo high, though in part batter'd, as kept them from deſcending into the City. So as being forc'd to ſtay there, many were ſlain by Musket-ſhot, and the reſt endeavouring often to advance, met with greater difficulties. For the Dutch Foot running from all parts to the place of greateſt danger, threatned to receive ſuch as ſhould dare to deſcend, upon their Pikes point. Wherefore *Alviano* ſeeing the difficulty of entring the city hourly to increaſe, and that thoſe who ſided with the Common-wealth, did not riſe within the Town in his behalf, as he hoped they would have done; diſpairing to do any good in this Enterpriſe, he thought it beſt to give it over, fearing leſt his Army might receive more prejudice, having loſt 50 men in this Aſſault, amongſt which

which *Tomaſo Fabrone* a very valiant Gentleman, and a Captain of a Foot Company. Thus with incredible ſpeed he took away his Artillery the ſame day that he had begun the Battery, and given the Aſſault; and came with his whole camp to the *Tombe*; where thinking himſelf more ſafe, he put on new Reſolutions, hoping to effect his deſign by another way of Warfare. He block'd up all paſſages by which any Victuals might be brought to the City, and then began to waſte and conſume the Territories round about juſt when the corn was ripe in the fields, hoping that by this means the Citizens and Souldiers might be brought to yield, the one to preſerve their Incomes, and the others to ſhun the Inconveniences of a Seidg. The Senate had publiſhed an Edict a little before, that if the City of *Verona* would willingly of her ſelf return under the Dominion of the Common-wealth, all thoſe who had been of the contrary Faction, ſhould be pardoned; and thoſe who were well affectioned to the Venetians ſhould be largely rewarded. Yet were it either that the Citizens minds were alienated from the Common-wealth, or rather that keeping the ſame affection ſtill towards her, they were forc'd by fear to conceal it, no commotion at all was ſeen in the City, nor was there any ſign of ſurrender ſhewn. Whilſt theſe things were done by way of War, endeavours of Peace were not wholly laid aſide. *Leo*, as he had formerly often times exhorted the Venetians to Peace; ſo did he now the more ſollicite them thereunto, hoping the better to compaſs his deſire, for that he thought the Venetians being proſecuted by ſo many ill Fortunes, might be now ſomewhat more humbled, and better diſpoſed to liſten after Peace: And that on the other ſide *Ceſar* being wearied with the length of War, might be no leſs deſirous to have things accommodated in *Italy*; chiefly at this time, when he had undertaken other Wars, to make uſe of the occaſion which was offered of recovering *Bretagny* to his Nephew *Charls* by Arms, and by the aſſiſtance of the Switzers; who to revenge their own particular Injuries, prepared to aſſault that State, at ſuch time as *France* being moleſted with ſore Wars by the Engliſh was leſs able to defend it. Yet there were ſome that imagined theſe the Collegues endeavours for Peace with the Venetians, proceeded only out of a deſire to make our State leſs careful in providing for War; which ſuſpition appeared the more rational, for that their Actions did not correſpond with their words. The Pope ſent *Gentile Santeſio* to *Venice*, to treat of Peace, which the King of *Spain* ſought alſo to procure, and yet inclining ſometimes to favour *Caſar*, ſometimes the Venetians, his Proceedings were ſo various, as it was not eaſie to diſcern whether it were Peace or War that he deſired. *Ferdinando* was ſo ambitious of Glory, as he would not have any thing thought to be agitated by any Prince which was not done by his Council and Authority. Wherefore it was that at the ſame time, and by the ſame means he endeavoured contrary things. The *Count di Caretto* who was gone a little before this time from *Venice*, to the Vice-roys Camp, his Secretary who ſtay'd at *Venice* to diſpatch ſuch things as ſhould occur, was preſent at the treaty of Peace which was negotiated by *Santeſio*, and did by Order from him interpoſe

poſe the Kings Authority therein. But this buſineſs which had been ſo often in treaty, had no better ſucceſs now then it had at other times. For the Venetian Senate being diſpoſed alike in all Fortunes, and not yielding any thing to the preſent calamities, reſolved not to accommodate their counſels to their Enemies deſires, but to do in what concern'd either Peace or War, what they thought ſtood moſt with the Dignity of the Common-wealth. There was one thing only which might ſeem to detract from their hopes, and from their conſtancy of mind; which was, that certain News was given out, that the King of *France*, with whom (as it hath been ſaid) *Ferdinando* had made Truce for what concern'd Affairs on the other ſide the Mountains; did alſo treat with him upon conditions of Peace, which if it ſhould ſucceed, there was reaſon to doubt that *Cæſar* would likewiſe joyn with them, and that being all joyn'd together, they might once more endeavour the prejudice of the Common-wealth. And this was the more likely to be believed, for that the King of *France* ſtood in need of ſuch Friendſhips, now that a heavy War was threatned him by the Engliſh. The Engliſh Army which was very numerous, was already paſt over the Sea to *Callis* in *France*; and King *Henry* was ready to paſs over himſelf, to be preſent at this Enterpriſe. Therefore upon this ſo weighty occaſion, the Senate thought fit to confirm King *Lewis* by all means poſſible in his former taken reſolution, and to exhort him by the mouth of their Embaſſadour *Dandalo*, who was then Reſident at that Court, not to give the Affairs of *Italy* quite over.

That he would endeavour as ſoon as might be, to renew the War before the Reputation which he had wonne was leſſened, and before his Claim to the Dukedom of Millan, *which did now begin to be of Force and Vigour, ſhould grow ſtale. That the Forces of ſo great a King were not ſo much leſſened for one Rout received at* Novara, *as that he ſhould ſuffer the Switzers, a Mountainous Nation, and which wanted all things, to ſay they had driven a powerful Prince out of his Dominions, and rob'd him of all the Praiſe and Profit of the Victory which he had almoſt already got. That his Majeſty of* France *would put on ſuch Reſolutions as became his greatneſs, and aſſure himſelf that the Venetians would never be wanting in any thing to him. That he might command their Forces, Men, and Money, for whilſt they had any Power, nay whilſt they ſhould have Breath and Life they were ready to expoſe themſelves to all hardſhip and danger, for the Greatneſs of the Kingdom of* France, *and in defence of the common cauſe.*

To theſe things King *Lewis* anſwered, *That he very much thanked the Venetians for this their Civility, he gave them very good words and hopes, ſhewing a great deſire to revenge himſelf of his Enemies, for the Injuries which he had received; that it was true his Forces were ſomewhat diminiſhed, but that his mind continued ſtill the ſame; and chiefly in proſecuting the War, and continuing League and Friendſhip with them. That it was the ancient Cuſtom of the Kings of* France *not to be grievous, but helpful to their Friends: That therefore though he ſhould little mind the Affairs of* Italy *for any Intereſt of his own, he would not be unmindful of his Obligations to the Venetians; wherefore he would be ready with all his might to help them to recover their ancient Dominions, and to increaſe their Honour and Dignity.*

But

But it was certainly held that the King of *France* could not minde the Affairs of *Italy* that year, his Kingdom being infeſted in ſeveral parts; for not only the King of *England*, but *Ceſar*, and the Switzers had declared themſelvs his enemies. Yet the Venetians thought it muſt needs make for their Affairs to keep the Kings mind by theſe means ſtill ſet on Glory, and confirm'd with hopes of better ſucceſſe, and to keep him their Friend as much as they could. And that they might begin to receive that advantage by this Negotiation at leaſt which they could not as then expect from his Forces; they exhorted the King, that ſince he could not at preſent imploy his Forces, nor his thoughts upon the Affairs of *Italy*, he would the mean while endeavour to remove all thoſe Impediments which might afterwards, when he ſhould have leiſure to think thereon, make his acquiſition of the Dukedom of *Millan* more difficult. That therefore he ſhould endeavour to get help from all parts, and that he ſhould chiefly get the Pope to joyn with him in League and Friendſhip. Which thing being deſired very much by his Nobility, and generally by all the people of *France*, *Lewis* was perſwaded to ſend the Biſhop of *Marcelles* Embaſſadour to *Rome*, to let the Pope know, *That he had annull'd the Counſel which he had formerly removed to* Lyons, *and was ready to joyn with that of* Latheran, *which was then celebrated in* Rome, *and that following the Cuſtom of his Anceſtors, he would alwayes highly honour the holy Name of Pope, and would be ready to defend the Church of* Rome *to the utmoſt of his Power.*

At the ſame time the Venetians ſent ten Embaſſadours to the Pope, all of them both for Age and Dignity the chief of the City, that they might witneſs the ſingular Affection and Reverence which they bore unto him, which having formerly endeavour'd to do, they had appointed their Embaſſadour at *Rome*, *Franciſco Foſcari*, that as ſoon as the Counſel ſhould be begun which the Pope had intimated to be held at St. *John* of *Laterans*, he ſhould be preſent there in the name of the Common-wealth.

But afterwards they found the Popes mind to be otherwiſe diſpoſed than they had thought; for fearing now no more the French Forces after the Rout at *Novara*, which was the reaſon why till then he had handled his buſineſs variouſly, deſembling his ſecret Intentions, expecting the Iſſue of that War, he began to diſcover himſelf, and the Practices which he had held ſecretly before with the Common-wealths Enemies.

He reprehended the Venetians, and blamed them for having call'd back the French into Italy, *to their own prejudice, and the like of others; and that they, who ought more then all the reſt to have laboured the quiet and liberty of* Italy, *were the cauſe of raiſing new Commotions, and of bringing her again under the Slavery of Barbarians. Which that they might appear the more hainous faults, he accuſed them of being minded if their Affairs had ſucceeded proſperouſly, to turn their Forces againſt the Church; which he ſaid might be eaſily ſeen by their League made with the French, wherein having obliged King* Lewis *to aſſiſt them in recovering whatſoever they were poſſeſt of before that War, there was no doubt but that they aſpired at the Recovery of the Lands of* Romagnia.

Leo

Leo did oft times expoſtulate theſe things; for not being able long to conceal his Counſels, he endeavoured to excuſe himſelf by laying the fault on others, and by ſuppoſing a neceſſity for what he had done, and by alledging falſe reaſons for it, to deſerve Praiſe inſtead of Blame. He was continually ſollicited by *Ceſar* to ſend him thoſe Aides which were promis'd him by agreement by his Predeceſſor, and which were renewed by him. Therefore *Leo* being no longer able to make either excuſe or delay, he ordered *Torvilo Savello*, and *Mutio Colonno*, who commanded his *Gens d'Armes*, that they ſhould depart from *Bologna*, where they then were, and go with their Troops, which conſiſted of one hundred Horſes apiece, to joyn with the Dutch and Spaniſh Army. The Venetians were troubled at nothing more then to ſee that the Pope had declared himſelf their Enemy; for they having never been faulty in their Love and Obſervance to him, in any whatſoever condition of his Fortune, as he himſelf had confeſs'd, and ſeemed deſirous of an occaſion to deſerve it of the Common-wealth, they preſumed they might ſafely build upon his favour: And though he had not as yet joyn'd with them in any League againſt their Enemies, yet they thought him no whit leſs well minded towards them, but rather that he deſired to have no hand in the War, to the end that he might be the freer from all ſuſpition, and be the better able to uſe his Authority in ſerving them upon managing any Agreement. The Venetians ſeeing no hopes of Peace, and that their Enemies did increaſe in numbers and Forces, placed all their hopes in themſelves, and betook themſelves to provide more diligently for all things, which they thought might ſecure them from ſo many dangers, and revenge their Injuries. They took many Foot Souldiers into pay out of *Romagna*, and liſted a great many light Horſe: Moreover they ordered *Vicenſo Capello*, who was Commiſſary for the Fleet, that he ſhould recrute the Gallies with Marriners, and furniſh the Fleet with all things neceſſary, that he ſhould recall the Candie Gallies, and having gotten what numbers of Veſſels he poſſibly could from all places, he ſhould with all ſpeed bring the whole Fleet to *Sara*. With the like diligence they provided Victuals, Ammunition, and Moneys, and all things elſe, as it were, for the beginning of a new War. Some Senators were of opinion, that the Fleet ſhould put into the Rivers of *Puglia*, and infeſt the Maritime Places, and that they ſhould by all poſſible means ſeem at leſt to revenge themſelves of King *Ferdinando*, who being provoked by no Injury, had declared himſelf an Enemy to the Common-wealth. Yet having thought better hereupon, they thought it was not fit, in ſo calamitous times as theſe were, to incenſe a great King ſo far as to block up all wayes of ever returning into his favour. The Venetian General was this mean while with his Army upon the Banks of *Adice*, and being advertiſed by the Spies, that the Spaniards were gone towards *Vicenſa*, intending to go to *Padua*; and that *Cordona*, with whom thoſe men were already joyned, which, as we told you before, were ſent by him upon other Enterpriſes, was marching with his whole Army towards him, he thought it fit to get beyond the *Adice*, ſo to free his own men from danger, and by them

to

to ſecure the Cities of *Padua* and *Treviſo*. Therefore the Senate, though it had been of an other Opinion but a little before, fearing leaſt their Affairs might run into ſome greater diſorder, commended *Alviano's* Advice, and forthwith ſent *Luigi Barbaro* to re-build the Bridg over the *Adice* at *Albaredo*, which as ſoon as it was finiſhed, the Army paſt immediately over, and ſtay'd at *Montagnana*, where it quarter'd. But after the departure of their Army, the Venetian Affairs, which by reaſon of their firſt good ſucceſſes, began a little to hold up their head, fell to precipitate again. *Poleſine di Rovigo* yielded preſently to the Enemy, and great Riſings were in all parts; for the people in the Venetians Dominion, ſeeing their Enemies to grow ſtrong, and their Friends weak, and that they were grievouſly moleſted by the one, and but ſlowly defended by the others; even ſuch Towns as had been moſt faithful to the Common-wealth, did on all ſides, for their own ſafety ſurrender to the Enemy. Only *Renzo da Ceri*, who ſtay'd with part of the people to defend *Crema*, wonne ſome Praiſe in War at this time, and did ſomewhat maintain the ancient Venetian Reputation; for ſallying frequently out of the City, he much incommodiated the Enemy, he pillag'd and over-ran their Confines, fired their Towns, took many Priſoners, took away their Monies, which he brought to the Camp, and maintained the Souldiers therewith. The Spaniſh Army being this mean while advanc'd to countenance and aſſiſt *Ceſars* Affairs, the Town of *Peſchiera*, having made ſome little reſiſtance, fell into the Power of the Enemy, and the Caſtle likewiſe, though it were ſtrongly walled, and well garriſon'd, was the eaſilier loſt by the diſagreement of the Captains. *Lodovico Contarini*, who was Purveyer for the City, was taken Priſoner together with the Captains, and moſt of the Souldiers, the reſt eſcaped the Enemy by flight. From hence, the Spaniards loſing no time, went preſently towards *Verona*, and joyning with the Dutch, at the Town *San Martino*, they began to conſult, how they were to manage the War, whereupon there being ſeveral Votes given, the Opinion of the Biſhop *Gurgheuſe* was at laſt followed, which was to march with the whole Army to the taking in of *Padua*. *Gurgheuſe* was the Emperours Lievtenant in *Italy*, and was particularly at this time as Head of all the reſt in *Verona*, from whence going to the Army, he held therein likewiſe the ſupream Authority. It was not well known whether this Enterpriſe were propounded by *Gurgheuſe*, as by command from *Ceſar*, or of his own mear Advice, that ſo if it ſhould ſucceed, he might win the greater Praiſe, the Enterpriſe being very difficult. But howſoever, *Gurgheuſe* deſpiſing the Opinion of the Military men, who were all againſt him, did obſtinately perſiſt in his Opinion; and yet in his Speeches he ſtood rather upon amplifying the Greatneſs of the Rewards which they were to expect from the Victory, than upon giving any reaſon why they ſhould hope to be victorious. But *Alviano*, who had already convey'd all the Artillery and Baggage into *Padua*, that he might be the freer and readier to march accordingly as he ſhould ſee the Enemy move; when he heard their Reſolution, aroſe preſently with his whole Army, and was very ſollicitous in putting good Gar-

riſons into *Padua* and *Trevigi*; for it was generally thought that the whole ſucceſs of the War did depend upon the Preſervation of theſe two Cities. *Baglione* went with 2500 Foot and 400 Horſe to the cuſtody of *Trevigge*; and *Andrea Malipiero* was ſent thither likewiſe from the Senate, that he might take particular care for Ammunition, and all other things which might be requiſite for the Souldiers. And *Alviano* went himſelf with the reſt of the Army into *Padua*; and though the City might ſeem to be ſufficiently therewith garriſoned, yet the Senate would have ſome companies choſen out of *Venice* and *Iſtria* which ſhould be put into Arms, and ſent to guard that City: Moreover many of the Country people who were run into *Venice* to ſave themſelves from the Enemy, were ſent thither, to be made uſe of as Pyoners upon any occaſion. To infuſe the greater courage and confidence into all which, many of the young Nobility of *Venice*, and many other well born Citizens, went with their Servants and Friends to the defence of *Padua*, and readily expoſed themſelves in common with the other Souldiers to all labour and danger of the War. *Gritti* alſo, who had hardly been eight dayes in his Country, was ſent by order of the Senate to that City to diſcharge the ſame place which was formerly done by *Malipiero*. *Padua*, a great and noble City, was kept by the Venetians with great care and vigilancy; for the Common-wealth having placed the ſureſt Foundations of her Empire by Land in that City, both for the opportunity of its ſcituation, fertility of ground, and certain other fortunate Auſpices, they had not been wanting in theſe hardeſt times, to attend the Preſervation of that City with all ſort of care; ſo as it was made very ſtrong, and thoſe parts of the Suburbs were thrown down, which extending themſelves into a great length, could not be walled in, the Trees were cut down for a good ſpace round about the City; and all the neighbouring Villages pull'd down to the ground, ſo as being inviron'd on all ſides by open fields, no Enemy could approach the City, but muſt be diſcover'd from a far off, and expos'd to the ſhot of Cannon. The Emperour *Maximillian* had formerly endeavoured the taking of this City with great warlike Preparation; but finding all to be in vain, was forc'd to quit the Enterpriſe. But the Venetians hereby inſtructed, had with all care and diligence cauſed works to be made about the Fort, and had brought it to great ſecurity and perfection. The City was likewiſe excellently well provided with Victuals, and much corn was every day voluntarily brought in by the Neighbouring Inhabitants. There was great ſtore of Artillery of all ſorts, which being very well ordered and diſpoſed of, did ſufficiently guard the Walls on all ſides, though they were of a very larg circute. Thus had the Venetians carefully provided for all things requiſite to the Preſervation of this City, moved thereunto rather out of the conſiderableneſs of the cauſe, then fear of danger. All theſe things being thus ordered, thoſe who were to defend the City did couragiouſly expect the Enemies Approach: who being gone to the Caſtle of *Eſte*, and from thence falling down along the River banks till they were come within two miles of the City, encamp'd themſelves on the right hand of the river *Bachiglione*. There

was

was nothing in the enemies Army except the train of Artillery which could give ſuch Reputation as was requiſite for the winning of ſo renowned a City. The men were but few for ſuch an Enterpriſe; the Foot did not exceed 8000, nor the Horſe above 1000 in all: And their proviſion for Victuals was but by hazard, from day to day; ſo as it was conceived the Army would in a ſhort time be reduced to great ſtraits. There were ſeveral Commanders in the Army of very great Renown in War, but their experience was of no avail here, by reaſon of the Biſhop *Gurghenſe* his great Authority, and his greater Obſtinacy. But that which did moſt of all trouble, and confound the Commanders, was the difficulty of bringing the Artillery to the Walls, and of leading on their Souldiers ſafe to the Aſſault. Which could not be done without a long and laborious work of Trenches, under the ſhelter whereof they might eſcape the Cannon-ſhot which play'd from all parts. But ſuch work required ſo many men to make them, as though all the Countrey round about was fetch'd in with great ſeverity, yet could they not find men enough for the buſineſs. Inſomuch as the Enemy having begun to make a broad and deep Ditch, which was led on by crooked lines from the Camp to the City, to make a Fence againſt the cannon-ſhot which was made from off the City Walls, with the earth which they threw out; they were forced quickly to forſake that work, as well for want of Pioners, as for the continual diſturbance which they met with from the City, and chiefly by the light Horſe, which ſallying out often at unawares, fell upon the Pyoners, diſturbe the work, and did continually infeſt the Enemy ſundry wayes. So as nothing paſſing on either ſide but ſlight Skirmiſhes, the time paſt on and but little was done; and the Inconveniences of the Enemies Army increaſing every day more and more, their hopes of getting the City grew leſſer and leſſer; for the Camp being pitch'd in a low ſcituation, and ſubject to the often Inundation of water, and conſequently leſs healthful, the Souldiers began to fall ſick apace, ſo as they could not tarry there; moreover the Camp being kept from being victuall'd, by Light Horſe which ſallied often out of the City, and not being furniſh'd with any great ſtore out of the Countrey, the Army was greatly inconvenienced. The Souldiers not being content with their abode there, complained grievouſly, and with injurious words told their Commanders,

That that Enterpriſe was idlely undertaken, that the buſineſs was too difficult, and which by other Tryals was almoſt impoſſible to effect; that they would not refuſe any duties how ſore ſoever, nor ſhun any danger if there were any hope of good ſucceſs, but that a buſineſs which was not accompanied with any hope of good, was certainly not only vain, but very diſhonourable, and miſ-becoming Military men. What hopes had they to win a ſtrong City now, when numerous Armies of ſeveral joynt Princes being brought before it to the ſame purpoſe four years ago, were forced with ſhame to forego it? What reaſon had Cæſar *to perſwade himſelf, that his very name, though at a far diſtance ſhould make ſo much for the Victory now, when his preſence could not effect it before? That a War of ſuch importance ought not to be govern'd by the Authority and Counſel of Biſhop* Gurghenſe, *a man wholly unexperienced in what belong'd to War. That*

he minded only Cæſars *Affairs, and cared not for the Souldier; that they had not received their due pay, nor had not had ſuch Aids ſent them as was promiſed. What remained there now to be done but immediately to raiſe the Camp.*

Theſe Speeches being noiſed throughout the whole Camp, came to *Gurghenſe's* ear, who being moved thereat, and diſpairing now to perfect his work, it being taken into conſideration to raiſe the Camp, he who had formerly tenaciouſly defended the contrary opinion, gave ſuddenly his conſent thereunto: So as on the 16th of *Auguſt* by conſent of all, the Camp was raiſed, and *Padua* was freed from the Siege, which had laid before it 20 dayes, occaſioning more fear then danger.

The Enemy marched towards *Vicenza*, and finding it without any Garriſon, and forſaken by the Venetian Magiſtrates, and chiefeſt part of the Citizens, who hearing of the Enemies approach, had with-drawn themſelves into ſtronger Holds, they ſoon took it: and the Souldiers began to commit many enormious cruelties; they plundered private mens Houſes, not forbearing Churches, nor ſacred things, but tore and rent the miſerable City; not for that they had therein received any injury, but becauſe the Army was for the moſt part maintain'd by Rapine, which did never receive pay in due time. When the Camp had ſtay'd there a while, it began to find want of many things; for the City being waſted by War could not ſupply the Army with ſufficient Victuals, the Inhabitants having tranſported their corn and cattle to other parts; and it was hard to get any from other parts by reaſon of the free-booting Carobines, which by perpetual In-roads kept the Enemies Army from Victuals; being then forced out of theſe reſpects to quit thoſe Quarters, the Biſhop *Gurghenſes* went with the Dutch to *Verona*, and the Vice-roy went to encamp at *Alberedo* upon the River *Adice*. Over which he began to cauſe a Bridg be made, intending as he affirmed to lead his Souldiers into the Territories of *Bergamo* and *Breſcia*. But ſeeing that the Vice-roy tarried long in thoſe Quarters, Alviano *was of opinion, to draw the men out of* Padua *and* Trevigi, *and to aſſault the Enemy, who free from all ſuſpition, and ſcattering themſelves about the Countrey for Pillage diſorderly, might ſoon be routed. He ſaid that the whole Remainder of the War lay in this Army, which if it ſhould be beaten, the War was ended; and that as long as it ſhould be kept together, the Enemy would always be able to moleſt the Common-wealth.*

But the Senate thought otherwiſe, being conſtant in the opinion not to hazard that Army to the uncertain event of Battle, in which the chiefeſt hopes of their Preſervation lay. Neither thought they it ſafe in ſuch hazardous times, to draw the Garriſons out of *Padua* and *Trevigi*. But howſoever keeping this their Intention ſecret to themſelves, they endeavoured to beget an other opinion amongſt men, to the end that ſuch News being ſpred abroad, and that the Enemy hearing that their Army was to take the field, they might forbear free-booting, and might haſten out of their confines. But *Cordona*, little valuing ſuch Rumors, which he ſaw not in many days ſeconded by any effects, but rather taking courage hereby, and hoping

ping for better things, he began to promiſe himſelf good ſucceſs in whatſoever he ſhould take in hand. Wherefore changing his former opinion, and calling back the Dutch Souldiers to him, he marched once more towards the Territories of *Padua*, with intention (as it was ſeen ſince the ſeaſon would ſuffer him to do nothing elſe) to over-run and pillage all that Countrey. Some ſay that *Cordona* was moved to this by the many complaints which *Gurgbenſe* made againſt him, calling him a Liconian, of an unſetled mind, that he did too much affect the continuing in that Dignity, and that he uſed deceit, becauſe he proceeded ſlowly in the Seige of *Padua*, and in all his other works. Others believe that *Cordona* was inforced to take this courſe; for that the Army being much in arrear for pay, which they demanded with great fervency, and not without inſolency and tumult, it became him ſince he wanted moneys to ſatisfie the Souldier, to ſtop their mouths by ſuffering them to prey upon the Enemy, ſo to ſupply their want of pay. *Proſpero Colonna* was of a contrary opinion, who held the next place in the Army, after *Cordona*. This man having often overcome the Enemy both by Counſel, and by the Sword, had wonne great Renown both for his Valour and Wiſdom in Military Affairs.

He after his accuſtomed manner, affirm'd the other to be a raſh and unbecoming Counſel; for that good part of the Autumn being now over, and the time drawing neer wherein Armies began to draw out of the field, this would be to ingage the Army in action out of Seaſon; that they could not go into the Enemies Countrey without much danger, they being to paſs between two ſtrong Cities, full of Souldiers, as if they went through the jaws of the Enemy; but that the chiefeſt difficulty would lye in getting out of the Countrey, which was ſo environed with Rivers, and in a ſeaſon when great rains were likely to fall, and where ſnares were to be laid for them by their Enemies on all ſides; that therefore that Counſel was to be held the beſt, whereby the Army was to be preſerved from great danger, which when it ſhould be cloſed in by great Rivers and in the midſt of the Enemy, and ſhould alſo want Victuals, might inſteed of ſpoiling the Enemy, be made a prey of by them. That therefore ſome better Propoſals ought to be made for the preſervation of the Army, and not ſeek to prevent uncertain dangers by certain ruine. But *Colonna's* advice would not be liſtned to; for *Piſcara*, who confided much upon the Spaniſh Foot, and totally ſlighted the Italian Souldiers, joyn'd in Opinion with *Cordona*, and got it to be put in effect. Wherefore the Camp ſuddenly moved, and that they might march with more ſpeed, they left the baggage behind them, neither did they take all their Artillery with them. They took up their firſt Quarters at the Caſtle of *Montagnana*; and went from thence to that part of the Paduan Territories, which extends it ſelf towards *Chioggia*, and towards the Sea; which was the richeſt part of all the reſt, both for fruitful fields, and ſtore of Inhabitants: And was at this time particularly full both of people, and of cattle, becauſe many of the Countrey people had with-drawn themſelves thither, as into a place of ſafety. There is one Town in theſe parts obſervable, called *Bovolenta*, ſeated in a place free from the ſudden In-roads of the Enemy; for the River *Baſchelone* which

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takes its courſe from the Territories of *Vicenza*, as ſoon as it comes to the Town of *Baſſanello*, two miles diſtant from *Padua*, runs a various and crooked courſe through the Paduan Territories, having received into her boſom ſome parts of the waters of *Brenta*, which invironing a great ſpace of ground, meet and joyn together in this place. There was a Caſtle here of old, which being taken by *Alphonſo* Duke of *Ferara*, when things went worſt with the Commonwealth, was afterwards recovered by the Venetians, and fortified as much as the ſcituation could bear. The Enemies came firſt hither, and paſſing over the River with ſome Boats, they took, and burnt the Caſtle, and ſack'd the Town; having opportunity to make the greater Booty, for that the Inhabitants of that Countrey, thinking that the Enemies Army was ſo far advanced, as not to return, fearing no farther danger, were returned to their own houſes; ſo as the Enemy coming upon them at unawares, they had very little time left them to eſcape their hands. The Vice-roy then led on his Army farther to that part of the River which comes from *Padua*, over-running and plundering all that whole Countrey even to the Gates of *Chioggia*. Nothing was ſeen through all places that they went, but death and rapine. From thence he went towards the Caſtle *di Pione di Sacco*, a rich place, and well inhabited, which they ranſack'd, with all manner of injurious dealing, pardoning nothing neither ſacred nor profane. And whilſt the reſt are buſied in theſe Rapines, *Troilo Savello* one of the Popes Captains, underſtanding by ſome that fled away, that many Countrey people were with-drawn with their Wives, Children, and Goods to thoſe Mariſhes, made by the waters of *Brenta*, five miles diſtant from the City of *Venice*, where the *Terra firma* parts from the Waſh, paſt over the *Brenta* with 150 Horſe, and ſome Foot Companies, and marched ſpeedily thither, which when the many that were there without either Arms or Garriſon, underſtood, they began ſuddenly to flye, and being ſcattered here and there as they ran, they were taken Priſoners; yet many out of the knowledg of the paſſages, eſcaped. The prey which they got here was forthwith carried away by the Enemy, whereby they got but little good, though much Infamy.

Savello paſt on then towards *Meſtre*, whither *Mutio Colonna* was gone a little before with ſome of the Popes men, and chaſing away ſome Horſe, nor meeting with any to with-ſtand him, had taken that Town: Wherefore *Savello*'s Souldiers, which came thither after, minded nothing but Booty, and not leaving any thing behind them, burn'd the Caſtle. Theſe were followed more ſlowly by *Cordona*, who being come to the Waſh at the utmoſt point of the *Terra Firma*, which is commonly called *Marghera*, he gave order for the planting of his cannon there, and made many ſhot towards the city of *Venice*, which was juſt over againſt him. This City which is round about environed with ſalt water, hath no way which leads unto it by Land, and the ways by Sea which are known to thoſe who are acquainted with the ſundry and uncertain channels, are block'd up to others and concealed. Therefore ſafe by her ſcituation, and needing no Garriſon to defend her, ſhe is preſerved from any cala-

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mity of War, and diſpatch the power of her Enemies. But this proud Spaniard, to whom this was well known, would be able to boaſt as of a very glorious thing, that he had got ſo near ſo famous a City with ſo ſmall an Army, whereby he might, as it were, bereave her of that Renown which ſhe had won amongſt other Nations. 'Tis very true that Fortune had ſhewn her ſelf at this time very bitter and cruel towards the Venetians, who were not able now to ſtop the force of ſo weak an Army, having formerly with much boldneſs and ſucceſs, oppoſed the greateſt Forces which threatned the liberty of *Italy*. The Citizens were therefore ſorely grieved, ſeeing the Honour of *Venice* with ſuch inſolency offended, and that they muſt be inforc'd to ſuffer thoſe who were ſo well affectionated to the Common-wealth, and who had lived ſo long ſafe and quiet under her Empire, to be now thus lacerated by all ſorts of cruelty: And that whereas formerly they were wont to aſſiſt diſtreſſed Forreigners, they could not now defend their own. The Venetians were formerly formidable to others, but now ſo cow'd, as they were forced to fear their own Affairs. Which variety of Fortune was the harder to be tolerated, out of the memory of their former Felicity. But the Enemy fore-going thoſe parts the next day that they were come thither, went ſtill wandring up and down the Paduan confines, and whereſoever they came, laid the Countrey waſte, all things were ſtoln and conſumed by the Souldiers, who where they found no Inhabitants, and conſequently nothing to bear away, that they might even there leave ſome ſigns of their rage and wickedneſs, they ſhewed their madneſs againſt the Walls and Houſes, firing all as well publick as private Buildings, as were any thing beautiful. But *Cordona*, growing now aware of his raſh counſel, was deſirous to haſten his departure, but could not keep the Souldiers from pillage and plunder, who had ſo long a time lived licentiouſly, neither by laying before them the neceſſity of departing ſuddenly, nor by his Power or Authority.

At this time *Alviano* kept with his Army in *Padua*, and much troubled to ſee theſe Proceedings of the Enemy, could not well ſuffer, that ſo much to his diſparagement, and to the diſhonour of the whole Italian Militia, they ſhould be permitted to paſs by, leaving ſo ſtrong, and ſo well garriſon'd a City behind them, without paying for this their raſhneſs, and for having ruin'd and waſted ſo larg a ſpace of ground. He therefore advertiſed the Senate, that he would march out of the City with his men, and meet the Enemy to block up his way in his return.

He alledged, *That being loaden with prey, and marching in diſorder, they might eaſily be beaten; that their Common-wealth was fallen into a moſt miſerable condition, very much unworthy of her former Glory, nor was ſhe to be put into a better, but by a noble daring, and by a gallant, and generous Aſſault.* But the Senators were of another mind; thinking that to have reſpect to all things, was not the part of abject and cowardly, but of ſolid and reſolute perſons, *and that it did not ſuite with the Gravity of the Venetian Senate, nor with the praiſed Wiſdom, which they had in the perpetual courſe of ſo many years won, to place their reſolutions,*

ſolutions, and the totall of their Affairs in the power of chance; the ſucceſs of Battle being always doubtful, and uncertain: That therefore their Judgment was, that the Enemy ſhould only be moleſted by the Chivalry, leaving the reſt of the Army to guard the City.

But *Alviano* was too head long born to the deſire of Victory, ſo as his mind being blinded with a deſire of Glory, he oft times knew no danger, and did deſpiſe the ſafeſt and wiſeſt counſels. Therefore preſſing daily more and more that the Army might remove from *Padua*, and the Venetian Commiſſaries being of the ſame opinion, being induced, as they ſaid, to hope well, out of a ſingular good affection which they found in the Commanders and Souldiers towards the Common-wealth, and as great a readineſs in them to defend her honour, the Senate departing a little from their firſt reſolution, left the buſineſs to *Alviano*; that if he thought it might make well for their Affairs, he might march with his Army out of the City: always provided that he would be ſure to quarter his Army in ſo ſecure a place, as he might not be compell'd to run the hazard of a Battle. And that he would ſo follow the Enemy, as without indangering himſelf, their Army might be inforced to diſ-band, being conſumed through their own Inconveniences. And that he ſhould remember that it was the duty of a Commander to overcome the Enemy no leſs by counſel than by the ſword. The Senate alſo charged the Commiſſaries, that they ſhould uſe all means poſſible to confirm the Souldiers minds; and that in the name of the publick, they ſhould thank the Captains, and every man of any account in the Army for their good will to the Common-wealth. The Souldiers were then quickly drawn out of *Padua*; they took up their firſt Quarters at *Limina*, where the Brent dividing her ſelf into two branches, takes her courſe by ſeveral ways into the Sea: This place was made choice of, becauſe 'twas thought the Enemy could not paſs the River lower, it being deeper there. Our Army being fixt here, *Andrea Loredano*, one of the Commiſſaries, having aſſembled all the Horſe Commanders, and Captains of Foot, and ſome other of the chiefeſt Souldiers together, ſpoke thus unto them, according to the Order he had received from the Senate.

The Senate having underſtood by Letters from us, and by the relation of many others, with what Courage, and hopes, You my fellow-Souldiers have taken the Field, as if you were aſſured of Victory, but yet with a mind prepared and diſpoſed for all events, were all of them ſo over-joy'd with the News, as even with tears in eyes, they humbly thanked God, that amidſt ſo many blows of adverſe Fortune, he had afforded them this of comfort, that in ſo calamitous times he had given them proof of your Loyalties, and of your ſingular affection to the Common wealth. Therefore they have commanded us in their Names to let you know that our City bears the like good will to you; and to witneſs unto you how great an obligation the whole Common-wealth acknowledgeth to owe unto you for it; and that her Citizens will always thankfully remember it, which they deſire you to take in good part till ſuch time as when Fortune ſhall better ſmile upon us, they may witneſs it better by effects. The Common-wealth doth now by me give you many thanks. Let nothing then be of force enough to re-

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move you from the affection which you ſeem to bear her, or to make you repent this your purpoſe. You have taken upon you to defend a noble City and her juſt Empire, which is the Seat of the Liberty, and the Glory of Italy; *which City whilſt ſhe ſhall have either Seat or Power, you may be ſure will not be wanting in rewarding your great deſerts; for we have ever greatly eſteemed, and honoured all valiant and honeſt men. It is too apparent that the Tranſalpine Nations envy our re-riſing greatneſs, out of the memory of the ancient Worth and Empire of the Italians; and that therefore they do uſe all the means they can to ruine our Common-wealth; which is the true Glory of* Italy. *But we having formerly made much greater Forces of our Enemies prove vain, our City hopes we ſhall now be eaſily able to beat the remainders thereof, which are all now in this Army. The Aids which we have had from the Friendſhip of Forreign Princes, and from Tranſ-Alpine Forces, have been of no advantage to us, but have often done us more harm than good; but our Common-wealth will find all things in your love and affection, a ready Will, perſpicuous Worth, and as I hope, ſucceſsful Fortune. We are not now to fight with Souldiers, but rather Thieves; for they do not wage War according to the Cuſtom of Military men, nor do they thereby endeavour Empire and Glory, but guided by fury, are contaminated with all ſort of Raſcallity: God will not ſuffer their wickedneſs to remain long unpuniſhed; ſo as our Militia will be crown'd, as I truſt, with Victory and Triumph. We have a faithful, and loyal Army, and in it many gallant Souldiers choſen out of the Flower of all the Italian Militia; the Enemy are oppreſt with much want of Victuals, and their men, now many moneths accuſtomed to piliage, not to fighting, being beyond meaſure imbaſed, ſlothful, and wanton, have made their bodies weak, and their minds effeminate: Yet muſt not we for all this be the leſs diligent, we muſt obſerve all the removes of the Enemy, block up their way, and finally we muſt leave nothing undone, whereby either by mature advice, or forward daring, according as time and place ſhall require, we may be able to ſtay theſe inſolent Enemies; to take them, ſcatter them, and recover what they have got of ours. If thoſe things which we have reſolved upon, be duely put in execution, doubtleſs ſly the Enemies Army, which is now become ſo inſolent through the prey which they have gotten, will become our prey. Things are now grown ſo hopeful, as the Senators, and the whole City, believing the Victory to be certain, begin to think how they ſhall reward you, and pay you the merits of ſo gallant an action. The eyes of all* Italy *are bent upon this, and are big with expectation what the ſucceſs will be, hoping to be one day revenged for all the Injuries which ſhe hath received from the Barbarians. You muſt therefore endeavour by all means not to defraud the Senate of the fruit of their hoped for Victory; no the reſt, of the opinion they have conceived of your Gallantry, nor yet your ſelves of Praiſe and Glory.*

Loredano having ſaid this, the whole Army anſwered with one joynt voice, *That they were ready for all things, nor would they refuſe chearfully to undergo any whatſoever danger, for the welfare of the Common-wealth, and for their own honour; that they wiſhed the Common-wealth might for the future be more proſperous and ſucceſsful, which for their parts they would by all induſtry endeavour, and whatſoever her for-*

tune ſhould be, they would think it to be their own: That the Commonwealth might many times before have known their Fidelity, but that they were glad ſhe ſhould now have tryal both of their Fidelity and Valour.

Thus with univerſal conſent, and great alacrity, the Camp removed, and the Army was brought to *Fontanina*, two miles diſtant from *Cittadella*, where our men reſolved to wait for the Enemy, becauſe the River could not be well waded over any where elſe. They planted their Artillery upon the Banks thereof, and placed ſufficient Garriſons in every fitting place, and not far from hence was the Army encamped, betwixt which and the Artillery, a large Ditch was drawn, that the Souldiers might upon any whatſoever occaſion be fenced within a ſtrong Trench. The Enemy hearing this, began to haſten their March, to the end that they might paſs the River before thoſe men which they knew were led on by *Baglione*, might joyn with *Alviano*'s Army. But as ſoon as they were come to the Banks of *Brent*, and that they found them to be guarded by many Garriſons, and that their paſſage was ſtop'd there, they reſolved without delay to march farther on; *Cardona* gave order, that whilſt the reſt of the Army marched, the Light Horſe ſhould ſtay behind, and that keeping about the River Banks, they ſhould let themſelves be ſeen by our men who were on the other ſide, whereby their departure might not be ſuſpected; and the Enemy having marched three miles towards the upper part of the River, where they found no Guard, they paſt their men ſafely over, uſing ſuch diligence therein, as our men hearing afterwards that *Cardona* was gone to paſs over the River; before our men could be drawn forth to hinder their paſſage, the Enemies whole Army were paſt over, and had put themſelves in order to ſtand our Aſſault. *Alviano* finding that the buſineſs had ſucceeded much otherwiſe then he had thought, was much afflicted, that he had miſs'd the opportunity of aſſaulting the Enemy, whilſt they were divided, and buſied in paſſing over the River; for by the opinion of the other Commanders, and his own alſo, it was reſolved, that they would not come to a day of Battle with the Enemy, but upon ſome noteable advantage, and that they would expect the ſuccour which *Baglione* brought them from *Treviſo*. But *Cardona*, as ſoon as he had paſt the *Brent*, turn'd towards *Vicenza*, and becauſe he was to take his way about, *Alviano*, that he might prevent the Enemy, and poſſeſs himſelf of the paſſes by a nearer way, took his way ſuddenly thitherward: The mean while he ſent *Nicolo Vendramino* before with all the light Horſe, to the end that he might vex the latter Squadrons of the Enemy, and retard their March as much as he might. He then gave order that all the Bridges which he thought the Enemy might make uſe of, ſhould be broken down, that the tops of the Mountains ſhould be poſſeſs'd by Countrey people, and that many Trees ſhould be cut down, and laid croſs the High-ways, and that all Avenues might be with all diligence block'd up, *Manfrone*, having aſſembled a great many Mountainers of all the Country thereabout, to near about the number of 5000, with theſe, and with ſome ſmall pieces of Artillery, poſſeſs'd himſelf of the paſs of *Montecchio*. At the ſame time

whilſt

whilſt theſe things were a doing, *Alviano* having left *Gritti*, and *Baglione* with a third part of the Army in *Vicenza*, to defend that City, he paſt on three miles farther, and finding a Plain fit to receive the Camp, he took up his Quarters there, and began forthwith to fortifie it. This place was thus ſcituated. In the High-way which leads from *Vicenza* to *Verona*, when you come to the Village *Olmo*, there is a little Plain out of the way, ſomewhat on the right hand, which being guarded on the right hand by *Monti di Creazzo*, and inviron'd almoſt every where on the other ſide by a Valley, is naturally very ſtrong, and there is but one way that leads unto it. In the midſt thereof the ground is ſomewhat raiſed up, and makes the place fitter to encamp in. *Alviano* choſe this as a fit and ſafe place to tarry in. He together with the reſt of the Commanders, reſolved to expect the coming of the Enemies Army there, according to the Senates Order, and blocking up his Paſſes to reduce him to a ſcarcity of Victuals; not affording the Enemy any opportunity of coming to a day of Battle, for it was clearly conceived, that without running any hazard, the Victory was to be ours. The Venetian Camp was pitch'd (as hath been ſaid) in a very ſtrong place, and very fit to draw the buſineſs out in length, and where they had plenty of all things neceſſary; on the contrary the Enemy ſuffer'd many Inconveniences, and their difficulties did daily increaſe.

Cardona this mean while, following the journey he had begun, was come to within about four miles of the Venetian Army, and making his Camp tarry in a place which is called by the Countrey people *La Motta*, being much confuſed and troubled, he conſulted with the reſt of the Commanders, what courſe they had beſt to take in the very great ſtraits which they were in. They differ'd in their Opinions, but they all agreed in their very ſmall hopes of ſafety, or remedy for ſo many dangers and difficulties. They could not keep longer in thoſe parts for want of Victuals, and it was almoſt impoſſible for them to get away, the Paſſages being ſtrait, difficult, and guarded by ſtrong Garriſons. They muſt either go towards *Trent*, or towards *Verona*, to either of which they might go by two ways; for they might go from where they were into *Germany* either by a ſhorter cut over the Mountains of *Schio*, or by a longer way about, through the confines of *Baſeneſe*; and likewiſe they might get into the way which leads to *Verona* by the way of the Plain wherein they were, or by climbing up the Mountains on the right hand. But whichſoever of theſe ways they ſhould take, they were to meet with almoſt the ſame difficulties, ſome of theſe paſſages being very rough and craggy, and the reſt fortified and guarded by the Venetians; ſo as the Commanders knew not which way to chuſe, nor how to make their paſſage. Thus after long and various diſputes, they at laſt reſolved to make their way by the Sword, ſince in great difficulties, great and unwonted Valour is to be ſhewn. Wherefore *Cardona*, ſeeing that the preſent wants, and the greater ruine which over-hung the Army, could be no longer concealed, without farther delay, thought it was beſt to acquaint the Souldiers how Affairs ſtood with them, and to encourage them as much as he might; wherefore calling them all together, he ſpoke thus unto them.

Were not your Worths, my Fellow Souldiers, well known to me by many gallant Tryals, I should not dare to lead on this Army, recommended to my trust by two great Princes, Cesar *and* Ferdinando, *where I know you are to make your way by your Swords. But if I should take any other course, your Glory would be the less, and your condition the less fortunate, by losing the Honour which this noble Attempt, and the rich Booty which you have taken from the Enemy, doth put into your hands. As the memory of your former actions hath put me upon this bold and generous undertaking, so trusting to your Worth and upon the Fortune which attends this Army, I assure my self I shall conduct you all safe out of danger. And certainly if you will be men, and mindful of your own actions, these difficulties which seem now to threaten ruine to you, will turn to your greater Glory. Necessity sometimes makes even abject and cowardly men, daring and generous; but to tarry till you be thereby constrain'd to shew your Valour, suites not with the opinion which is held of you, and of your Worth. You ought to know into what condition we are brought: All ways whereby to march away, are stopt, either by the Mountains, or by our Enemies Forces. On the one side we have craggy and Mountainous places, strong by nature, and possest by the Enemies Garrisons; on the other side our return is impeded by the Venetian Camp: Want of Victuals, against which there is no fence, will not suffer us to tarry any longer here, though otherwise it might be good for us so to do: We cannot march any whither, be it either by way of the Plains which lead to* Verona, *or back by the Mountains, without meeting with many Inconveniences, which will be still occasion'd by our Enemies. So as whatsoever resolution we shall put on, the Danger will be the same, but not the Glory. But I have always been of opinion, that it became a good Commander to have a care of the preservation of his Army so far, as he be not unmindful of their Honour: And yet not to value that so much, as that he have not a like care of their safety. If we turning our back upon our Enemies, shall take our way by the Mountains, we shall not be able to shun many dangers before we can come thither, being that the Enemy will always pursue us, and when we shall have most need of rest in respect of the journey which we shall have made, and of perpetual Skirmishes, we shall then (being come to the narrowest places) be to fight both with the difficulties of the ways, and with those that do guard them. Therefore I think it better by much, that you, who profess Souldiery, may fight with those of the like profession, in an open and equal place, and by your Worth, experience the event of Battle, then suffer that this Army being molested, and outraged by Mountainers, be at last consumed. But let us suppose, that by excessive good Fortune, (after having left our Artillery, Baggage and Booty in the Power of the Enemy) we escape safe through the jaws of these Mountains, and get into* Germany, *(which truly I cannot expect we shall do) we may perhaps free our selves from danger; but how can we cancel such shame and ignomy? or how can that life be dear unto us, which we shall have valued more than our Honour? And what greater Infamy can we undergo, then through base fear, to have shamefully abandoned an Enemies Countrey, which we have but just now victoriously over-run) without being overcome in Battle? I think it therefore our best course, to fight the Enemy as soon as may be, and to make our way with our Swords through the midst*

of

of their Camp. As this reſolution ſuites beſt with the Honour of this Army, ſo doth it carry along with it more hopes of ſafety. Whereas if we tarry longer diſputing, and ſhall ſuffer our ſelves to be over-born by immoderate fear, our Enemies will have ſo much more reaſon to grow reſolute and inſolent: But if they ſee us ready to defend our ſelves, I am confident they will ſoon re-aſſume the ſame Cowardlineſs which they have hitherto ſhewn. If they did confide in their Forces, who ſees not that being ſo often provoked and invited by us, they would not have ſtaid ſo long lock'd up within their Cities Walls; and now they are come into the field, only to make a vain ſhew of Valour, not with any intention of hazarding themſelves in Battle. They very well know that the Italian Souldiers can no ways ſtand in compariſon with the ſtout and valiant Spaniards, and Dutch, who are much better then they at the Militia; I have often try'd their Valour in War, and their deſire of Glory: Therefore if you will imitate your domeſtick Gallantry, nay if you will be what you always have been, we may aſſurealy account the Victory already our own. Theſe clowniſh people, and unexperienced in War, who have neither learnt to obſerve Order nor to follow their Colours, and who practiſe the Militia for a little gain, not out of any deſire of Praiſe, cannot long ſuſtain nor retard our Aſſault: Therefore for what I can at the preſent foreſee, we may promiſe our ſelves aſſured Victory, and by that Victory, great and certain rewards. But ſay that we ſhould meet with ſome ill ſucceſs, and that I ſhould be deceived in my expectation, we may miſs the fruit of Victory, but certainly this our gallant action cannot miſs of Praiſe; ſince having done what was poſſible for us to do both by Counſel, and by Force of Arms, all men muſt confeſs, that neither daring, nor Valour was wanting in us, but only Fortune.

The Souldiers being greatly moved by this diſcourſe, caſting away all doubts and fears, began to deſire what they had formerly avoided, promiſing the General to do their parts: And *Cardona* finding the Souldiers willing, led the Army, though the day were far ſpent, out towards *Alviano*'s Camp, and being come within two miles of him, he made almoſt all his Chivalry, together with ſome companies of Spaniſh Foot advance, who gave furiouſly upon thoſe who were upon our Guard. But being terrified by our Artillery, (for the Trees were cut down every where round about, ſo as they had no place to ſhelter themſelves from ſhot) they faced about, and having paſt over the Valley, went againſt thoſe, who as it was ſaid, were left by *Alviano* at the Gate of *Vicenza*: Our men made preſently towards the Enemy who came to aſſault them, and having ſtoutly ſtood their firſt Onſet, quickly repuls'd them, the Horſe ſtaying to skirmiſh, a little while after the Foot were retreated. But the night drawing on, and being much gall'd by our Artillery, they were likewiſe ſoon glad to quit the field, and retreat to their own men.

Whilſt theſe things were a doing, *Cardona* was drawn with the reſt of his Army, very near the Venetian Camp, and had kept his Army in poſture to fight *Alviano*'s Camp, even till Sun ſet. Wherefore the night being already come on, and our Quarters being ſo near, *Cardona* would not ſuffer the Tents to be ſet up, nor fall to forti-

fortifying, fearing leſt his men might be unexpectedly ſet upon by our men, whilſt they ſhould be buſied about the works. The Souldiers did not quit their Arms all that night, lying down upon the ground, without any light, and in great ſilence, to keep from being hurt by the Artillery of the neighbouring Camp. This mean while the Commanders, poſſeſs'd with great fears, bethought themſelves of many things, but could not well ſay which was the leaſt dangerous courſe to take amidſt ſo many hazards; they ſtay'd expecting day, hoping that it might chalk them out what to do amidſt theſe difficulties. *Alviano*'s Souldiers kept in Arms all that night likewiſe, diligently obſerving every motion of the Enemy, as well in their own reſpects, as alſo for the ſafety of thoſe other people, with whom *Baglione* (having taken them away together with the Artillery to whither we told you he was gone) had poſſeſs'd himſelf of the other part of the Valley which ſtood over againſt *Alviano*'s Camp. Which as ſoon as the Enemies knew, utterly deſpairing to make their way on that ſide, and being by neceſſity dictated ſo to do, they alter'd their way, and turn'd backwards towards the Mountains of *Schio*, the which they might the more eaſily do, for that they found themſelves leſs incumbred, and not bounded within any Quarters. They divided their whole Army into three Squadrons, wherewith they marched in cloſe order; and that they might march the faſter, and be the readier to fight, if they ſhould be thereunto inforced, they left ſuch part of their Booty behind them, as was of leaſt value, and the greateſt part of their other Lumber, and though they made great haſte, yet they marched in good order, and with much ſafety. That day being the 9th of *December*, chanc'd to be ſo dark and cloudy, as the Enemy had thereby opportunity of getting out of the ken of our Army, unſeen by us; ſo as the day was well advanced before our men were aware of their departure, which when it was known, *Alviano* being very glad, ſaid,

What have we now to do but to make uſe of time? If we loſe this opportunity which is now offer'd us of utterly overthrowing the Enemy, when ſhall we ever meet with the like? The Victory is undoubtedly ours, the Enemies confeſs themſelves overcome, they have already turn'd their backs, having no hopes of ſafety but in running away; this is the time for us to recover the Honour and Dignity of our Common-wealth, and of all Italy.

Alviano ſaid this with the greater aſſurance; for that *Loredano*, who had ſcowr'd up and down the fields all that night, had much incouraged the Souldiers to fight, and had had ſuch diſcourſe with the Commanders, as he appeared to be clearly of *Alviano*'s opinion, ſaying,

That they were not to refuſe the firſt occaſion of Battle which was offer'd; for if they ſhould ſuffer theſe Raſcals, their bitter Enemies, to depart ſafely and quietly away now that they were almoſt routed of themſelves, it was to be feared that they might incur very much blame; for that it being in their Power to free the Common-wealth from a bitter War, and the Italian name from great Infamy, they had either through negligence or cowardlineſs let ſlip ſo fair an occaſion.

Beſides

Beſides *Alviano*, and the Commiſſaries, had ſundry times given ſuch an account of the State of Affairs to the Senate, ſpeaking very lowdly of themſelves, and lewdly of the Enemy, as all men had conceived an aſſured Victory, and they began already to feel the fruit of Praiſe for theſe their Services. *Alviano* being hereby inflamed, and being of himſelf very haſty and confident, thought the Victory ſo clear and certain, as he counted his Glory ſo much the longer retarded, as the Battle was deferr'd. So ſpeedily quitting his Quarters, he made *Nicolo Vandramino*, and *Barnardino Antignivola* advance with the *Stradiotti a Cavallo*, or Dragouns, to the end that following the Enemy, and skirmiſhing with them, they might the more moleſt and hinder their March, to boot with what impediment they were to meet withal by the Mountainers, who waited for them on all ſides. The Venetian Army conſiſted of about 10000 Italian Foot, and 1500 Curaſſiers, and 1000 Light Horſe. Half the Foot were new men, drawn to that purpoſe out of the Towns and Villages by the Venetians, ſome of them coming by command, ſome of them of their own free will: The reſt were veterane Souldiers, who had been a good while under the Common-wealths pay. Of all theſe *Alviano* framed three bodies, mingling the old and new Souldiers together in ſome of them, but he placed all the ſtouteſt men in the middle Squadron, which was the greateſt. There was therein, beſides *Alviano's* own perſon, *Guido Rangone*, *Giulio Manfrone*, *Giovan Battiſto da Fano*, *Giovan Paolo da Sant' Angelo*, and divers others. Theſe did incloſe, with their ſeveral Companies diſpoſed of in two wings, 500 Curaſſiers. *Antonio di Pio* commanded the left wing, who had with him the reſt of the Foot, and on the right wing was *Baglione*, with 1000 *Gens d' Armes*. Things being thus ordered, *Alviano* commanded *Pio* that he ſhould keep where he was, diligently obſerving what way he ſhould take, and expect Orders from him. He charged *Baglione* (who had with him the *Gens d' Armes*, as hath been ſaid) that fetching a compaſs, he ſhould go beyond the laſt Squadron of the Enemy, and that as ſoon as he ſhould ſee the Battle joyn'd, he ſhould at unawares aſſault the Enemy on the Flank. He moreover made 20 pieces of Artillery be drawn on before the Army in very good order, he himſelf riding ſometime on one hand, ſometimes on another, incouraged the Souldiers to Battle,

Praying them not to ſuffer ſo great a ſhame, as to let the Enemy go away without being reveng'd of them, who were a people contaminated with all ſorts of wickedneſs, hateful to God and man, that therefore they ſhould haſten to an aſſured prey and victory which was prepared for them. That they ſhould not any whit fear that Enemy whom they ſaw grown ſo weak, and already reduced to the utmoſt extremity: That they ſhould remember what they had by Oath promiſed to the Commiſſary Loredano *but a little before touching their Loyalty and Courage; and then that they fought for a Common-wealth, where, as in a ſafe place of refuge, valiant and honeſt men had always been largely rewarded; nay that they were to fight for the Liberty, and Glory of all* Italy; *that therefore it was expected from that Army, wherein were none but Italians, that they ſhould ſhew how excellent*

cellent that Nation was for Military Knowledg, and true Valour.

This mean while the Enemies Army having marched two miles, was come to the ſame place *della Motta*, from whence we told you it was gone but a little before, having our Horſe ſtill in their Rear, who continually held them play, and did much moleſt them. Then *Cardona*, finding that he was followed by our whole Army, ſeeing no other way of ſafety, incouraged by diſpair, reſolved to hazard all upon the event of Battle: Whereof the ſign being given to the Souldiers, he made them all halt, and turning his laſt Squadron upon our men, made thereof the Front of his Army; wherein were the Dutch Foot, who were commanded by *Proſpero Colonna*. Theſe men couching their Pikes, did ſtoutly ſtand the Aſſault made by our Horſe, who had firſt begun the Skirmiſh, whom a great Band of the Enemies Horſe coming from two parts did furiouſly charge, ſeeking to cut off our men in the midſt, and though they were repulſed at the firſt Encounter, yet the Enemy continuing to preſs violently upon us, and being much the ſtronger, they forc'd us to retreat: Which when *Alviano* ſaw, he haſtened his March, to bring timely ſuccour to his men; wherein he was the more diligent, becauſe he feared leſt that part of the Horſe being made to run, all the reſt of the Army might thereby be put in diſorder. Thus the two Armies joyning ſuddenly together, a terrible Battle began. *Alviano* being formeſt in all dangers, endeavour'd both by words and actions to infuſe Courage into his men, nor was *Colonna* wanting this mean while in exhorting the Dutch Foot not to forego their ancient Worth, telling them often that therein only did all their hopes of ſafety lye: and truly they fought couragiouſly; but notwithſtanding *Alviano* had given them ſo fierce an aſſault at firſt, as they could not poſſibly long ſuſtain it; ſo as in this firſt Encounter the Battle began already to favour the Venetians; which being ſeen from above by thoſe Country people who were placed upon the Mountains, they in hopes of Prey, ran down into the Plain, and mixed with the Souldiers: But *Cardona* coming in preſently after to the aid of his men, who was ſomewhat advanced with the main body, wherein the Spaniſh Foot led the Van, thoſe Countrey people who were come to pillage, not to fight, being affrighted to ſee ſo many Enemies, began to cry out they were overcome, and at the ſame time turn'd their backs; at which noiſe, and by their ſudden running away, the Venetian Souldiers began to ſlacken their former violence, and to give over the Battle. Wherefore the Enemy ſtill advancing, our mens Out-cries, Tumult, and Fear began to increaſe throughout the whole Army. At firſt *Alviano*, nothing at all aſtoniſhed at ſo ſtrange an accident, provided for all things; he ſtay'd his affrighted men, re-order'd them, call'd every one of them by their names, encouraged them, excited them to ſhew their worth, in fine, left nothing unattempted: But the Souldiers were ſo poſſeſt with ſudden fear, as all that their Commanders could ſay or pray, was in vain; they could not be made to ſtay neither by ſhame nor by command. There was not any one of them that remembered their former worths, nor hopes. Thus in a moment the fortune of War

War did ſo alter, as nothing was to be ſeen in our City (which but a little before was as good as Conquerours) but fear, flight, and death. The Souldiers being routed, and made to run, fled towards *Vicenza*, believing that they might there ſave themſelves. But thoſe who were upon the Guard, fearing leſt in ſuch a confuſion, the Enemy might together with our men enter the City, clapp'd to the Gates, and kept both Friends and Foes out. So as the Venetian Souldiers, not being in a condition of re-ordering themſelves, nor expecting any ſuccour from elſewhere, were almoſt all of them ſhamefully cut in pieces before the City Walls, ſuffering themſelves to be ſlain, without any revenge. Many of them alſo who fled another way towards the River *Rerone*, finding the Bridges broken, and not able to overcome the violence of the River, were therein drowned. But *Baglione*, who as we told you, was paſt forwards by another lower way, whilſt he haſted to aſſault the Enemy, being intricated, and hindered by the Bogs of the neighbouring Vally, could neither then, according to *Alviano*'s directions, aſſault the main body of the Enemies, nor after our mens Rout, get himſelf into any place of ſafety: Wherefore being inviron'd on all ſides by the Enemy, he together with many of his Horſe, fell into their Power. But thoſe who eſcaped ſo many dangers, by taking another way, got into *Padua*, and *Trevigi*, amongſt which were *Alviano*, and *Gritti*, who being gone to *Vicenza* a little before, to raiſe men, was not preſent at the Battle. Of Commanders there dyed, *Sactamoro Viſconte*, *Hermes Bentivoglio*, *Coſtanzo Pio*, *Franciſco Saſſatello*, *Alfonſo da Parma*, and *Meleagro da Forli*; who amongſt others had won very great Praiſe; for thruſting himſelf into the thickeſt ranks of the Enemies, and killing many of them, he himſelf was at laſt ſlain. Many alſo were taken Priſoners, either in the Battle, or as they ran away, among which, of the better ſort & who had any command in the Army, were *Giovan Paolo Baglione*, *Malateſta Malateſta*, *Ottone Viſconte*, *Batiſta Savella*, *Pamfilo Bentivoglio*, and *Alleſſandro Fregoſo*. But Commiſſary *Loredano* who whilſt he endeavour'd to ſtop the Fugitives, had forſlowed his departure, was wounded, and fell into the Power of the Enemy, and met with an end far unworthy ſuch a man; for two Dutch Souldiers ſtriving which of their Priſoner he ſhould be, the one of them by ſlaying him, ended the contention. By this days Battle it may be known what various and unexpected chances are occaſioned by Fortune in War, and what ſtrange turns ariſe out of ſlight accidents. Thoſe whoſe hopes lay firſt more in their flight, then in their fighting, being of conquered become Conquerours, purſued their routed Enemies with great cheerfulneſs, and courage; and thoſe who before the Conflict built upon aſſured Victory, being beaten, overcome, put to flight, and having loſt all hope, found no relief to their miſerable condition. The nearneſs of *Vicenza* was thought to be the chief occaſion of this our Armies ſo great calamity, and of ſo ſtrange a variation; for our Souldiers believing that they ſhould there receive ſure refuge, as ſoon as diſorder aroſe in our firſt ranks, the reſt giving over the Battle, placed all their hopes in their heels. On the contrary part, the Enemies being invironed on eve-

ry side in an Enemies Countrey, were forced to defend themselves, and boldly to encounter all danger. The place was likewise thought to be very much prejudicial to our men; for the Plain being on that part very narrow by the Neighbour-hood of the Vally, our men could not be all of them put in good Order, nor could they make use of all their Forces; for that part of the Army which was, as hath been said, divided together with *Baglione* from the rest, was not of any help, when the Battle began to retreat. *Alviano* was greatly blamed by all men for these things; for that un-inforced by any necessity, he would forsake the very strong situation which he had first chosen to quarter in, and put himself upon the hazard of a Battle, when he might more safely have overcome the Enemy by Counsel then by the Sword. It is most certain that the importunate sollicitousness of the Venetian Commissary, and the immature Counsel of the Commander in chief, made amends for the Enemies unadvisedness, insomuch as *Cardona* who was the Authour of their inconsiderate departure, won Honour, and advantage, insteed of the shame and prejudice which he was threatened with. As soon as this unfortunate News came to *Venice*, the Senators were greatly afflicted, seeing the condition of their Affairs so strangely alter'd in a moment: The blow was the greater, for that by reason of the Generals and of the Commissaries Letters, they had all of them conceived hopes of an undoubted Victory; for they had inform'd the Senate but a little before, that the Enemies Army was by them besieged, and already reduced to such a necessity, as they had no means left, neither of running away, nor of trying their Fortune by Battle; so as the Victory was in a short time to be assuredly theirs, without loss of blood. Yet the Senators were not hereat so much troubled, as to make them do any thing mis-becoming the Magnanimity, and Dignity of that Order, which may be witnessed by this, that the very same day wherein they received this unfortunate News, the Senate with a joynt consent resolved to write thus to *Alviano*.

That they could not deny but that they were somewhat troubled at this so strange an accident, yet were they not thereat affrighted nor cast down; for this adversity should rather awaken them to more diligence, then any whit detract from the constancy of their minds; therefore they desired him to be of good Courage, and not to yield to Fortune; for the News of his safety in whose Valour they had always very much confided, was of great comfort unto them all, amidst this their sore Loss; and that if he would still continue his ancient stoutness of mind, they hoped they might yet be able to stop the Course of their adverse Fortune, to asswage the severity thereof, and perhaps at last to get the better of their Enemies, who were now Conquerours. That therefore he should attend the defence of Padua *and* Trevigi, *that he should imploy all his diligence, thoughts, and pains therein; that the Senate would be ready to furnish him with Souldiers, Arms, Victuals, Monies, and of all things that was else needful.*

After having written this Letter, the Senators betook themselves carefully to advise of, and provide for all things that were requisite.

Prince

Prince *Loredano*, who was their Duke, ſpeaking gravely in the Senate, *exhorted them all to lend what help they could with all poſſible ſpeed to the afflicted Common-wealth, that they were not at this time to expect help from any but themſelves; that therefore in this ſo great neceſſity the Country muſt have recourſe to their own Citizens; that every one ſhould endeavour to raiſe her up again, and to lend her their help and advice in what they were beſt able. As for himſelf he would not forbear to do any things which might be ſerviceable to his Country; to which purpoſe he had already reſolved to ſend his two Sons*, Luigi, *and* Bernardo *preſently away, the one to* Padua, *the other to* Trevigi, *and by readily expoſing them to all events to dedicate them to his Country.*

Theſe words ſpoken by the Duke, were of great efficacy, but the example greater, by which many other young Gentlemen, the chiefeſt of the City, who were of great worth and expectation, went to the Cuſtody of thoſe Cities: Moreover many of the common ſort of the City were liſted, and many of the Arſenal, together with many Gally-ſlaves, and Mariners commanded (for at this time many Gallies were luckily come to the City) to go ſuddenly to *Trevigi*; to the taking of which City, the Enemy after their Victory, prepared to go. But *Proſpero Colonna*, by his Counſel and Authority put off the execution thereof for a while.

Therefore having put off the Enterprize for many days by propounding ſeveral difficulties, at laſt he wrought it ſo, as before any reſolution ſhould be put on, the whole buſineſs ſhould be referr'd to that Biſhop *Gurghenſe*; alledging, that nothing could be done more to the prejudice of that Armies Reputation, then to undertake any thing that might prove vain, as the buſineſs of *Padua* had done, but a little before. Thus *Cardona* and *Proſpero* agreed to go to *Verona*, leaving the Army at *Vicenza*; where having ſpent ſome 20 days, *Cardona* agreed with *Maximillian Sforza* to take his pay as General of all his men; and ſo quitted the Service of the Spaniards. To make amends for which the Vice-roy made ſome Conductors of *Gens d' Armes* come with their Companies from *Bergamo* and *Breſcia*, ſaying, that as ſoon as they ſhould be arrived, he would go to the taking in of *Trevigi*, if *Gritti*, the *Cavalliere della Volpe*, *Ugo de Popoli*, *Giovan Paolo Manfrone*, and other Commanders of great eſteem, had the Cuſtody of this City; and at this time when the City was not moleſted by the Enemy, it was ſufficiently garriſon'd and victuall'd: So as *Cardona* being advertiſed thereof, and the Winter coming on, an unfit Seaſon to fall upon ſuch a buſineſs, he went with all his Army into the Territories of *Padua*, and quarter'd his men in *Eſte*, *Montagnana*, and *Monceleſe*.

Thus only through the advantage of the Seaſon, which forced the Enemy to lay down their Arms, the Calamities of War which the State of *Venice* was likely to have undergone, did for this year ceaſe, and Affairs were brought to ſome ſhort condition of quiet.

This likewiſe was the only remedy for the many afflictions and adverſities of *France*; for the King of *England* who had taken *Terwin* and *Tornai*, two great Cities, and who had ſlighted the Walls of the former, and put a ſtrong Garriſon into the other, reſolved

to return with all his men to his own Kingdom, to the end that his Army might be refreſhed with commodious Winter Quarters. Thus the War was not ended, but deferr'd till another Seaſon, and ſo many remainders and ſeeds of Diſcord continued ſtill in all parts, as it was clearly ſeen, that Arms muſt quickly be re-aſſumed with greater Violence.

The End of the firſt Book.

THE

THE HISTORY OF VENICE,

Written by PAULO PARUTA.

BOOK II.

THE CONTENTS.

SElino *having poſſeſs'd himſelf of the Ottoman Empire, during the life of his Father* Bajazet, *renews the Peace with the Venetians. He ſuppreſseth the boldneſs of his Brother* Achamet *by death. He begins to plot the deſtruction of* Italy, *and of the Venetians. The Plots of* Amurath, *Son to* Achomate, *are hindered. Pope* Leo, *having many things in conſideration, cannot accord the Chriſtian Princes.* Marano *is loſt by the means of* Frangipane, *a Rebel to the Commonwealth; neither can it be re gotten. He ſacks* Straſoldo *and* Monfalcone. Vicenza *is ſack'd by* Riſano's *means.* Calepino *not long after is routed, and taken Priſoner.* Udine, *not making any reſiſtance, ſurrenders it ſelf to the Dutch. The Fort* Oſofo *cannot be taken by the Enemy.*

Crema *is defended by* Renzo Ceri. Baglione *is taken Priſoner by the Enemy. He is changed for* Caravagiale, *a Spaniſh Priſoner. A miſerable fire in the* Rialto *of* Venice. Alviano *by order from the Senate goes to take in* Friulye. *He ſacks* Porto Gruaro. Savorgnano's *Victory.* Frangipane *is taken Priſoner.* Gurghenſe *diſturbs the Treaties referr'd by the Senate to the Pope, concerning the differences with the Emperour. The King of* England *finds faults with the Senates Counſels. They are juſtified by the Lieger Embaſſadour.* Renzo *frees* Crema *from being beſieged.* Eſte *is taken by night by* Sculado, *by* Alviano; *and is plundered. The Spaniards cut to pieces.* Alviano *his Victory at* Rovigo. Bergamo *returns into the Spaniards hands. The Vice-roy of* Naples *is laught at for* Alviano's *retreat to* Padua. Selino's *Victories in* Aſia *makes the Pope treat again with the Venetians of Peace, but in vain; who whilſt they make cloſer Friendſhip with the French, King* Lewis *dyes.*

AT the ſame time that theſe things hapned in *Europe*; in *Aſia Selino*, during the life of his Father *Bajazet*, poſſeſſed himſelf of the Ottoman Empire, having overcome his brother *Achomate* in ſeveral Battles, who pretended likewiſe to the ſucceſſion of the Empire; but though he had got the Victory by much Gallantry in War, he was therein ſo very ſevere, as he gave clear and evident ſigns not only of wonderful Magnanimity of mind, but alſo of great cruelty. Therefore all Chriſtendome was much afraid, that as ſoon as *Selino* ſhould be rid of civil Wars, he would turn himſelf againſt the Chriſtian Kings, and be the cauſe of much miſchief. Which miſchiefs though they were fore-ſeen by all men, yet not any one appear'd to provide for the common ſafety. Wherefore the Venetians, though the greatneſs of the Ottoman Empire did more moleſt them then others, yet ſuffering under many adverſe Fortunes, and weakened by many Wars, and knowing that they could neither extinguiſh nor leſſen his Power, they thought it their beſt courſe to keep him their Friend, and to accommodate themſelves to the times. Therefore *Antonio Giuſtiniano* was choſen to be ſent Embaſſadour to *Selino*, who was in name of the Common-wealth to congratulate his acceſſion to the Empire, and alſo to ratifie their ancient Friendſhip with the Ottoman Houſe, and to eſtabliſh Peace. The Venetian Embaſſadour was received with great Honour and alacrity by *Selino* in the City of *Andrinopoli*, where he and his Army winter'd. *Selino* knew he could no ways better ſecure his Dominions in *Europe*, then by Peace, at this time, when he was to paſs armed into *Aſia*, to oppoſe his brother *Achomate*, and by ſuppreſſing him to end the War. *Achomate* was fled to *Armenia* the Leſs; where bewailing his Fortune, and deſiring aid of the Neighbouring Kings, he had got together a good number of men, being aſſiſted, and ſuccour'd by many, and eſpecially by *Hyſmae Soſi*, King of *Perſia*, who had ſent many Troops of Perſian Horſe into *Achomates* Camp; by which Forces being enheartned, he had already taken many Towns in *Capadocia*, and haſtned to aſſault *Selino*, who was not yet very well provided to reſiſt him. Therefore *Selino* finding that offer'd him, which he did ſo much deſire, he willingly embraced the Venetians Friendſhip, promiſing to keep it always inviolably.

Thus the Peace was renewed, and eſtabliſhed, almoſt upon the ſame terms that formerly it was made with Bajaſet. *Herein regard was had to contract ſuch an Amity, and good Intelligence on both ſides, as not only the States of both Princes ſhould be free and ſecure from War to be made by either of them againſt the other, but that the Venetian and Turkiſh Subjects (who did traffique much at that time in eithers Juriſdiction) might have free and ſafe Commerce; and alſo that ſafe Harbour might be permitted to the ſhips of both parties in all their Countries; and that their Navigation by Sea ſhould not be hindered.*

The Venetians reape much advantage by the frequency of Merchants, who do bring in, and export great ſtore of Merchandize into *Venice*, where, for this their Intereſt, they procure that people of all Nations may inhabit ſafely there, and exerciſe Commerce.

Giuſtini-

Giuſtiniano having agreed thus upon all things, he return'd for *Venice*. And *Selino* ſent his Embaſſador *Alembei* along with him, to the end that what had been concluded by the Embaſſadour might be confirm'd by the word of the Prince. He alſo gave credential Letters to *Alembei* to preſent unto the Senate, wherein highly magnifying his own Power (according to the uſance of that Nation) he exhorted the Venetians to keep Friendſhip with him, which he promiſed ſhould on his ſide remain firm, and inviolabl for ever. The Turkiſh Embaſſadour being come into the Senate Houſe, Duke *Loredano* did before him, in his own Name, and in the Name of the whole Common-wealth, ſwear to obſerve whatſoever *Giuſtiniano* had concluded and agreed upon. *Selino* free from fear of any War in *Europe*, ſince he had made Peace with the Venetians, and renewed League with the Kings of *Poland* and *Hungary*, having ſpeedily muſter'd as many Horſe and Foot as he could, march'd towards *Amaſia* to ſuppreſs *Achomate* before he grew too ſtrong. Fortune favour'd his Deſigns, for *Achomate* whilſt he made too much haſte, and raſhly put himſelf upon the event of Battle with but half his men, was routed in fight, his Army made to run, and he himſelf by *Selilino's* Commandment was ſlain. After whoſe death, all *Aſia* the leſs fell without any diſpute into *Selino's* hands; who grew ſo proud by this good ſucceſs, as he began to promiſe unto himſelf already the Government of the whole world. And having ended all civil Diſſentions by the death of almoſt all his kindred of the Ottoman Family, and being become ſole lord of all the ſtrength, and riches of that Empire, he thought he ſhould meet with leſs difficulty in all other things. His mind was chiefly ſet upon *Italy*, thinking he might eaſily ſubjugate it, ſince it was very weak and much waſted by long Wars. He was hereunto likewiſe ſollicited by *Maximillian* the Emperour, who for many years paſt, had left nothing untry'd whereby to plot the Venetians ruine. He ſhew'd him how opportune a time it was to make this War, ſince *Selino* might aſſault the Venetians in their Maritime parts, whilſt he himſelf moleſted them by Land, and kept their Forces buſied elſewhere. But it does not appear with what Preparations of War, or againſt what State more particularly the Turks deſigned this Enterpriſe. It is moſt certain that *Maximillian* had ſent his Embaſſadours to this purpoſe to *Conſtantinople*, and that his Embaſſage being heard, many Mariners were liſted, old Gallies were new calked, and new ones built, and Order was taken for all things belonging to a great Maritime War. Theſe things were done in the Winter; but the next Spring News came to *Conſtantinople* that *Amurate*, ſon to the late *Achomate*, who was not preſent at the Battle unfortunately fought by his Father, and who was the only Surviver of *Bajazets* Race, being fled into *Perſia*, was unexpectedly entred *Capadocia* with many Horſe and Foot, laying the Country waſte, and had what by Force, what by fear reduced many Towns of that Province into his Power. At which *Selino* was the more troubled, becauſe he knew the *Sophy*, King of *Perſia*, was the chief occaſion of this, and of the other troubles which he had formerly received from his brother *Achomate*, whoſe Fame being very great

great both for extent of Empire, and Glory of War, *Selino* though his own Dignity reproached, and leſſened, if he ſhould any longer ſuffer ſuch Injuries to go unreveng'd. Wherefore quitting all other thoughts, he reſolved to go for *Aſia* with all thoſe men and that Preparation for War, which he had formerly intended for *Europe*: Which, as is confeſs'd by all, fell out very happily, for the Princes of Chriſtendome; ſince juſt then when the War was hotteſt amongſt them, this powerful Prince, whoſe Enmity threatned great danger to their States, was inforced to forbear thoſe his deſigns, being buſied in other War. By reaſon of theſe *Selino*'s Proſperities, and for the immoderate deſire of rule which was ſeen to be in him, Pope *Leo* began to be not a little troubled, he thought it became him and his place, to imploy all his power and diligence, to keep theſe potent and formidable Barbarians from growing more powerful, who were already ſo much increaſed both in all things belonging to the War, and in the extent of Empire, through the diſcords of our Princes, having poſſeſs'd themſelves of many Chriſtian Kingdomes, almoſt without any gain-ſaying. The Cardinals upon this occaſion putting the Pope frequently in mind in the Conſiſtory of his duty, and of the imminent dangers, were reſolved to make him re-aſſume the Treaty of Peace, nor to be quiet till he had effected it; to the end that Peace being had amongſt the Chriſtian Princes, they might all of them with all their joynt Forces bend themſelves againſt *Selino* the common Enemy. They ſhewed plainly that nothing appertained more to his charge and degree then this, or which at leaſt might be of greater glory to him: But the Pope, though hee were of the ſame mind, yet being troubled and perplexed he be-thought himſelf of many things; for as this Counſel, if it ſhould take good ſucceſs, promiſed aſſured Praiſe, ſo divers conſiderations of Peace and War, and much difficulty which appeared to be in the whole buſineſs, made him afraid and with-held him from the Enterprize; for to put an end to ſo many Wars was of it ſelf thought to be a very difficult Affair, but more difficult to find out ſuch a compoſure, as *Leo* thought might prove good for him, and advantagious for the Affairs of the Church; for he could have deſired that the French might neither have been kept ſo low, nor yet have been ſo exalted: If no remedy were to be found againſt ſuch great Preparations of War as were preparing againſt them, it was to be feared that the Affairs of *France* might grow to ſo low an ebbe, as they could no longer give a juſt Counterpoiſe to the Dutch and Spaniſh Forces; ſo as they being become Maſters of all, they might at laſt put Fetters upon whole *Italy*; but on the contrary, if the Enemies Forces being weakned, and divided by his Counſels, *France* ſhould be freed from ſo heavy a War, he knew he had not ſufficiently provided for his own ſafety, nor for the Liberty of *Italy*; for nothing was more ſure then that King *Lewis* being an Enemy to peace and quiet, would never give over his ancient and natural deſire of War: But that being freed from the fear of the Engliſh Forces, and having put his own Affairs into a ſure condition, he would ſoon turn both his thoughts, and his Forces upon *Italy*, for the recovery of the ſtate of *Millan*: which

which might be evidently ſeen, ſince that though he found himſelf beſet by many difficulties, yet he had always refuſed all conditions of Peace, which might make him quit his pretentions to the State of *Millan*.

The Venetian Affairs were almoſt upon the ſame conditions the which the Pope thought could not be reduced to ſuch terms, but that they muſt bring great difficulties along with them; for he deſired that the Dignity of that Common-wealth might not be much diminiſhed, nor yet her Forces much increaſed. He knew that it imported much for the Honour of all *Italy*, that the Venetian Common-wealth ſhould remain whole and intire; that to this end Pope *Julio* had endeavoured the re-raiſing of her much abaſed condition, and that following for the ſame reaſons the laſt, and wiſely taken Counſels of his Predeceſſour, he had labour'd much to put the Venetians into a peaceable condition. But on the other ſide, calling to mind their ancient greatneſs, he thought that if Fortune ſhould ſmile on them again, they would become no leſs formidable then the other Potentates. Thus whilſt he waver'd in his Reſolves, ſometimes hoping, ſometimes fearing, his proceedings were different and contrary; ſometimes he ſhew'd himſelf to be but ill ſatisfied with the Venetians and to be no good Friend of theirs, other times he would appear well diſpoſed towards them. Whilſt the Pope was thus doubtfully minded, the War continued ſtill in the ſame heat, the ſharpneſs of the Winter not having any whit hindred it; for *Proſpero Colonna* being paſt with the Millaneſes to *Crema* was joyn'd with the Spaniards; ſo as that City was the ſorelier beſieged. The Paduan Territories, wherein the Vice-roy had taken up his Quarters, were vexed with continual Inroads; and the War grew ſharper in *Friuli*, that Country having been ſome years before mightily terrified; for not having any City or Cittadel in it ſtrong either by art or ſcituation, nor able to hold an Enemy play long, the Inhabitants were forced to follow his Fortune whoſoever was Maſter of the Field. But the Emperour, nor the Venetians having neither of them any ſtrong Army in that Country, the unfortunate Inhabitants were by the various ſucceſs of War, continually vexed with Pillage, and Taxes: So as for a long time it had undergone much Calamity, and they who were moſt affectionate to the Venetians, were by their Enemies worſt uſed. Amongſt the reſt *Chriſtofolo*, Son to *Barnardino Frangipane* gave a noteable Example of Cruelty; for after having burnt a certain Town in the Territories of *Marano*, he commanded that all the Inhabitants ſhould have both their eyes put out, and that their right thumbs ſhould be cut off, becauſe they adhered to the Venetians, and had hindred him from Victuals. *Bernardino Frangipane* was a little before this turn'd Rebel to the Common-wealth, and had ſided with *Ceſar*, and much vex'd that whole Country. He often ſolicited the Dutch Commanders, that drawing ſome Country people out of the next Towns of *Carnia* and *Carinthia*, they ſhould miſchief the Territories, and Subjects of the Common-wealth: So as theſe people entring into *Friuli*, not as Souldiers, nor after the manner of War, but as Theeves and Murtherers, they deſtroy'd the Coun-

try by plunder and fire, and robb'd the Citizens of all that they had. By which Injuries when the Venetians were at laſt conſtrain'd to ſend better ſuccours into that Country, to keep their Affairs from falling into farther ruine, the Enemies who had no warlike Tackling, and who were come, as hath been ſaid, rather to pillage then to fight; being loaded with Booty, when they heard of our mens coming, haſted homewards. But hardly was this Country reduced to quiet, when our men being to go elſewhere to oppoſe other deſigns of the Enemies, who aſſaulted the State of the Common-wealth, not in one part only but in many at one and the ſame time, either the ſame men who were but a little before gone from thence, or others of the ſame ſort, drawn by a deſire of prey, return'd with great fury to aſſault the Territories of *Friuli*, inſomuch as they left not any thing at all to thoſe unfortunate Inhabitants. The Enemies being at this time grown very powerful, ſo as keeping in that Country, they kept ſome Towns which they had gotten by fraud, longer then they had uſed to do, the Senate thought it fit for their ſafety and reputation, to turn their Forces into thoſe parts, to the end that the Enemy might not grow more bold to their prejudice, and that thoſe people might not totally forego their love and eſteem of the Common-wealth. A little before this *Frangipane* had by fraud poſſeſs'd himſelf of the Fort *Marano*, having to this purpoſe made uſe of a wicked perfidious Prieſt, *Bartholomeo*, who being familiarly acquainted with *Aleſſandro Marcello*, Commiſſary of *Marano*, prevailed with him that one morning before day a gate of the Town ſhould be opened under pretence of going out early to hunt, by which means *Frangipane*, (having formerly agreed thereupon with the Prieſt) poſſeſs'd himſelf of the gate, before which he was unexpectedly come with ſome Dutch Foot Companies, and a Troop of Horſe, wherewith he entred the Town. For which wickedneſs the Traytor was juſtly puniſhed; for being taken Priſoner by *Nicola Piſaro*, *Podeſta* of —— *Porto Gruaro*, he was ſent to *Venice*, where he was hung up by one foot, and ſtoned to death by the common people.

This Town, as it was very convenient for the Venetians, by reaſon of the ſituation thereof, being placed in the innermoſt part of the Gulph, and waſh'd by ſalt water on the one ſide, ſo it being at one and the ſame time to be aſſaulted both by Sea and Land, it promiſed ſpeedy and good ſucceſs to any one that ſhould fall upon it. Wherefore the Venetians reſolved to make the taking thereof their firſt buſineſs; to the end that if they ſhould find eaſie ſucceſs therein, they might go to the recovery of *Goritia*, which being taken by the like fraud by *Frangipane*, held for the Emperour. *Baldiſſera Scipione*, one of *Luca*, went by order from the Senate to this Enterprize of *Marano*, together with four other Conductors of *Gens d' Armes*, each of which commanded 50 Horſe men; beſides all the light Horſe, in number 500 under the Conduct of *Ulatico Coſazza*, and of *Nicolo da Peſaro*, who were likewiſe to be accompanied by *Barnardino da Parma*, with 400 Foot. To theſe Forces were added about 2090 Country people, whom *Gierolamo Savorgnano* (who was at this time of great Authority with the people, and not leſs affectionate

fectionate to his Common-wealth) had gathered up from all the parts thereabout. *Scipione* commanded the whole Army, who had the charge of all that was done by Land; but *Bartholomeo da Moſto* had the charge of the Maritime Affairs, who was then *Savio di Terra firma*, a man famous for his experience by Sea; he was followed by order from the Senate, by the *Podeſta's* of *Murano*, *Torcello*, *Chiozzia*, and by thoſe of *Caurle* and *Pirano*, and of other Towns of *Iſtria*, who were all commanded to rig out as many Barks as they could for this Enterprize; who being all met at the time appointed, the whole Fleet paſt into the Waſhes of *Marano*, where when they were come, our men ſent Heralds to the Citizens, and Dutch Souldiers of the Garriſon, to demand reſtitution of that Town in the name of the Common-wealth; exhorting them not to force them to uſe violence, but rather that they ſhould lay aſide all hopes and thoughts of being able to defend themſelves. But diſcovering thoughts much of another nature in the Defendants, who returned injurious words, our men much incenſed, and being greatly deſirous to re-gain the Town, they reſolved not to ſtay for the Arrival of ſome Gallies which were to come up unto them, but to advance, and aſſault the Walls. But as ſoon as our armed Barks began to be divided, and diſordered by their Cannon ſhot, and many that were therein ſlain, the Marriners and Gally-ſlaves who being unexperienced in War, and not acquainted with danger, had earneſtly deſired to be led on to the Aſſault, were ſtrangely terrified, and falling to their Oares every one as faſt as they might, they endeavoured to carry the Barks out of the reach of the Artillery, being more indamaged in their flight by the fear and confuſion which they were in. Our men being thus taught their danger by experience, durſt make no farther Attempts till more aid was come up unto them; but four leſſer Gallies being afterwards come up unto the Fleet, whereby they were made the ſtronger, and the better incouraged, they reſolved to aſſault the Town again. The Walls were lower, and the Towers much batter'd by the Artillery on the ſide which was towards the Haven, wherefore our men thought they might land the eaſilier on that ſide; and to the end that the Enemy being kept buſied in divers parts, might be the leſs able to reſiſt, they thought their Enterprize might prove the more ſucceſsful, ſince the Town was ſet upon at the ſame time by the Fleet by Sea, and by *Scipione* and *Savaragnano* by Land. The buſineſs began now to have good ſucceſs, when thoſe Land-men that were with *Scipione*, and ſome others that were got out of the Gallies, and had landed ſome Artillery, were kept from coming nearer the Walls, by a great deluge of water which fell from the Skies, which fill'd all the Plain and Marriſh Grounds which were round about the Town. The Defendants being therefore ſafe on that ſide, ran all to the other ſide where they were aſſaulted by the Fleet, and repuls'd our men, who began already to ſcale the Walls. At the ſame time that theſe things were a doing, the Souldiers which were ſent by *Scipione* to poſſeſs themſelves of the Paſſes, and to keep the beſieged from being relieved by any ſuccours which might come from *Goritia*, which is not above 20 miles from thence, ſent *Savaragnano*

ragnano word, that *Frangipane* was drawing near with a great many men; so as if they had not more help sent speedily to them, they should be forced to quit those places, not being able with a few men long to resist a far greater number. *Savoragnano* hearing this, and dispairing now to take the Town by Assault, marched suddenly with his men thitherward; and was hardly advanc'd one mile when he met those very men, who had but a little before sent to him for succour; for being terrified at the fame and great opinion which was had of the Enemies Forces, they durst not tarry till they came: Wherefore joyning them with his own men, he went to find out the Horse, who were within their own quarters, in somwhat a higher place, not far from the rest of the Army, that they might be ready upon any occasion to wait upon the enemy, according as they should see them move. *Savorgnano* strove by entreaties, and all other means to perswade the Horse-men to come nearer *Marano*, and joyn with the rest of the Army, shewing them what had been done, and what was to be done; which as not concern'd any ways in point of shame, they refused to do: Some of them being frighted by what was commonly noised in the Camp touching the great Power of the Enemy, other mutinying for not receiving their pay in due time; so as many began to forsake their Colours, and dissolve their Companies. Wherefore *Savorgnano* fearing that the strongest part of the Army might be weakened, and that the Common-wealths Forces might be thereby diminished, endeavour'd to perswade the *Gens d' Armes* to retire towards *Udine*, into a place of safety, promising to go along with them, and to secure the way. In this Interim, *Frangipane*, meeting with no obstacle, advanced, and entred safe with all his men into the Town of *Marano*; and without any delay, taking along with him the Dutch Foot that were of the Garrison, he unexpectedly went out of the Town, and assaulted our men before they were aware of his being come; wherefore possest with fear, they began to run, thinking on nothing but how they might every one of them save themselves. The Enemy pursuing our affrighted and scatter'd men, some of which endeavoured to pass over the Washes, others to get unto the Fleet, cut them in pieces, and made themselves Masters of their Quarters, and of some pieces of Artillery: Moreover one of our Gallies, which was too late in putting forth, and could not get free by reason of the Ebbe, fell into the power of the Enemy. *Scipione* being struck on the head with a stone, recover'd the Fleet by swimming, though he were almost half dead. *Bobizza* was this day slain, a gallant man, and who in several Battles had given great Testimony of his Valour: Those who saved themselves by flight, got into *Udine*. In this so great fear and confusion, one of ours only, *Francisco Trono*, Captain of a Gally, wonne some praise; for being mindful of the Venetian Dignity, he with a few of his Souldiers, did valiantly with-stand the first Encounter of the Enemy, nor did he forsake his station, till all his men were either slain or sorely wounded. *Frangipane*, making use of his victorious Fortune, went forthwith to *Strasoldo*, and to *Monfalcone*, two Towns in *Friuli*, and finding little or no Garrisons in them, took them at his very first appearance,

pearance, and pitifully plundered them. At the ſame time, ſome other Dutch Foot Companies, fell unexpectedly upon the Territories of *Vicenza*, theſe being got together from the neighbouring parts of *Carnia* by the two Captains, *Riſano*, and *Calepino*, ſack'd many Towns of that Country, and even *Vicenza* it ſelf. Then dividing their Army, they went to plunder the neighbouring places; *Calepino* went towards *Feltre*, and on the ſudden poſſeſt himſelf thereof; but hardly was he three days Maſter of it, when he was driven out by *Giovan Bradolino*, who being ſent by Commiſſary *Girolino Peſaro* to relieve that City, did behave himſelf very valiantly; for having aſſembled a great number of Country people in the Vally of *Marino*, he paſt ſpeedily with them and with his light Horſe into thoſe parts, and forced the Enemy, who were affrighted at his unexpected coming, to abandon the City, and ſave themſelves by flight. But *Calepino* being driven out of *Feltre*, retired into the confines of *Baſſano*, intending to ſack that Town: whereof *Franciſco Duedo*, Major of that Town being advertiſed, he aſſembled together many of the Inhabitants of the neighbouring Towns, and calling *Bernardino Antignola* with his Troop of light Horſe into his aid, he went to meet the Enemy, who being by him aſſaulted at the Town of *Carpenedo*, amidſt the ſtrait paſſages of the Mountains, were routed, and diſpers'd. It made much for our men, that they were acquainted with the places, which made the Victory the greater and the more eaſie. Many of the Enemies were ſlain, and many taken Priſoners, amongſt which their chief Commander *Calepino*, very few came off ſafe. But *Riſano* who had taken his way towards *Goritia* with 800 Foot and 300 Horſe, meeting with *Frangipane* by the way, who was come from thence, he joyn'd his Forces to his, which amounting in all to about 5000 Foot, and 1000 Horſe, they joyntly reſolved to go to the taking in of *Udine*. When this News came to *Venice*, *Malateſta* and *Giovan Gitturi* were ſpeedily ſent towards *Udine*; the one as Commiſſary General of the Militia of *Friuli*, the other Commiſſary of the Camp; theſe when they came to *Udine*, where they found *Girolamo Sourgano*, began to conſult with him, and with the Governours of the City, how they were to govern the War. Many things were variouſly propounded: Some were of opinion that they ſhould chiefly endeavour the ſafety and defence of *Udine*, others were of another opinion, that they ſhould quit the City, and remove with their Army into ſome ſafer place: Thoſe that were thus minded, pleaded that they underſtood by the Spies, that *Frangipane* was marching thitherward with his men, and that he would ſuddenly ſit down before the City, the defence whereof would be very doubtful and difficult for many reaſons: Their ſmall number of Souldiers, no train of Artillery at all, and generally a want of all things neceſſary for War; and notwithſtanding the City was very large, begirt but with a very weak Wall, which would require many valiant men to defend it. But many good reaſons being alledged to the contrary, they were doubtful what to reſolve upon: Their hopes were ſomewhat bettered, when they conſidered that the Enemies Army conſiſted altogether of Country people, unexperienced

perienced in War, that their Commanders had neither experience nor reputation, that they had but few Guns, and that they had not men enough to beſiege the City. At laſt, after mature advice, they all agreed, that they would defend the City, provided that the Citizens ſhould promiſe they would take up Arms, as well as the Souldiers, and do all the duties of the Militia; for beſides the Horſe and ſome few Country people there was but 400 Foot in the City, which were no ways ſufficient to guard the Walls, and ſuſtain the Aſſault of the Enemy. *Savoragnano* was therefore enjoyn'd to try how the Citizens ſtood affected, and what might be expected from them. He therefore calling before him many of the beſt and valianteſt men of the City;

He exhorted them to take up Arms for the ſafety of their Country, and Honour of the Common-wealth, and that being moved by the deſire of praiſe, and by their own danger, they would ſtrive to keep the cruel Enemy far from their own homes. He ſhew'd them what they were to do for their own defence, and how an idle fear of the Enemy might turn to their real ruine; that if things were rightly caſt up, they needed nothing but Courage, and a ſtout reſolution to defend themſelves; that if they would ſhew themſelves willing to do this, though but for a ſhort while, making at leaſt but an appearance to fight, and to ſtand the Aſſault, the Enemy who had undertaken this buſineſs, not out of any deſire of Glory, but out of Booty, confiding more in the ſmall numbers of our Souldiers then in their own Worth, would doubtleſſy ſoon quit the Enterprize: So as within a few days they might free their City from the great danger it was in: what could they hope for of any truth from the Enemy? And how bitter uſe were they accuſtomed to make of their Victories, was known ſufficiently by woful experience to that whole Country; that if they ſhould reſolve to ſubmit themſelves to the will of the Enemy without making any reſiſtance, they could not notwithſtanding have any hopes of ſaving the City, for it was almoſt impoſſible to keep the Dutch Souldiers from committing Inſolencies, who were uſually greedy of Booty, but now almoſt neceſſitated thereunto for want of pay: So as they were to expect nothing but plunder.

Thus did *Savoragnano* endeavour to encourage the Citizens, partly out of a deſire of praiſe, partly out of fear of having their City ſack'd. But they differ'd in their opinions: Some of them moved by *Savorgnano*'s Authority, promiſed willingneſs to be aſſiſtant in all things, and to obey the Commanders will; others though they ſeemed to be of the ſame mind, yet laying the fault upon others, ſaid that all they could do would be to no purpoſe; for that they were more then jealous that the Souldiers of the Garriſon would betray them, ſince ſome of them had ſaid publiquely, that if the Enemy ſhould draw any nearer, they would quit the City: Moreover they excuſed themſelves as being unacquainted with what belong'd to War, ſo as let them do what they could they ſhould do no good, nor could they long undergo Military Duties. Thoſe who at the beginning ſeemed to be ſomewhat moved by *Savorgnano*'s Speeches beginning now to be irreſolute and fearful, the Commanders upon freſh debate reſolved not raſhly to expoſe all the Chivalry that was in the City to danger: Thus both Horſe and Foot went out of the City,

City, and marched towards the *Liuenza* that they might paſs over it, and get into ſome ſafe place; fearing leſt the Enemy might prevent them, and hinder their paſſage: and *Savorgnano* went to *Oſofo*, a Caſtle in his Juriſdiction, to put a Garriſon into it, to defend it, when the Enemy ſhould be farther advanced. Thus *Udine* being quite bereſt of all defence, yielded quickly to the Dutch, upon condition that the Citizens lives and goods ſhould be preſerved, and upon payment of a thouſand Duckets to the Army, to keep the City from being ſack'd. *Cividale*, *Porto Gruaro*, and other Towns, compounded with the Enemies upon like terms; and the Enemy not finding wherewith to feed their Army any longer in that Region, which they had wholly over-run and pillaged, went towards *Trevigi*, to joyn with the Spaniſh Foot, who winter'd in the Territories of *Vicenza* and *Padua*; that ſo being become ſtronger they might fall upon any Town or City, that ſhould hold for the Common-wealth; there was only one thing that did obviate this reſult, to wit, the leaving of the Fort *Oſofo* behind them, which might be a hinderance to the Victuals and men which were to come to them out of *Germany*. This buſineſs and the occaſion ſeem to require that the nature and ſituation of this place be particularly ſhewn, and deſcribed as if it were in a Map.

The Mountain Lauro, *is as it were cut off in many parts on that ſide which divides* Italy *from the Dutch, affording ſometimes by Valleys, ſometimes by no very high Mountains, an eaſie paſſage from the one Region to the other; but the readieſt and beſt is that which leads from* Vilacco *to* Venzone, *which is commonly called the Imperial Way. When coming from* Germany *into* Italy *by this way, you arrive at a certain place called* L' Oſpitale, *the Mountains extending themſelves into two ſeveral arms, do divide; the one of which turns Weſtward towards* Trent, *the other to the contrary ſide towards* Goritia, *the former are called Carnician* Alpes, *the other the Giulian. All that Country which lyes in the midſt between theſe two Mountains, and turns towards the Eaſtern Sea, is now called* Friuli; *as ſoon as you come out of this row of Mountains, you ſee the Caſtle* Oſofo, *which is not above two miles from the bottom of theſe Mountains; the Caſtle is placed upon a little rock of ſtone, which riſeth up in that Plain, as if it were placed there by Nature it ſelf to preſerve* Italy *from the Forces of ſuch Forreign Nations as have the eaſier paſſage on that ſide to us. And conſequently it is fortified and ſecured by Nature, juſt as ſuch ſtrong Holds are uſed to be by humane Art. The Mountain hath three ſides; that which looks towards the Eaſt is water'd by the River* Tagliamento, *and on each of the ſides ſome little heaps of Stones are raiſed up, like ſo many little Towers, ſo as they afford commodity for the defence of themſelves, and of the ſpace that lyes between them. Upon one corner of the Mountain there ſtands a little Rock, which is ſever'd from the Mountain by a little Vally, the Rock being about* 20 *paces long, and but* 8 *over; a high and ſtrong Wall is raiſed hereupon, whereupon ſtands a work, whereby all that ſpace being a little more heightned, is made a ſafe Fort. The Mountain is naturally ſterile, unmanured, and very ſteep on all ſides, ſave only upon one, on which ſide the riſe is leſs difficult.*

Frangipan

Frangipane having brought almoſt all his Army to this place, reſolved to attempt the taking of *Oſoſo*, being thereunto the more enheartned, for that having at the ſame time that he drew near to it, ſent ſome of his men to take in the Caſtle *Chiuſa*, he ſuddenly effected it, and put a good Garriſon thereinto; for our men did ſhamefully ſurrender it to the Enemy at their very firſt appearance, not ſo much as waiting for the approach of cannon. This place is by its natural ſituation very ſtrong, being placed in the very jaws of the Mountains, ſo as it became as it were a Gate which ſhut up the way to thoſe who would on that ſide enter into the ſtate of the Commonwealth, from whence it was called *Chiuſa*. When therefore the caſtle *Oſoſo* ſhould be taken, the Enemy had nothing elſe to hinder them; for being abundantly furniſhed with men and proviſions from *Germany*, they might eaſily make themſelves Maſters of all *Friuli*, and make a longer abode there then they had yet done. But *Savoragnano* truſting upon the ſtrength of the ſituation, and upon the valour of his men, though he had not above one hundred Foot, and fourſcore croſs-bow men on Horſe-back, to boot with ſome Country people, hoped to be able to defend the Caſtle againſt all that the Enemy could do; and to this purpoſe had choſen *Theodoro Burgio* Captain of his Horſe, whoſe Loyalty and Valour was very well known to him, and who did very good ſervice in this Siege. The Enemy pitched their Camp on that ſide which looks towards the South, and began to play upon the Caſtle with ten piece of Cannon, wherewith having thrown down part of the Wall, they had made ſome other works, like unto a Pent-houſe, whereby being ſhelter'd, the Souldiers prepared for another Aſſault. But *Savoragnano* to provide againſt this imminent danger, went from the Caſtle into another work, where ſparing for no labour, he diligently provided for all things, and did much encourage the Souldiers by his example. The Enemy ſtrove to open their way by a continual Battery, that they might bring on their Souldiers to an Aſſault; but all in vain, for the lower part of the work, being made of ſoft ſtone, received all the ſhot without any prejudice, and the upper part of the Wall being built of Brick, though it were beaten down by the Cannon, yet falling inwards, it ſerved the Defendants for a Rampiere. Wherefore the Enemy diſpairing to get the Victory that way, reſolved to try another, and to open their way into that work by new Engines. They put ſome rafters together at the foot of the Mountain, in ſomewhat an eminent place made like Towers about ſome ten foot high of earth, by ſtanding wherein they hoped they ſhould be the better able, and with leſs diſadvantage to fight thoſe that did defend the work. But *Savorgnano* planting his Artillery on the oppoſite part of the Mountain before theſe rafters were raiſed any higher, began to trouble them, and finally by many ſhot beat it down to the ground. All the hopes the Enemy had lay now in their Souldiers Valour. Wherefore *Frangipane* having choſen out the valianteſt of all his Army, prepared for the Aſſault, drawing near the Walls by thoſe very ſteps which were formerly made by *Savorgnano*, and cut out of the hard Rock, that they might be of uſe for the Caſtle.

ſtle. But herein their many Attempts did likewiſe prove vain, for they were always ſtoutly repuls'd by *Savoragnano*'s Souldiers, who did not only make uſe of their Weapons againſt them, but tumbled down great ſtones upon them, which precipitating from thoſe ſteep crags, and falling upon them that were underneath, proved very mortal to them: So the Enemy were forced to fall from aſſaulting the Caſtle to beſieging it. Thoſe within had Victuals and Wine enough to ſerve them for a long time, but ſo great ſcarcity of water, as the greateſt part of their Horſes being already dead for want thereof, there was hardly enough left to make bread with. The Senate did this mean while encourage *Savoragnano* with many Letters, and did invite him to a greater deſire of praiſe; they ſaid they did all of them very much confide upon his Worth and Loyalty, for which he might promiſe himſelf an anſwereable reward from the Commonwealth, which was always very grateful to her well deſerving Subjects; that when his Glory and the like of his Souldiers ſhould be conſidered by all men, it would be immortal; but that the Senate in particular would be always mindful of his deſerts. It is hard to be ſaid how much joy and good hopes theſe praiſes and encouragements did infuſe into the Beſieged: And it ſo fell out as they were alſo befriended by divine Providence; for there fell ſuch ſtore of rain as did ſuffice a long while for all their occaſions: Wherefore it was thought that the ſupply which was long before treated of in the Senate, might ſafely be deferr'd unto another time.

Whilſt theſe things paſt thus in *Friuli*, the Venetians Affairs went proſperouſly on in *Lombardy*, though all things were not quiet there; for the Spaniards and Sforzeſes being encamped (as hath been ſaid) before *Crema*, *Renzo da Ceri* had very valiantly defended that City, rendering all the Enemies endeavours vain, who had gone about the taking of it both by Aſſault and Siege: Nay the Souldiers of the Garriſon had much indamaged the Enemy by many bold Sallies, and returned ſafe into the City. *Renzo* being advertiſed by his Spies that *Ceſare Feramoſca*, one of the Spaniſh Commanders was come with 50 *Gens d' Armes*, and 50 light Horſe, to take up his Winter Quarters at *Calcinato*, a Town in the *Bergamaſco* Territories, about 20 miles from *Crema*, thought he had a fair occaſion offer'd him, of doing a noteable Act, if he ſhould aſſault at unawares the Enemy, whilſt they lay lazying, not apprehending any danger, but thinking themſelves ſafe by reaſon of the ſeaſon of the year. He choſe out three valiant men, in whoſe Worth he thought he might very much confide, to wit, *Silveſtro Nerni*, *Baldiſera da Raſtano*, and *Marcello Aſtoldo*, the firſt two being Foot Captains, the laſt a Commander of Curaſſiers; he acquainted them with what they had to do, and told them that the chief hope of diſpatching the Enterprize lay in expedition; they with all diligence and courage ſtrove to do what was committed to their truſt. They went in the dark of night out of the City, and got to *Calcinato* before day, where they entred the Town by Scalado, not meeting with any reſiſtance, and poſſeſſing themſelves ſuddenly of the Gates, they let in the Horſe, and the remainder of the Foot, and having guarded the Gates, they fell to pillage

the Country (the Enemy being astonished at the unexpected chance) and made themselves Masters both of the Goods, and persons of the Inhabitants, not receiving any the least harm themselves. Which being done, our men returned to *Crema* loaded with prey, and much commended for so noble an Action, *Renzo*'s diligence and vigilancy was highly commended; for that with a constant and undaunted courage, being long opposed by the Enemy both with Sword and Famine, he had not only with-stood them, but had much indamaged them. But the more he was cry'd up, the more desirous was he of Glory. He was very careful in observing the Enemies removals and abodes; he considered both place and time, when any occasion might be offer'd of doing some other handsom Action: and being advertised that Count *Santa Severina* was in the Territories of *Brescia* with 50 *Gens d' Armes* at *Quinzano*, he suddenly bethought himself how to be Master of them; the which that he might the more safely do, he intended to deceive the Enemy with a piece of Military cunning. Hearing that many of the Enemy were got to the Town of *Trigoli*, and fearing left his men might receive some prejudice by these either as they went to *Quinzano* or in their return from thence, he sent 20 Horse with ten Drums into the Territories of *Cremona*, who were to pass by all the Towns beating an Alarm, and making a great noise, to affright the Inhabitants, and make them believe that the Enemy was at hand, so as they should (as they did) retreat speedily into *Trigoli*, where shutting to the Gates, they endeavour'd to secure the Town, expecting every moment to be assaulted. In the interim those that were sent by *Renzo* about this business, came speedily to *Quinzano*, and falling at unawares upon the *Gens d' Armes* that were in the Town, took them all, and their Commanders Prisoners, and took much corn, cattle, and other things from those Territories which were of great use to the Besieged in *Crema*. The readiness of the Citizens and Country people to serve the Commonwealth to the utmost of their Power was a great furtherance to *Renzo* in doing these things; for they did not only shew themselves willing to do what was commanded them, but when money was wanting to pay the Souldiers, (for all the Avenues were shut up, so as monies could not be safely sent from *Venice*) the Citizens maintain'd the Army at their own charge: No News was ever heard of yielding, no complaining upon the times, no wearines of being besieged, nor of so many burthens and toyl; all things were govern'd with great concord and good order, as if the City had been in great quiet, and far from any danger or trouble of War; and yet another great mischief was added to all their sufferings, for the Plague began to grow hot amongst them.

For which the Senate charged the Magistrates to thank the Citizens in the Name of the Common-wealth, promising them that these their good Services should be kept in perpetual Memory, and that their Deserts should be acknowledged, and rewarded even to posterity: That they knew their singular Worth and Loyalty: That therefore they might promise unto themselves all things which could be expected from a grateful Common-wealth, which did always willingly embrace and very much cherish all such as were faithful and valiant.

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The Senate did likewise commend *Renzo da Ceri*, as they had done many times before, striving to confirm him in the loyalty and worth which he had hitherto shewn; and herein they used many gracious expressions, exalting his deserts, so to honour that man with praise, (which is the reward of Virtue) who was so desirous of Glory, and to invite him to the undertaking of other worthy Enterprizes.

They said, *That the Venetian Souldiers had learnt to overcome under the Conduct of such a Commander, who by the greatness of his Courage had overcome even the greatest difficulties, and made them appear easie; that they expected yet greater things from his Gallantry.*

And having occasion soon after to shew themselves thankful to so well deserving a man, he was by general consent chosen to succeed *Giovan Paolo Baglione* in his Office, who having ended his Conduct, had taken his leave of the Venetian Army. *Baglione* being taken Prisoner, as you have heard, in the unfortunate Battle at *Vicenza*, had got leave of the Spanish Commanders to go to *Venice*, upon exchange for *Caravagiale*, a Spanish Commander, which if he could effect he was to have his liberty, but if otherwise he was to return Prisoner to the Enemy. *Baglione* got leave of the Senate for the exchange, and Captain *Caravagiale* was carried from *Venice* to *Padua*; but *Gurghense*, without whose knowledg this exchange was made, opposed it, saying it was not to be observed, the quality of the persons not being alike, nor the good which might redound to the several Princes by the Exchange. Wherefore *Baglione* thinking he was free from his *Parole*, since the fault proceeded not from him, refused to return any more Prisoner to the Enemy, and having obtain'd leave of the Venetians, went to *Rome*, whither he was sent for by the Pope. *Baglione* held the next place in Dignity after *Alviano*, who was the Venetians General; his pay was 30000 Duckets a year, and he was bound to have in his Troop 200 *Gens d' Armes*, and 100 light Horse. His place was granted to *Renzo* upon the same conditions, but he refused it;

Rendring notwithstanding many acknowledgments to the Senate, who of their own free wills had conferr'd that Honour upon him who was absent, and had no ways sought it, though it was wont to be much put for by others; he told them that his abode in Crema *at this time of many eminent dangers, was of much concernment to his own Honour, and to the service of the Common-wealth; that he desired nothing more then to preserve that City to the Common-wealth; that he knew very well the Senate had offer'd him that preferment, not to invite him to serve them well and faithfully, but to witness the love they bore him; for nothing could now adde to his ancient affection, which he knew he could not more apparently manifest, then in defending that City.*

There were some who thought *Renzo* the more to be commended for having preferr'd Worth it self before the badg of Worth; but many suspected what did afterwards appear by many signs more clearly: to wit, that *Renzo* would not be obliged to go unto the Army, because he bore a secret enmity to *Alviano*, and shunn'd to be under the command of another, especially of one who was of so severe a nature, and who was no very good friend of his.

Whilſt theſe things went thus, the year of our Lord 1514 began, and began unfortunately; for on the 10th of *January*, the firſt hour after midnight, ſome ſhops fell on fire in the *Rialto* (which is ſeated in the midſt of the City, a place much frequented, and held in great eſteem for the happy Auſpice of the Cities firſt riſe, which began firſt to be built there, and wherein all things are uſually ſold) which fire taking hold of the neighbouring houſes, did ſoon mightily increaſe, and in a moment burnt many publique Buildings, and great ſtore of Merchandiſe of all ſorts; and for the greater misfortune, the wind blew very furiouſly then from the North, which carried the fire into the moſt remote parts of the City; and the houſes that were nearer hand were ſoon irreparably conſumed; there was not any one who either by Council or Action could ſuppreſs the violence of the fire, in this ſad and ſudden chance, and in this confuſion, which fill'd the whole City with fear, though the Nobles and common people flock'd preſently thither from all places. The fire dilating it ſelf on all ſides got to the *Peſcaria* on the one ſide, and on the other ſide to the Temple of *Santo Apollinare*, (places which ſtood far aſunder) miſerably conſuming, and throwing all things down to the ground. Many gallant Ornaments of the City, and much wealth of private people, which was long in gathering, periſh'd almoſt in a moment, which cauſed great lamentation, and out-cries throughout the whole City: The Citizens and Merchants bemoaned themſelves that their ſo long labours ſhould be ſo ſoon loſt; others were more troubled at this misfortune, as if it fore-boded greater miſchiefs; they began now to fear the greateſt: Some in theſe common afflictions ſhew'd ſome more moderation; for being inured to ſo many afflictions, they were not eaſily ſenſible of new ſorrows. It was never clearly known whether this happned by chance, or by the Enemies abominable wickedneſs; yet by many tokens it was thought that the fire was fraudulently and by cunning convey'd into thoſe ſhops where it firſt brake forth. Thus at this time nothing was free from the treachery of the Enemy. The Senate though perplex'd with ſo many adverſities, managed the War with their wonted conſtancy, and did not ſlacken in providing for all things which might either maintain their Honour, or obviate the Enemy. But the Affairs of *Friuli* did chiefly trouble them; for *Frangipane*, having (as you have heard) poſſeſs'd himſelf of many places of the Country, did ſtill beſiege *Oſoſo*. Many of the Senate were of opinion, that they ſhould gather all the Forces they could together, and endeavour to relieve *Savorgnano*: Others were of a contrary opinion, affirming,

That they had already ſufficiently try'd the fortune of War, and that the many damages which they had ſuffer'd, might teach them and others, to how many various and uncertain chances Battles are ſubject, and how often it falls out that men come to a day of Battle even againſt the determinate will of the Commanders. That after ſo many loſſes the beſt courſe would be to endeavour the keeping of Trevigi *and* Padua, *and to reduce all their Garriſons thither, knowing that upon the event of theſe two Towns the end of the whole War would finally depend. Wherefore they were not*

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now without neceſſity to alter their managing of the War, nor ſuffer thoſe Cities for want of better Garriſons to be expoſed to the will of the Enemy: That they ſhould conſider their men were much diminiſhed, become leſs loyal, and leſs ready for Military Actions, by reaſon of their ſlow pay: But that they were chiefly caſt down by reaſon of the laſt rout; ſo as it was hardly to be known whether their worth or fidelity were leſs to be truſted to; that therefore they ſhould not proceed contrary to their ancient cuſtom, and contrary to their laſt reſolution: who could be ſure that a powerful Army of the Enemy being ſo near, and ſuccour ſo far off, ſome tumult might not be raiſed in thoſe very Cities, either out of fear or deſire of Novelty, eſpecially when the whole War, nay the total of all things, was committed to a few, and thoſe not over valiant?

Others on the contrary, amongſt which were *Antonio Grimani*, who then held the place of *Savio del Conſiglio*, and *Luca Trono*, one of the Council of ſix, who endeavour'd by all the means they could that ſuccour ſhould be ſent to *Savorgnano*; and that the recovery of the Towns in *Friuli* ſhould be put for.

Theſe ſhewed how that *the Common-wealth was much concern'd in the preſervation of* Oſoſo, *not only out of hopes that by the means thereof, other places in* Friuli *might be preſerved or recovered, but for the preſervation even of thoſe very Cities which by common conſent were to have a high eſteem put upon them. Aſſuredly (ſaid* Trono*) nothing hath retarded* Prangipane *from not arriving ſafe at the Spaniſh Army, but his fear of leaving this ſtrong Hold behind him; which if it ſhould fall into the hands of the Enemy, there was no other thing which could hinder them from coming with all their Forces quickly into the Territories of* Padua, *by whoſe aſſiſtance the Spaniards being become the ſtronger, they would ſuddenly attempt the taking of* Padua *or* Trevigi, *which we know is the thing they chiefly deſire, and that their not having done it hitherto, hath only been, becauſe they dare not venture upon it with ſo few men, as do not exceed 4000 Foot, and 600 Horſe; therefore when mention is made of ſending relief to* Oſoſo, *it muſt be granted that the preſervation of thoſe Cities is treated of; ſo as though we cannot promiſe our ſelves eaſily to rout* Prangipanes *Forces, yet the advantage is not ſmall which we ſhall receive by ſending our Army into that Country, ſince the Enemy will be thereby neceſſitated not to make any longer abode in thoſe parts, and to forbear plotting our further ruine. Our late experience may teach us how dangerous a thing in War it is to ſuffer the Enemies to joyn together, meet, and ſo increaſe their Forces, when they muſt fight though they be but weak and divided; for if the French Commanders had been better adviſed at* Novara, *and had endeavoured either to fight the Spaniard, who expected the coming of the Switzers, or had elſe encountred the Switzers who came to relieve the Beſieged, all things would have ſucceeded more proſperouſly with them, ſince one only Enemy would have been the more eaſily overcome, and the others would have been made affraid: If we ſhall abandon the Towns, Lands, Men, and the Goods of our Subjects of* Friuli, *leaving all things in the power of bitter, but weak Enemies, without endeavouring any revenge, I am ſhrewdly affraid we may fall into ſuch contempt both of our Enemies, and of our own men, as that the Honour of our Common-wealth will fall too low to be ever raiſed up again, all men being already*

already of opinion, that the Common-wealth of Venice *is reduced to ſo low a condition, as ſhe is either not able, or elſe not willing to ſecure them from injuries, who live under her Juriſdiction, and who have always been faithful to her. But if by ſhewing courage we ſhall ſtrive to repair the loſſes we have received, our men will be inheartned again, and the Enemy will be more humble: and we may hope to enjoy the Country more quietly hereafter: No man is ignorant of what importance and conveniency the Caſtle of* Oſoto *is; and the ſtronger it is by natural ſituation, the more carefully it ought to be kept; for if it ſhould fall once into the hands of the Enemy, we cannot hope eaſily to recover it, as we have done other Towns; for the Enemy having taken, as we are inform'd they have, the Caſtle* Chiuſa, *they will always have the way open whereby to be abundantly furniſh'd with Artillery, Victuals, and all things neceſſary for War.*

The Senate being perſwaded by theſe reaſons, reſolved to draw out as many men as they could out of *Padua* and *Trevigi*, and ſend them to *Friuli*, leaving *Theodoro Trivicio* the mean while in *Padua*, with charge of all the Militia, and with him *Dominico Contarini*, who being Captain of *Padua*, was made Commiſſary. The buſineſs of *Friuli* was committed to *Alviano*, the Senate having formerly given him charge to proceed with much ſafety, and not to paſs with his Army over the *Livenza*, unleſs he had certain knowledg which way the Enemy went, and were ſure to return quickly; for it was thought very dangerous, leſt the Dutch, when our men ſhould be gone far off, might pitch in ſome ſtrong ſeat to hinder their paſſage, till ſuch time as the Spaniards hearing of *Alviano*'s departure might come in unto their aid, and ſo our Camp might be at the ſame time beſet with two Enemies Armies. *Alviano* took 700 commanded men with him out of *Padua* and 400 Horſe, the one half whereof were Albaneſes, and came in two days march to *Sacile*, whither it was ſaid that the Horſe and Foot which were come out of *Udine*, were retired to ſave themſelves. *Alviano* underſtanding here that 500 of the Enemies Horſe were in *Porto Gruaro*, from whence they were often wont to go out and skirmiſh with our Horſe in the Plain which lyes between *Sacile* and *Porto Gruaro*, he ſuddenly drew forth into the field, and ſent the light Horſe before, with commiſſion that when they ſhould come within ſight of the Enemy, they ſhould provoke them to fight. The Enemy according to their cuſtome, were eaſily perſwaded to come out of the Town, and began to skirmiſh with our men, who according to their directions retreated; the Enemy purſued them, and not knowing that the reſt of our men were come, drew at unawares near our Army; then *Malateſta Baglione*, who was ſent with a hundred Curaſſiers to ſuccour the former who had begun to give way, ſeeing that the Enemy could not well retreat, fell furiouſly upon them, and amongſt the reſt, charg'd Captain *Riſano*, who was eaſily known by his Armes and by his corpulency of body; whom he hurt dangerouſly, unhors'd him, and took him Priſoner; the reſt having loſt their Captain, after a whiles fight, began to run, and got into *Porto Gruaro*; but *Alviano*, though night drew on, purſuing the flying Enemy immediately clapp'd ladders to the Town Walls, and his Souldiers being gotten upon the Walls,

Walls, fought with those that were upon the Guards, and after long dispute, drove the Guard from the Walls and entred the Town, and sack'd the whole Town, as well what belonged to the Towns-men, as to the Souldiers, and took a hundred Curassiers that were in the Town, Prisoners.

After this fortunate success, *Alviano* resolved to march towards the relief of *Saveragnano*, who having valiantly repuls'd the Enemy, did still maintain the Castle of *Osopo*: *Frangipane* hearing of the coming of our men, set fire presently upon all the works which he had made about the Castle, and raised his Camp, marching with his Army towards *Germany*; but being come into the Town of *Venzone*, and fearing that he was pursued by *Alviano*'s Forces, as indeed he was, he resolved to make all his Chivalry stay there, to retard the Enemy, that thereby the Foot might have the more time to get into some place of safety. But *Alviano*, hearing that the Enemy were gone, sent *Nicolo Vendramino* soon after them, with the Albanese Horse, and *Barnardino Antignolo* with the remainder of the light Horse, hoping that if they made haste they might reach *Frangipane*. But he was past a little forward, and having gotten over the *Tagliamento*, had taken up his Quarters in the Castle of St. *Daniele*. *Vendramino* and *Antignola*, were so diligent in their March, as finding the Enemies Horse at *Venzone*, they fell upon them, cut most of them in pieces, and took the rest Prisoners; but the Foot which were marched forwards with the carriages, escaped; our Horse not being able to follow them by those steep and craggy Rocks. Yet could they not well save themselves; for the Siege being raised, *Saveragnano* issued out of the Castle, and having assembled together 200 Horse, and a good company of Country people, pursued the Enemy by way of the Carnisen Alpes, and his Forces increasing where so ere he went, (for the Country people were very much affectionate to the Venetians, who led him by secret and shorter ways) he was got before *Alviano*'s Horse, and assaulting the Dutch Foot had so routed them, as they were forced to leave their Baggage behind them, and seven pieces of great Artillery, which rendered the Victory more clear and remarkable. They say that *Frangipane* pleaded for excuse, that he was at this time much indisposed by reason of a blow which he had received on the head by a stone, whilst he lay before *Osopo*, which disabled him for providing for such things as were fitting for the safety of his Army. Yet he could provide for his own safety; for as soon as the Enemy fell upon his men, he, with 30 of his Horse fled, and got into a safe place; but this was but for a short time; for being soon after cured of his hurt, as he was riding amongst the neighbouring Mountains, to raise new tumults, and gather more men to renew the War, he fell into an ambush which was laid for him by *Giovan Vitturi*, and was by him taken Prisoner, and sent to *Venice*. He was certainly a fierce and haughty man, but grievously faulty, and a mighty Enemy to the Venetians, whom he had long troubled by his incursions, and rapines committed in *Friuli*. *Saveragnano* grew now very famous for these prosperous successes, for which he was by the Senate created Count of *Belgrado* and *Osopo*; and to leave a

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testimony of his Worth to his posterity, he had 400 Duckets a year assign'd unto him out of the publick Exchequer, to descend to him and his Heirs for ever. The Enemies Army being routed, as you have heard, *Udine*, *Belgrado*, *Monfalcone*, and all the other Castles which were formerly taken by the Enemy, return'd into the power of the Venetians, and were by them received into favour; for it was evident that the people had done their duties, and had not quitted their Loyalty to the Venetians, otherwise then necessitated by Fortune, and by the power of the prevailing Enemy. *Alviano* hoped by means of this Victory to re-gain *Goritia* and *Gradisca*, if the Army should march thitherward; and he did this the rather, for that he understood there were but small Garrisons in these Towns, and that they were in great want of all things, especially of Gun-powder, which was all spent in the Siege of *Osopo*; yet being unwilling to fall rashly upon this Enterprize, he sent a Band of men to discover the condition of the places, who having diligently observed all things, brought word, that the taking of those places would require much time and pains; wherefore *Alviano* having ended what he went for into *Friuli*, and knowing that by tarrying longer in those parts, his return into the Territories of *Padua* might be hindred by the Spaniards, whose numbers increased, he resolved to return with his Army into the City of *Padua*.

At the same time that these things were done in *Friuli*, many Treaties had been in *Rome* concerning Peace with the Emperour; for the Pope having at last overcome all doubts and difficulties, had taken this business in hand, and was very diligent in the negotiation thereof, to the end that peace might be effected, he used all possible means by his Nuntios both with the Emperour and the Venetians, exhorting them to concord.

He shewed them that both of them had made sufficient triall of their fortune, and that things were already reduced to such a pass through the length of War, as though they should refuse to come to any accommodation, they would both of them be forced shortly to lay down Arms out of very wearinesse; but that then the Issue would be this, that Forces being broken on both sides, yet Enmity would still remain to the common ruine; for it was to be feared that by means of these discords, and the weakness occasioned by so long Wars, both the Conquerours, and conquered would fall into the power of Selinus Ottaman *(a bitter and powerful Enemy) if the Fortune of War favouring his designs, now that he was upon difficult, but glorious Attempts, he should turn his victorious Forces into* Europe. *He moreover told the Venetians, that* France *was so weakened, both by the last received rout, and by the greater dangers which did yet over-hang them, as it was in vain for them to think to be able to maintain the War by assistance from* France. *But that whilst peace was on treaty between* England *and* France, *the event whereof was yet uncertain, and whilst the Common-wealth was yet in good esteem, both by reason of her own Strength, and the like of her Confederates, they might accommodate their Affairs upon honourable conditions; which being afterwards reduced to disadvantage, they would not be able to do. He laid before the Emperour, the length of the War, the various and doubtful successes of Enterprizes,*

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the faithfulneſs of Confederates, the certain advantages of peace, together with the inlarging of his Empires Confines. But becauſe the Pope had many times endeavoured this in vain, from which he might ground what now he was to truſt unto. Ceſar *and the Venetians having never been able to be made friends, he knew it was neceſſary a third perſon ſhould take upon him the conditions of Peace. Wherefore he made known to them both, that if it might ſtand with their conſent, he had reſolved to take upon himſelf this whole Treaty of Peace, and to judge and determine what was fitting to be done therein, and what each of them ſhould be content with; that though he was not ignorant of what a burthen he was herein to take upon him, yet laying aſide all other reſpects he would mind only the peace of Chriſtendom, and the duty of his charge and office. And that the mean while, whilſt Affairs might be brought to ſome compoſition, and friendſhip might be renew'd, they would lay down Armes, to the end that when his determination ſhould be heard, War might the more be eaſily appeaſed, and all things might remain quiet.*

The Venetian Senate, moved thereunto out of the hopes of peace, and by the Popes Authority, reſolved to referre to him whatſoever had been long in diſpute between them and the Emperour, thinking they ſhould do well and worthily to acquaint the Pope and all Chriſtendome with their pretences and injuries; that all men might know how great reverence and reſpect the Venetians bore to the Pope, and that all their deſigns aimed at agreement. The chiefeſt difficulty lay in whether the City of *Verona* did belong to the Emperour, or to the Venetians, and in what monies the Venetians ſhould pay unto the Emperour, and what time they ſhould have for the payment thereof. The reaſon of paying theſe Monies was, as well for the expences of the War, as alſo that *Ceſar* ſhould cancell all his pretentions, if he had any, either by claim of the Empire, or of the Houſe of *Auſtria*, to thoſe Cities and Towns which were by agreement to remain unto the Common-wealth. The Venetians made *Leo* the Arbitrator of theſe things, leaving the Arbitrement thereof in him by publick Authority. *Leo* not content herewith, deſired that this might be drawn up in another manner; to wit, ſo as without mentioning any particular Controverſie, the Senate ſhould referre the whole buſineſs to him, as the Compounder of all differences: ſaying that he deſired this for the taking away of all occaſions of difference, and that he might bring all things the ſooner to the deſired end; wherefore he pawn'd his faith, not to uſe any farther freedom, nor to pronounce any ſentence, then what he ſhould have firſt communicated to the Embaſſadour of the Common-wealth, and by the will and conſent of the Senate; adding that for the future he would uſe no leſs diligence, to have *Verona*, and all the other Towns which were poſſeſs'd by the Common-wealth before the War, reſtored unto her, then he now uſed to make peace. Thus he obtain'd free leave and power from the Senate to put an end unto the War upon what conditions pleaſed him: He having promiſed that when this ſhould be done by the Embaſſadour of the Common-wealth then reſident with him, that he, the Pope, would be ſure not to propound any thing for reconciling the differences, which might prove the beginning of

new difficulties, or which might diſturbe the whole buſineſs, for it was much to be feared, that the Common-wealths Enemies (whoſe requeſt whether they did agree with what was juſt and honeſt he himſelf might very well know) knowing that all things were now left to his free diſpoſal, would egge him on, as it were againſt his will, to propound ſuch conditions as might be too prejudicial to the Common-wealth, and which he himſelf ſhould not be very well pleaſed withal. When the Pope began to negotiate this Affair, he met with many things which gave him reaſon to be doubtful and jealous; the rather becauſe he deſired both *Ceſar* and the Venetians ſatisfaction. The Emperour demanded that *Verona*, which was then in his poſſeſſion, ſhould ſtill continue in his power; to which though it had been always heretofore deny'd, the Venetians did at this time condeſcend upon condition that *Gange* and *Valegio*, two Towns of the Territories of *Verona*, ſhould be yielded up to them; alledging that without theſe their State being as it were cut off by anothers Juriſdiction, it was evident that all that part of their Dominion which lay beyond the River *Adige*, would be of no uſe at all to the Common-wealth. On the contrary, the Emperour, who ſeemed at the firſt to be contented with *Verona*, demanded *Crema* likewiſe; and ſomewhat to honeſt this his deſire, he ſaid that this City ought to be put into the Popes hands, ſince he was content to put *Vicenza* thereinto. But it was apparent to every one how unequal this propoſition was; for *Crema* was a very ſtrong and ſafe City, long in the Venetians poſſeſſion, and lately defended with much coſt and labour againſt the Enemy; whereas *Vicenza* being neither ſtrongly walled, nor well garriſon'd, had often changed Fortune and Maſters, and was now in theſe latter times poſſeſs'd by *Ceſars* men, only becauſe it was never ſtrove for: So as it could hardly be ſaid that he poſſeſs'd the City; for if the Venetians would ſend their Forces thither, they might eaſily drive the Emperours weak Garriſon out, and recover it.

Whilſt theſe things were in treaty Cardinal *Gurghenſe*, who had ever been an utter Enemy to peace, came in an unhappy hour to *Rome*. He began (as he had done formerly) to trouble the buſineſs, finding many occaſions to draw it out in length, and bending all his Might againſt what was juſt and honeſt. The Pope had obtain'd that the Spaniſh Foot ſhould abſtain from doing any new prejudice, ſince the buſineſs of right was to be treated of: yet the Viceroy faining ſometimes not to underſtand this Treaty, ſometimes blaming ſuch advice, proceeded in hoſtile manner againſt the State of *Venice*, and the Affairs thereof; nay taking occaſion by reaſon of the truce to pillage more ſecurely, he entred the Territories of *Padua*, and plundered the whole Country, nouriſhing his needy Souldiers with what they got from miſerable Inhabitants, in a time when they thought themſelves free from ſuch Injuries. By which proceedings it might be conceived that the Pope and the Venetians were much deluded; that the Common-wealths Enemies had no mind to peace, but that they play'd the Counterfeits, as well not utterly to loſe the Pope, as alſo to make the Venetians through their hopes of peace leſs careful in providing for things appertaining to War; and they the

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mean while might have opportunity to recrute their Army, which was much diminiſhed.

Wherefore the Venetians diſcovering their Enemies cheats and deceitful Proceedings, entreated *Leo*, *That he would penetrate into the ſecret Counſels of the Emperour, and of King* Ferdinando; *for then he would clearly find that* Ferdinando *did not only aſpire to the States Dominions, but to the Government of all* Italy. *So as if he would keep up his Dignity, and Authority amongſt Princes, which he might perceive began now to grow leſs, he ſhould not ſuffer them ſo to abuſe the reverend name of Pope. That therefore quitting his firſt Counſels, he ſhould betake himſelf to new and ſafer cogitations, and ſhould reſolve upon things becoming the ſafety of* Italy, *and his own Dignity; and that he ſhould forthwith recall his Troops of Horſe from the Spaniſh Army; for that the Enemies having placed much hopes in his friendſhip and aſſiſtance, they would proceed with more ſincerity when they ſhould ſee themſelves deprived thereof, that they would abſtain from injurious proceedings, and treat leſs arrogantly hereafter. That he on his part had abundantly ſatisfied the tye of confederacy which he had with them; that it became an Italian, eſpecially him who was placed in ſo high a degree of Dignity, and who was endow'd with ſo much wiſdom, by the preſent troubleſome ſtate of things, to fore-ſee the beginnings of greater evils, and to provide ſuch remedies for them, as became their importancy, and which might as yet be uſed; that if theſe Princes, whilſt their Affairs were in ſo bad a caſe, by reaſon of the few Spaniſh and Dutch Foot which were then in* Italy, *had notwithſtanding arrogated ſo much Authority, and would make ſuch uſe of bare reputation, without Forces, it was much to be feared, that when their power ſhould be increaſed, they would endeavour to domineer over all* Italy.

The Venetians uſed reaſons to exhort the Pope to keep up his greatneſs and authority: They told him he could by no other way better effect it then by entring into League with the King of *France*, and their Common-wealth. But finding that theſe endeavours did no good, they went to work with him the ſame way that they knew their Enemies had done. It was generally thought that *Leo* favour'd the Emperours Affairs; for he thought that thereby he promoted his own deſigns: He had ſet his whole mind upon the aggrandizing of his own Houſe, hoping that he might be much farthered therein by *Ceſars* favour, whereby he might be inabled to alienate the Cities of *Parma*, *Piacenza*, *Modena*, and *Reggio*, from the Church, and paſs them over in fee by the Emperours help and conſent to his Brother *Juliano*.

Wherefore the Venetians labour'd to perſwade him, that he might better advance his Family by this new confederacy; the Venetians being very willing to grant the Kingdom of Naples *in fee to his Brother* Juliano, *when it ſhould be won by their common Forces, upon the ſame conditions that he had deſired thoſe other Cities; and to defend, and maintain him in the poſſeſſion thereof by all their forces and endeavours: And that he ſhould not need to doubt their promiſe, nor ſuſpect the Common-wealths faith, as well in commemoration of the benefit, which would be eſteemed the greater in theſe unfortunate times, as alſo for the States peculiar Intereſt, for whoſe advantage and ſafety it would make very much that an I-*

Italian Prince, a Friend of hers, and obliged unto her for ſo great a favour, ſhould be Maſter of ſo noble and rich a part of Italy. *That doubtleſſy he might promiſe himſelf the like from the King of* France, *who ſetting his heart upon the reputation and keeping of* Millan, *it did much import him that more potent Lords ſhould be kept far from the Confines of* Italy, *the parts whereof which ſhould belong to the French, would be the better confirm'd unto them by the Popes Friendſhip. That this was the only way to make the Houſe of* Medici *truly glorious and ſplendid, which was famous enough already of her ſelf: And the beſt way likewiſe for the quiet and ſecurity of the Church and of all* Italy. *That the Senate did recommend theſe things to his conſideration in purſuance of their ancient cuſtom, and out of their particular obſervance of his own Perſon, and their affection to his Family. That he ſhould not argue out of theſe their perſwaſions that they were ſo weakened by adverſe Fortune, or that they were ſo caſt down, but that they were able to renew and maintain the War of themſelves, though he ſhould not be adviſed by them.*

The Common-wealth had above 6000 Foot and 1500 Horſe in pay at this time, divided between *Padua* and *Trevigi*; and Souldiers were continually raiſed for the ſervice of the Common-wealth in ſeveral parts; ſo as ſhe hoped to have 10000 Souldiers on Foot within a ſhort time. Moreover new ſhips were a building to increaſe the Fleet, and to furniſh it with all things fitting, that ſhe might be ready and able for any Enterprize. That on the contrary, though the Enemies men were very few, and impotent, in great want and ſcarcity of all things, and that it was rather reputation, then true ſtrength that made them ſubject, yet were they ſo encouraged by their paſt proſperous ſucceſſes, as they thought all things eaſie, and promiſed themſelves ſucceſs in all their undertakings. Wherefore *Leo* fearing more the audacity of the Spaniards and Dutch, then he truſted or hoped in the French and Venetians, could not reſolve to accept of theſe new conditions, but falling into his ancient irreſoluteneſs, was the occaſion why both War and Peace grew daily more difficult. But it was certainly known that *Leo* was more addicted to *Ceſar*, and did too much covet his favour; for though he was not ignorant that the Emperours whole drift was to oppreſs all *Italy*, and that he himſelf did confeſs as much, yet he ſtill ſpun out time, as if he durſt not pronounce; nor did he limit any means, or time wherein to do it. *Henry* King of *England* had formerly undertaken to reconcile the Venetians with the Emperour, behaving himſelf ſo therein, as it appeared evidently to all men that he was well inclined to wiſh well to the Affairs of *Venice*; but his affection ſeemed now to be quite altered, out of jealouſie that the Venetians had aided the French in the War which he made with their King the year before.

He complained particularly that the Common-wealth had ſent her Albaneſe Horſe into France. *Which ſuſpitions were conceived to be purpoſely taken to the end that he might afterwards have the better colour to favour the Emperour in his proceedings, whoſe good will he endeavour'd by all means to win, out of a deſire to draw him from the Truce which he had began to treat of with the French. Therefore whereas* Henry *was formerly wont to exhort the Venetians to peace, and to comfort them, and aſſiſt them*

them in their greateſt neceſſities; he now proceeded clean otherwiſe, accuſing them by his Letters to the Senate for having perſevered too much in breaking of the hopes of peace when things went well with them, and deprived Chriſtendom of much good; ſaying that they ought to behave themſelves according as the times went, and not carry themſelves higher then their preſent Fortune required; wherefore he was very earneſt with them to lay down their Arms, and not to trouble Maximillian *any longer with that unreaſonable War.*

Theſe Letters being read in the Senate, they reſolved to juſtifie the Common-wealth by their Embaſſadour, who was then reſident in the Court of *England*; and to free the King from ſuch falſe ſuſpitions.

The Senate ſeemed to wonder very much why Henry, *towards whom the Common-wealth had ſhewed ſuch affection as became them well to do to a great Prince who was their Friend and Confederate, a well Wiſher and Amplifier of their Dignity, ſhould believe that the Venetians would injure him, or ſhould have endeavoured to diſturbe his Victory whereat they had much rejoyced; to witneſs which, they had at this time ſent* Franciſco Capello, *Embaſſadour into* England, *who dyed in his journey thitherward. But that as for thoſe things whereof he particularly complained, he was to know that all the Albaneſi were not Subjects to the Common-wealth, nor were the Venetians able to inhibite them the Service of other Princes: That their Fleet was prepared not to aſſiſt others, but only to withſtand the ſo great Forces which the Enemy had prepared againſt their State; that they had long before been Confederates with the French, as the condition of thoſe times required, which was the reaſon why they had not ſatisfied* Maximillian *in his firſt requeſts: Which had made him wage War with that Common-wealth, not having been any ways injured by them; nor had the Venetians taken up Arms againſt him otherwiſe then in their own defence; that after theſe firſt ſucceſſes, and Truce being made, it was violated by* Ceſar, *who entred in an hoſtile manner into their Dominion; wherefore they were forced to take up Arms again to drive him out of their Confines: whereby* Henry *might conceive, that they had not been the firſt Authors of War againſt the Emperour, having only endeavoured to keep themſelves from being injured, according to the wont of their Anceſtors; who were always accuſtomed neither to do nor ſuffer wrong. And that notwithſtanding they forbear not all this while endeavours by Letters, by Embaſſadours, and by all other means which they thought might do any good, that the occaſion of controverſies being removed, they might come to ſome Agreement with* Ceſar; *that many might witneſs this, but eſpecially the Arch-Biſhop of* York, *an honourable and worthy Gentleman, who had often interceded in this Treaty of Peace, and who knew very well what their intentions were, and what the Enemies were minded to do; that men would think that* Ceſar, *who was a great Prince, ſhould offer at nothing which was not honourable and becomming him; yet it could not be denyed, but that many of his Adviſers did corrupt this his good Will, endeavouring their own advantage by drawing out the War at length, though they ſeemed to be concern'd in* Ceſars *Intereſts only. That therefore it became* Henry, *who was a great and excellent King, to be ſo juſt and moderate, as not to ſuffer himſelf to be diverted by any conjunction*

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which he had with the Emperour, from what was fair and right; but as a juſt and upright Arbitrator to interpoſe his Authority for the laying down of Arms on all ſides, upon ſuch reaſonable conditions, as might not be injurious to any one: So as the people of Chriſtendom long moleſted with ſo many Wars, might now enjoy ſome reſt and ſafety: and as for them they would the more willingly make peace with Maximillian *in reſpect of* Henry's *being the Authour of it.*

But all theſe endeavours were of little avail with a Prince who minded more the compoſing of his own Wars then thoſe of others; wherefore the Venetians finding no hopes of Agreement, began to bethink themſelves of War. All people whom it became to ſpeak their minds were enjoyn'd by the Senate, to propound ſuch things as they thought fitteſt for the raiſing of Monies upon ſuch occaſions. Many things were propos'd and argued in the Senate with diverſity of Opinions: New Taxes were laid upon the City, and ſeveral ways were found whereby to bring in Monies into the publick Treaſury. There was a new Magiſtracy inſtituted conſiſting but of three; who had Authority given them to impoſe what ſum they ſhould pleaſe upon every Citizen or Inhabitant of *Venice*, according to every mans condition and ability, provided that it ſhould not exceed 300 Duckets for any one Family or Perſon. Moreover power was given to *Alviano* and two *Savij* of the Council, who upon occaſion of ſome other imployment were then in *Padua*, to free ſuch from exile as had been baniſhed for no very grievous offences, enjoyning them to pay ſuch ſums of Money as they ſhould think fit for payment of the Army; whereunto if any one ſhould be backward, their Goods were to be diſtrain'd. So as in a ſhort time the ſcarcity of the Exchequer was provided for, and ſome hopes were had of being able to maintain War for a while.

Alviano being this mean while gone out of *Friuli*, as hath been ſaid, the Senate, being thereunto chiefly moved by the perſwaſions of *Ferolimo Savoragnano*, reſolved to re-aſſume the Enterprize of *Marano*, the chief care whereof was given to him; who chearfully taking the imployment upon him, and having got together about 2000 Country men, and drawn 400 of the beſt Foot out of *Udine*, went about this. And that he might do it with the more ſafety and Honour, *Jovan Vitturi* who commanded all the light Horſe, and *Jovan Paolo Manfrone* Captain of the Curaſſiers, were ordered to paſs with all their Horſe over the *Tagliamento*, and to be aiding to *Savoragnano* in his Enterprize, by over-running the Country, and by ſecuring it from any new commotions of the Enemy; moreover the Fleet was ſent to the Mariſhes of *Marano* that it might be beſet both by Sea and Land.

As ſoon as *Savoragnano* came to *Marano*, he poſſeſs'd himſelf of a ſtrong ſituation not far from the Walls, where he took up his Quarters: He then began to make Ditches, by which the Souldiers being ſhelter'd, might get to the Walls. The Town was ſituated much to our mens diſadvantage; for it was environ'd all about with low Mooriſh Grounds, wherefore *Savoragnano* to overcome the badneſs of the Seat by Induſty, made certain riſes of ſeveral materials, like

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ſo many little Towers, and did munite them excellently well; whereby he got two great advantages; the one that they might be a greater ſafety for his men, if the Enemy ſhould ſally out of the Town at unawares; the other, that for matter of fight, his men and the Enemy might be upon equal terms, the one ſtanding upon the Walls, the other upon the made Riſes. Thus all things being prepared for an Aſſault, towards which the Souldiers had already made ſome advancement, ſome Captains who did differ in opinion from *Savoragnano* before, meeting with ſome let, by reaſon of deeper waters, were occaſion why what was before reſolved upon, was not put in execution. And in the Interim Letters came to *Savoragnano*, and the chiefeſt of the Army from the Senate, wherein they ſignified their opinion, that it was better to take the Town by Siege, then by Aſſault; moreover *Manfrone* had ſtill been of that opinion, and had given particular account thereof to the Senate, being moved thereunto either out of Envy that he bore to *Savoragnano*, or by *Alviano*'s Authority, who alſo adviſed to the not taking of *Marano* by Force. All things were then handled in order to a Siege: But there were many things alſo which made againſt this opinion; for the people that were aſſembled together being nigh at hand, the Country people (of which the Army did for the moſt part conſiſt) could not be kept together any longer in thoſe parts, for they were come thither out of hopes of a ſudden Victory and of ſome booty without any pay: Moreover it was to be feared that theſe men being wearied by long labour, and a tedious Siege, were likely to abandon the Camp; but ſay they would have tarried, they could not have done ſo by reaſon of the condition of the place, and unwholeſomeneſs of the Air, whereof many fell grievouſly ſick daily. The Commanders adhering to the ſafeſt counſel, and to that which pleaſed the Senate beſt, altering their way of warfaring, fell from Aſſault to Siege, and placed their Camp in many ſeveral Quarters, that they might the more ſtreighten the Beſieged, and keep them from Victuals. Thus whilſt time was ſpent in vain, the Enemy had means afforded them of increaſing their numbers, and of advancing to relieve thoſe that were within. But our men underſtanding that the Dutch had muſter'd many Foot and Horſe about *Villacco*, and that many Country Mountainers were come from the Neighbouring Villages to *Gradiſca*, and that great preparation was made both of men and Arms wherewith to aſſault our Camp; the Captains fearing leſt they might be taken in the midſt by two adverſe Armies, reſolved haſtily to raiſe the Siege, and to march with all their men towards *Udine* and *Cividale*: and at the ſame time the Fleet parting from the Waſhes of *Marano*, went to *Iſtria*, to ſecure the Towns of that Country which were much moleſted by *Barnardino Frangipane*. As ſoon as the Siege was raiſed from before *Marano*, the Enemy haſted to victual the Town, and to recrute the Garriſon; ſo as growing more powerful, and more bold, they ſallied out often, fell upon the Neighbouring Villages, waſting the Country, and laying heavy Taxes upon the miſerable Inhabitants, from whom they injuriouſly, and oftentimes by torments did exact Monies. The Senate being much troubled hereat, and fear-

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ing left greater dangers might issue unless some speedy remedy were taken, they ordered *il Cavaliere dalla Volpe*, who commanded all the light Horse, to march speedily into *Friuli* with 200 Horse, and *Pietro Marcello* was commanded to do so likewise, who was at this time sent Commissary into the Field, to succeed *Feralemo Pesaro* in that place, who was chosen one of the six Counsellours which sit next unto the Prince, a chief Dignity of the Common-wealth. But before these could come, our men being sorely weakened, were much indamaged. Commissary *Vitturi*, who wanted more assistance, was retreated into a place of greater strength with only one hundred Albanese Horse; where being unexpectedly set upon by a great many Dutch Foot, after having resisted long and valiantly, his Horse being wounded under him, and all his men forsaking him, he was taken by the Enemy, and led Prisoner into *Gradisca*, and afterward farther into *Germany*. Of those Horse which were with him, some were cut in pieces, some taken Prisoners, and but few of them got safe into *Udine*.

At the same time *Renzo da Ceri*, who had stay'd long idle within the Walls of the City, whilst agreement was in Treaty; all hopes of peace being vanish'd, and a way being opened unto him to indamage the Enemy, he diligently observed their ways and their counsels that he might find some fit occasion of happy success. Having received advertisement that *Silvio Savello* was lately come out of *Millan*, with light Horse and 50 Curassiers, and 400 Foot, and that being sent towards *Crema*, they marched in some disorder, he resolved to send *Mariano Ascoli* and *Alessandro Donato* with two Troops of Horse, and *Andrea*, and *Silvestro da Perugia* with 400 Foot, to assault him at unawares upon his March, as they did *Silvio* running away at the unexpected coming of our men, was inforced to give over his first design, and to retreat into the Town of *Pandino*, where fighting our men who pursued him, to keep them from approaching the Walls, he was at the first On-set put to the retreat, his men being so routed, as many of them were slain, others taken Prisoners, and he betaking himself betimes to Flight, with much ado escaped. But *Renzo* not content with these prosperous successes, was resolved utterly to defeat the Enemy, who were routed, and dissipated in many places; and to do his utmost to free the City from Siege; things being therein reduced to such straits, all the Citizens wealth being consumed by the length of War, and the City full of many great wants, chiefly of corn, as meer necessity forced them often to hazard themselves, and make tryal of their Arms and Fortune. *Savelli* retreated with those that had escaped out of the Fight at *Ombriano* into those parts where *Prospero Colonna* was (as hath been said) with the Duke of *Millans* men, and had made two camps, about a mile and a half one from the other: which *Renzo* hearing of, he thought he had an occasion given him of deluding the Enemy, by assaulting them with all his Forces, whilst they were divided. Therefore the day preceding the night wherein he was to assault the Enemy, he began with them on that part where *Savello* commanded, thinking that the Souldiers, wearied with their days March, might sleep the longer: But

as ſoon as night came on, he ſent his light Horſe to the other Camp where *Colonna* was, to make him keep within his Quarters. He with a thouſand Foot, and all the *Gens d' Armes* that were in the City, marching through Marſh places, and by obſcure ways, when the night was well nigh paſt, aſſaulted the Souldiers who were upon the Guard of the Quarters, and before the Enemy were well aware, he fired the Ammunition. The Italian Foot were the firſt that reſiſted him; and having endured the brunt for a ſhort while, the buſineſs being more tumultuous, and more dreadful as coming at unawares, they ran away: The Switzers made ſomewhat longer reſiſtance, making good their ſtation for a good while, and endeavouring to repulſe our men, but *Renzo*'s Souldiers throwing many artificial Fireworks amongſt them, whereby their Ranks were diſordered, they gave way likewiſe: The Curaſſiers, who not apprehending any ſuch thing had put off their Armour, and were laid to ſleep, and not having leiſure to put them on again, ſtrove to ſave themſelves by flight: Many whereof whilſt they endeavour'd to get over the River *Ada*, were therein drowned: But *Savello* according to his cuſtom, ſaved himſelf by flight. This was a great blow to the Enemy, for of 500 Horſe, which were in the Camp, ſcarce 50 eſcaped free away; and but few of 1800 Foot. *Renzo* won much Honour by this Action; for though he had tarried long in thoſe parts to ruine the Town of *Ombriano*, ſacking the Neighbouring Territories, to bring all the Booty that he could get into the City, yet *Proſpero Colonna* ſuffer'd theſe things to be done before his eyes, and his Army looking on, not daring ſo much as once to get out of his Quarters; nay hearing ſome days after that *Renzo* was coming with 300 Horſe to relieve the Town, fearing leſt he might fall into ſome greater miſhap, he raiſed the Camp, and freed *Crema* from Siege, quartering his Souldiers in ſeveral Towns of *Geradada*. The Spaniards, though they treated of Peace yet had they not all this while forborn injurious Proceedings; wherefore the Senate, though they had reſolved not to ſuffer their men to go out of *Padua*, after what you have heard was done in *Friuli*, yet not willing that the Enemy ſhould daily grow more inſolent, gave way that *Alviano* (who had often deſired permiſſion ſo to do) ſhould take men out of the City, putting them in mind that they were not now to revenge themſelves upon the Enemy, but ſhould think they had done enough, if they could keep them from committing rapine and plunder: But deſirous notwithſtanding that the Army might be ſtronger, ſo as it might be ready upon all occaſions, they commanded *Fovan Paolo Manfrone*, who remained in *Friuli* with a hundred Curaſſiers, that he ſhould forthwith go with his Horſe to *Alviano*'s Camp: Who before he took the field, ſent *Bernardino Antignola* and *Hanibale Lencio* with 300 light Horſe towards *Cittadella* to keep *Baſſano* and *Maroſtica* in Loyalty, and to preſerve them from being injured; having underſtood that the Enemy were drawing near thoſe Caſtles. He went the next day out of *Padua* with the reſt of the Army, conſiſting of 600 Curaſſiers, 600 croſs-bow men, 400 Albaneſe Horſe, and about 8000 Foot, and marching towards the Euganean Mountains, when he was

got four miles off to *Braſſegana*, he there divided all his men into two bodies, and reſolved to tarry there till he might better underſtand what the Enemy did. But the Senate, when they heard of this, writ him word that he ſhould joyn all his men together preſently, to the end that if peradventure the Enemy ſhould come to aſſault him, he might not be neceſſitated ſhamefully to abandon one part, or by aſiſting it, to ingage himſelf again in a Battle, which they wiſhed him by all means poſſible to avoid. Theſe proceedings, and reſolutions of our men were very well known to the Vice-roy; wherefore tarrying at the *Torre* in the Territories of *Vicenza*, he commanded the Marquels of *Peſcara* to march ſpeedily to *Cittadella* with 300 light Horſe, 500 Foot, and ſome pieces of Artillery, wherein *Antignola* was with the Chivalry: So as the Enemy being got thither before our men thought they would have done, they furiouſly aſſaulted the Caſtle, which *Antignola* did valiantly defend. But *Peſcara* underſtanding that that part of the Town which was oppoſite to where they fought, was left without any men to defend it, he ſent a Band of his men thither, without the knowledg of them that were within; to the end that ſcaling the Walls whilſt the Defendants were fighting on the other ſide, they might the more eaſily overcome them, and fall on upon the backs of our men; which falling out juſt as it was deſigned, *Antignola*'s Souldiers being buſied in ſeveral fights, and aſtoniſhed at ſo unexpected an accident, ſome of them were ſlain, ſome taken Priſoners; amongſt which *Antignola*'s ſelf was one, and *Franciſco Cico* the chief Magiſtrate of the Town another, and the Caſtle was ſack'd by the Souldiers. As ſoon as this was known at *Venice*, the Senators being greatly moved, both for the preſent loſs, and much more for the ſcorn thereof, and the remembrance of their late calamities, they commanded *Alviano* that he ſhould ſuddenly paſs his Army back again over the River *Bachilione*; but he thinking that this might be a diſhonour to him, and to his Army, before this order was obeyed, let the Senate know, that he was in a very ſafe place, where he could not fear to be indamaged by the Enemy, that he was abſolutely reſolved to abſtain from battle, whereunto he could not be by the Enemy enforced. But ſome of the Senate continuing in their opinion that he was to remove his quarters, it was reſolved that *Dominico Treviſano*, and *Lunardo Mocenico*, who were then *Savij* of the Council, ſhould be ſent to view his Quarters, that they might the better know the Captains Opinion and the reaſon of this advice. Theſe brought word back that the ſituation was indeed ſuch as *Alviano* had repreſented it to be, for the Quarters were in the midſt between two Rivers, *Brenta* and *Bachilone*, and the Fortifications ſuch, as there was no fear to be had of the Enemy; for *Alviano* had been very careful in drawing a Trench and a Ditch, and had very well fortified all befitting places; ſo as there was no more ſpeech had of changing Quarters. Yet the Spaniards, though the Army which was in *Padua* was drawn out into the field, did by continual Inrodes daily vex the Inhabitants of thoſe parts. Having heard that a great many Country people had with-drawn themſelves and their cattle to *Cavarzere*, that they might be there the freer from Injuries, that place being eve-

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ry where environed with Fens, they betook themſelves in great numbers towards that part in many Barks which were got together upon the Banks of *Adice*; whereof when *Andrea Bondelmiero*, the Podeſtà, or chief Governour of *Pioggia*, heard, he cauſed many Barks to be armed, and ſent them towards *Cavarzere*, whether alſo *Fovan di Naldo* went with the light Horſe out of *Padua*. Wherefore the Enemy altering their reſolution, went to *Carigiola* and *Candiana*, two very rich Towns by reaſon of the fruitfulneſs of the ground; from whence they carried away much Booty. And as they had ſack'd all the Banks of *Bachilione* on the left hand, the year before, ſo doing now the like on the other ſide, they left nothing but bare ground in that Country. All this while *Alviano* kept within his Quarters, obſerving the Enemies Actions, and hearing that they had carried great ſtore of corn to the Town of *Eſte*, and that there was 300 of their Foot, and 100 light Horſe there, he ſent *Antonio da Caſtello* thither with a good number of Foot, and a Troop of light Horſe, who clapping their Ladders to the Walls by night, and entring the Town, took all the Enemies that were there Priſoners, carrying away as much corn as they could, and burning the reſt. This was of more praiſe to our Souldiers; for that it was done almoſt in ſight of the enemy. And ſoon after *Mercurio Bua* and *Malateſta Baglione*, as they were marching through the Territories of *Padua* and *Vicenza*, to ſecure thoſe parts from being ranſack'd by the enemy, they met with two companies of Spaniſh Foot at *Camiſano*, whom they cut all in pieces, and put ſome others to flight who came to relieve them. This mean while *Nicolo Vendramino* came to the ſame place with 500 valiant Albaneſe Horſe, who joyning with thoſe of *Bua* and *Malateſta*, and growing thereby more powerful and more ſtrong, they began to inlarge themſelves, and to purſue the Enemy, deſtroying the country with fire and ſword even to *Trent*. And having ſufficiently vindicated their Injuries, they returned ſafe to *Alviano*'s camp, without the loſs of any one Souldier. The Common-wealths Souldiers were much inheartned by theſe happy ſucceſſes; and ſo much was the reputation of *Alviano*'s Army already increaſed, as a Troop of our men being com very near the Vice-roys camp, not any one durſt come forth to skirmiſh with them; nay, not thinking themſelves ſafe in thoſe Quarters, they ſoon after quitted their Quarters at *Montagnana*, and went to *Roleſin*.: By which departure of the Vice-roys, *Alviano* thinking that he had now opportunity to oppreſs thoſe of the Enemies party, who tarried in the Territories of *Verona*, commanded *Malateſta Baglione* and *Mercurio Bua*, to march preſently with the Chivalry towards *Verona*, ſaying that he himſelf would follow them the ſame way with the reſt of his Army. *Baglione* and *Bua* found the Enemy at the Town of *Zevio*, where they lay ſecure, not apprehending any thing from our Army: So as being ſet upon at unawares by night, they were very much damnified by our men, wherefore the Vice-roy fearing ſome worſer buſineſs, removed his camp preſently into the Territories of *Verona*, leaving part thereof at *Rovigo* and *Lendenara*, that they might live the more commodiouſly in that fruitful Country: As he paſt forward, chiefly to ſecure *Verona*, he began to be more

apprehenſive, becauſe he heard *Alviano* came on with his whole Army, wherefore he ſent 800 Foot and 500 Horſe to ſuccour the Town. The Veroneſes began already to mutiny in that Town; for growing very weary of the Dutch Government, they deſired to return under the Dominion of the Common-wealth: and being at this time chiefly given to rebel, they expected *Alviano*'s coming; and the rather, for that they hoped when his Army ſhould approach near the Walls, the Souldiers who were diſtreſs'd for want of many things, might out of danger, be the more eaſily be brought to yield: The Enemy therefore were timorous in all their Proceedings, and our men the more hardy; which made our men the more ſucceſsful, and theirs the contrary. *Alviano* knowing that by the Vice-roys departure the Souldiers that were at *Poliſine* were much decreaſed, bethought himſelf ſuddenly of that place; thinking that he had now a ſecure occaſion of Booty offer'd him. He at the preſent diſcovered his mind only to *Baldeſara Scipione*, becauſe the greateſt hopes of ſucceſs lay in aſſaulting the Enemy before they could be aware of it, or provide for defence. He ſent *Scipione* to thoſe Confines, to diſcover the condition of the Sear, the number of the Enemy, and their works; but he himſelf, to free the Enemy from ſuſpition, march'd another way, towards the Territories of *Vicenza*, and hearing by *Scipione* that the buſineſs might eaſily be effected, if all the Army were ſuddenly brought to *Rovegio*, he departed from the Town of *Malo*, whither he was firſt bent, and marched thitherward; and came with ſuch ſpeed to within a mile of *Rovegio*, as the Enemy were not as yet aware of his coming, nor had they diſcovered any thing. Wherefore *Alviano* ſent *Scipione* with ſome few before, that he might enter the Town at unawares to the Inhabitants, and poſſeſs himſelf of the Gates, to make them ſure for him who followed after with the reſt of the Army. The Gates being ſeized on, all *Alviano*'s Souldiers got into the Town, and quickly advanced even to the *Piazza*; for as good luck would have it, the Country people according to their cuſtom, were come in great numbers to *Rovigio*, where there was a ſolemn market held, and the Spaniſh Souldiers mixing with the Country people and Tradeſ-men, went promiſcuouſly through the Market-place, ſome to buy things, ſome for paſtime; ſo as being unexpectedly ſet upon by our men, they being diſpers'd here and there could neither ſuſtain the violence of the Aſſailiants, nor aſſemble themſelves together for their better defence: Some drew their ſwords to defend themſelves, but were either ſoon cut in pieces or taken Priſoners. This Victory was the more remarkable, as being gotten without ſo much as any of our mens being wounded; for the Enemy without any fighting, loſt almoſt all their Horſe, and many of them of all ſorts were led away Priſoners; whereof 200 of the chiefeſt of them, and *Maurico*'s ſelf, a Spaniſh Captain, who had the command of all thoſe men, were ſent by *Alviano* to *Venice*, where they were put into ſafe cuſtody. The other Spaniſh Souldiers who were in the neighbouring parts, hearing of *Alviano*'s being come, and what had befallen their Fellows, leaving their Baggage, and throwing their Victuals into the River, ſaved themſelves by flight, wherein many

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of them were notwithſtanding taken Priſoners, and *Piſcara* retreated with the reſt of his Army to *Verona*.

The News of this happy ſucceſs did very much rejoyce all the Venetians, not ſo much for the thing it ſelf, as that the Fortune of the Common-wealth being altered, they thought they might hope for better things for the future.

The Senate ſent Letters of great acknowledgments to *Alviano*; *Saying he had truly ſhewed how great his worth and experience was in Military Affairs, wherein he had manifeſted his love to the Common-wealth, and a great deſire to recover what ſhe had loſt, and had much increaſed his own Glory, and his merits towards the Common-wealth.*

But *Alviano*, though he had chaſed the Enemy, reſolved ſtill to proceed with the ſame diligence and circum pection: So without delay he marched with his Army towards the Territories of *Verona*; where poſſeſſing himſelf of all the Avenues, and placing men of War in all fitting places upon the Shore ſide of the River *Adice*, he endeavoured to keep Victuals from being brought into *Verona*. But being advertiſed that *Peſcara* was come with his men out of *Verona* to encounter him, and fearing leſt his Army might run the danger of being caught in the midſt between the City, and the Enemies camp, he reſolved to go further from the City; and finding ſafer Quarters, to keep there, and to inform himſelf diligently of the Enemies intentions, and of whatſoever they ſhould do, as well in the camp as in the City; that ſo he might reſolve upon better grounds what he had to do. *Renzo da Ceri* hoping for better things by theſe the Venetians happy ſucceſſes, began to think upon matters of greater moment. Wherefore hearing that the City of *Bergamo* was but weakly garriſoned, and imagining it might eaſily be taken, he committed the buſineſs to *Maffio Capnuolo Bergamaſco*, one who was thought very expert at Military Affairs, and very well affectioned to the Venetians. This man, taking along with him 500 light Horſe, with each of them a Foot man behind them, made what haſte he could to *Bergamo*, and aſſaulting the Souldiers that were upon the Guard unexpectedly, he put them to flight, and took the City at the firſt Aſſault. Which when *Renzo* heard of, he took with him 1200 Foot and went preſently himſelf in perſon to *Bergamo*, to munite the City, and make good the acquiſition. Whilſt he was in *Bergamo* he ſent ſome of his men toward *Breſcia*, under the conduct of *Bartholomeo Martinengo* to confirm the minds of thoſe Citizens in their good affection towards the Common-wealth, and to encourage them to make ſome Attempt againſt *Ceſars* Souldiers; intending that if any tumult ſhould upon this occaſion ariſe in the City, to lead the whole Army thither with hopes to gain it. Whereat *Cardona* being much troubled, he cauſed *Colonna's* men to come unto him, reſolving to go into thoſe parts, to ſecure the City of *Breſcia*, and to endeavour the recovery of *Bergamo*. And having brought all the Spaniſh Foot, as alſo thoſe that appertained to *Sforza*, he went to ſit down before *Bergamo*, and began to play furiouſly upon the Walls; which being very weak on the ſide towards the Suburbs of *Santo Antonio*, were thrown down by the Artillery, and there being no earth within to make Rampiers, *Renzo* could not

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hope to defend the City against so great a force; he bethought himself of providing by times for the safety of the Citizens and Souldiers. He therefore articled with *Cardona*, that in case no succour came in 8 days space from *Alviano*'s camp, he would yield the City up to him; upon condition that all the Citizens Goods should remain safe and untouched, and that the Souldiers might have leave to return to *Crema*: But no succour coming within the prefix'd time, the City according to agreement fell into the Spaniards hands, and *Renzo* returned to *Crema*; where finding great want of all things, he made Truce for six Moneths (but he did this of himself, without the authority of the Common-wealth) betwixt the state of *Millan*, and City of *Crema*.

The Truce being made, *Renzo* leaving *Giovan Antonio Ursino* commander of the Militia in *Crema* with 500 Foot and as many Horse, he went with the rest of his men to *Padua*, and from thence to *Venice*, to give an account unto the Senate of what had past at *Bergamo*, and in *Crema*, as also to advise upon what was farther to be done. He was very welcome to *Venice*, and very honourably received; he had refused, as you have heard, the place of Governour General of the Militia, and there being no other place now vacant for him, whereby to exalt him to higher Dignity, the Senate did much increase his pay, and gave him the Castle of *Martinengo*, with all the Revenues and Rights belonging thereunto. *Cardona* having gotten *Bergamo*, turn'd towards *Alviano*, who (as you have heard) was quarter'd in the confines of *Verona*: And at the same time *Pescara*, whose Forces were much increased by the Foot that were come from *Germany*, prepared to assault our camp: Wherefore *Alviano* resolved to retreat with his Army into *Padua*, which he did so readily and so well advisedly, as couzening the Enemy, he got safe thither with all his men and carriages. He sent first the light Horse towards *Montagnana* to entertain *Pescara*, till such time as the Curassiers might, together with the Commissary *Dominico Contarini*, get into some place of safety. But he himself having at the same time got together many Boats, whereinto he put his Foot and Artillery, falling down the River *Adice* till he came to *Cavarzere*, he landed his men there, and marching in by washy ways, he brought his Army at last safe into *Padua*. The Vice-roy finding that he had come too late to where our men were formerly quarter'd, and that he had failed in his designs by *Alviano*'s diligence, he quartered his Souldiers some in the Territories of *Verona*, and some in *Polesine*, and went himself into *Germany* to negotiate the renewing of the War the next Spring.

Whilst these things passed thus and that Fortune appeared various and inconstant to the Venetians, the City of *Vicenza*, which was come under their Dominions, kept always true and faithful to the Common-wealth, though it had but a small Garrison within, and so many Enemies Armies about it, which was chiefly attributed to the diligence of some Citizens, the chiefest of which were, *Gieralimo dalla Volpe*, *Dominico Almenico*, *Leonardo da Porto*, *Bartolemeo da Nievo*, and many others, who having gotten great store of men out of the Territories thereabouts, kept the City excellently well muni-

ted.

ted. Inſomuch as *Nicolo Paſqualigo* who was the *Podeſta* thereof, and was reſolved to abandon the City by reaſon of the few Defendants that were in it, conceiving better hopes, exhorted the Citizens to defend themſelves, and ordered all things ſo as the Enemies minds miſgave them, and they made no Attempts upon the City. The Summer was ſpent in theſe ſlight skirmiſhes, and with uncertain hopes of peace for what belonged to the Affairs of *Italy*. But much greater things were done in *Aſia*; for *Selino* having led (as you have heard) many men into *Perſia*, met with *Iſmaels* Army, and got a glorious Victory of him in Battle, which was chiefly occaſioned by his Artillery; the uſe whereof was unknown to the Perſians. It was hereby evidently ſeen that great miſchiefs were threatned to other Kingdomes and Provinces by *Selino*, who through theſe proſperous ſucceſſes grew every day more haughty and inſolent: His thoughts in this point was eaſily diſcerned, for that at the ſame time when he made ſo great Preparations for War with the Perſians, his Son *Soliman* by his Fathers directions, enter'd the confines of *Hungary* in hoſtile manner with great ſtore of Horſe, kept the Inhabitants of thoſe parts continually moleſted, and took ſome Towns, which he annexed to his Empire. Pope *Leo*, to put bounds to this audacious power, wrought it ſo, as that a certain order of Militia ſhould be raiſed in *Hungary*, conſiſting of a multitude of men, who being thereunto bound by Oath, ſhould promiſe to defend the cauſe of Chriſtian Religion againſt the Infidels, who had for their Badg a red croſs, and were called *Cruciferi*. But it ſo fell out that what was intended for the good of that King, proved almoſt his utter ruine; for Arms being raſhly put into the hands of the Country people, who did greatly hate the Nobility, they had means afforded them of committing much wickedneſs, and of putting that Kingdom into farther dangers. At which *Leo* being very much troubled (as he himſelf affirm'd) he turn'd his thoughts and endeavours to peace; to which end, he reſolved to ſend *Pietro Bembo*, a noble Venetian, and who was then one of his Secretaries, to *Venice*. But many did ſuſpect, that *Leo*, who was uſed to put on reſolutions relating more to the preſent Affairs, then to the future, and to value only ſuch as might make for his particular Intereſt, and increaſe the greatneſs of his Family, not caring for any thing elſe, as but little relating to him, had an eye likewiſe in this buſineſs, to the honour and advantage of his Houſe, though he ſought to cloak theſe drifts over with the appearing zeal of the common good; for when he ſhould have reduced *Italy* to peace, and that by his means the Emperour ſhould have gotten any ſtate therein, he hoped to obtain from him in lieu of ſuch a benefit, things which might mightily increaſe the Dignity, and Revenue of the Houſe of *Medici*. There were great ſigns ſhewn of this his intention; for that having diſpaired a little before of making an accommodation between the Venetians and *Ceſar*, he had turned to the French party, promiſing to aſſiſt King *Lewis*, and exhorting him to come into *Italy*, yet now being of another mind, and returning to wiſh well again to *Ceſar*, he endeavour'd to diſſwade the King of *France* from that, to the which he had adviſed him but a little before, objecting many difficulties,

and

and ſometime plainly denying to help and aſſiſt him, as he had promiſed, ſince he had ſo long deferr'd to wage War; alledging that many new accidents had hapned, which required that the War which was then made by the French in *Italy*, ſhould be now drawn out into a much greater length; and moreover that the preſent dangers did require, that all Chriſtian Princes laying aſide all their home Hatreds and Wars, ſhould direct their Forces and Power againſt the powerful and formidable Enemy *Seline*, before that having ended the Wars in *Perſia*, he might bend his Forces againſt *Europe*. *Bembo* having this mean while taking upon him his place of Legate, and being come to *Venice*, ſpoke thus unto the Senate.

That Pope Leo *had been always very well affected towards the Venetian Common-wealth, and had much deſired the greatneſs thereof; that he had been much afflicted at what had befallen her of ill, and had taken her very much into his care, as his Actions had clearly manifeſted: That it did likewiſe clearly appear, that all his endeavours tended to peace, and that he had not taken up Arms but inforced by neceſſity; that he had always imbraced the Common-wealth with a fatherly Charity; that he had continually exhorted, admoniſhed, and intreated her to accommodate her ſelf to the preſent condition of times, and to her preſent Fortune. By which endeavours he thought he had abundantly done what belonged to him; that ſeeing he could do no good neither by his Authority, nor by his Favour, he had reſolved with himſelf to be quiet for the time to come, without medling any more in the Treaty of peace, which he had ſo often endeavoured in vain: Yet he had ſince alter'd this his reſolution, by reaſon of the preſent condition of times, and of his ancient affection to the Common-wealth: That he had ſent him therefore as his Legate to exhort the Senate in his name, that they would have all fitting reſpect both to their particular Liberty, and to the ſafety of all* Italy, *and finally to deſire them that they would be better adviſed: That the Venetians might ſerve to inſtruct others, what the Proceedings of the French were, and how great a deſire of rule they had, what cruelties they uſed towards the Conquered, how ſoon they forget benefits received, and that King* Lewis *his ſo eager deſire to recover the State of* Millan, *tended to nothing elſe but to make himſelf Maſter of all* Italy; *for when he ſhould have overcome* Maximillian Storza, *and driven him out of his paternal State, he thought he ſhould be eaſily able to get the Empire of all* Italy, *and to bereave the Venetian Common-wealth, together with all the other Italians, of their Liberty. That whereas formerly the Venetian Senate had in the height of all their misfortunes, and compell'd by neceſſity, apply'd themſelves to the Friendſhip of the French, it might peradventure be thought to be ſo far well done, as it related to the condition of Times and Affairs: But that if they would continue to do ſo any longer, let them take heed leſt whilſt they went about to work more ſafety to themſelves, they did not accelerate their ruine; for ſuch was the nature and cuſtom of the French, as their Friendſhip could not be long uſeful, which ought rather to be kept at a diſtance then near at hand. That many late examples might ſhew, what conſtancy and faith was to be expected from thoſe people, who had abandoned the King of* Navar, *being driven out of his State for their Service, and for not having refuſed their Friendſhip; and that they had uſed the like ingratitude and inconſtancy towards them,*

who

who had deſerved ſo well of the Kingdom of France: *That therefore they were not to hope that thoſe who had abandoned their neareſt Allies, would be more loving or faithful to the Venetians, who were Strangers; and that this was the more unlikely, for that the French had plotted the final ruine of the Common-wealth, at the very time when they had been much beholden to her, and had not been by her injured in the laſt War, wherein there had been many bitter proceedings which might upon better grounds have alienated their minds. That therefore it became the Venetian Senate to gather that good from the friendſhip of the French, which occaſion offer'd them, to wit, to treat upon agreement with* Ceſar *more honourably, and to conclude it upon more rational conditions: But that they ſhould endeavour above all things to keep the French Forces far from* Italy, *there being nothing leſs credible then that when the French ſhould have gotten the Dukedom of* Millan, *they would limite themſelves, and not ſtrive to make themſelves Maſters of the other Dominions. That the Venetians being wearied with the length of War, ought now greedily to imbrace peace and quiet, to the which nothing could be more averſe then the coming of the French into* Italy, *from whence a cruel War might eaſily be foreſeen, wherewith whole* Italy *might be long moleſted. But on the contrary if the Common-wealth would joyn with the Dutch, Spaniards, and Potentates of* Italy *to drive out the French, when they ſhould but hear of this confederacy, it would be enough to make them lay aſide the thought of renewing the War, which they were now preparing to do; and ſo the Affairs of* Italy *might be reduced to a peaceable condition. That if this his counſel ſhould be contemn'd, the Pope took God and man to witneſs that he had never been wanting to the common good of Chriſtendom, nor to the particular welfare of the Common-wealth of* Venice. *That it was to be imagined he had hitherto done as he was perſwaded by reaſon and experience: That he might peradventure give way hereafter to his own affections, ſiding with* Ceſar *and the Spaniards, and joyn with them to the prejudice of thoſe, of whoſe ſafety he had ſo long been in vain careful; nor ought they to be the more confident of him, for that the Intereſts of the Apoſtolique See and of the Common-wealth were the ſame, ſo as they were both to run the ſame Fortune, being both of almoſt alike ſubject to the ſame chances: That they ſhould remember that they alſo being govern'd once, more by their own peculiar affections then by reaſon, and to revenge the injuries done by* Lodowick Sforza, *had not ſuch conſideration as they ought to have had, to the danger whereinto they put the Common-wealth, by calling in for their Companion of War a powerful forreign King, who was to neighbour upon their Dominions, inſtead of a weak Italian Prince. That therefore they ſhould be well adviſed and learn how to reap ſome advantage by the Popes favour, which they had ever till now endeavoured to preſerve.*

Thus did *Bembo* deliver his Embaſſie in ſuch manner as he was commanded; but the Senate were much otherwiſe minded, eſteeming it neither a ſafe nor eaſie thing to have recourſe to *Ceſar*'s favour and the Spaniards. So as theſe the Popes requeſt being reported to the Senate by the *Savij* of the council, according to cuſtome, they were not accepted of, but by frequent Votes they reſolved to continue in the favour of the French, and to give this Anſwer to the Popes Legate.

That his Embaſſie was very well received by the Senate, as well in reſpect of his own perſon, whoſe worth and ſingular love to his Country was very well known to them all, as alſo in regard of that Prince who had ſent him; for great had the obſervancy always been which the Common-wealth had born to the Popes of Rome, *but that their inclination bore them more particularly to reverence, and obſerve* Leo; *wherefore the Senate had always highly eſteemed his wiſe Counſels and friendly Admoniſhments. But that it had fallen out by a certain Fatality, that the more they had deſired his Friendſhip and Aſſociation above that of all others in ſo great variety of Affairs, the leſs could they get to joyn in confederacy with him; ſo as though their good wills were never ſever'd from him, yet it behooved that their Forces ſhould be always divided. That therefore as they returned many thanks unto his Holineſs, and did confeſs the great obligations which the Common-wealth had to him, for his having by many endeavours readily imbraced and favoured their cauſe; ſo were they very much troubled that they could not follow his advice, ſince the ancient cuſtom of the Common-wealth would not permit, that leaving ancient Confederacies, they ſhould make new ones, or unprovoked by any injury, forbear to do that which was conveniens for them, and which by Articles and Conventions they were bound to do. That they had always been taught by their Fore-fathers that what was honeſt was uſeful; that therefore they could not without great Infamy to the Common-wealth, break that League which they had a little before made with the French. Moreover that if the Pope would call to mind the ancient merits of the Kings of* France *as well towards the Church, as towards the State of* Venice, *as alſo the Wealth and Power of ſo great a King, he would commend this their advice, and think that he himſelf ought to follow their example, for the ſafety of the Eccleſiaſtical State, and the greatneſs of his Family would be better founded, by his adhering to the Forces of the French, and to the Venetians Friendſhip.*

Moreover they acquainted *Bembo* with their Jealouſies, which made them believe that ſuch a Treaty of Peace would not be very ſafe: Since the Pope was perſwaded thereunto by the Emperour, and by *Ferdinand*, who, as it did plainly appear, did under a pretence of agreement, plot as they formerly had done, a pernicious War againſt the Common-wealth; for at the ſame time when the Embaſſadour of *Spain* treated with the King of *France* touching the Affairs of *Italy*, *Ferdinando* had begun to renew theſe Treaties of Peace, out of no other end certainly but to make the King of *France* jealous of the Venetians, whereby he might make more advantagious conditions with him. Which when he ſhould have done, and that the Venetians were diſ-aſſociated from the French, what could keep him from making himſelf Maſter of whole *Italy*, which he had long endeavoured? *Bembo* returned to the Pope with this anſwer to his Embaſſie. The Venetians calling to mind what *Leo* had often affirmed, that he would never give way, no not though the Senate had aſſented thereunto, that any part of the Common-wealth ſhould remain in the power of any other, knowing that by her the Liberty of *Italy* was chiefly maintain'd, and that it behooved the Greatneſs of the Houſe of *Medici* to have her for their leaning ſtock, they certainly thought they ought not to believe much in his exhortations; for at the ſame time

that

that he divulged theſe things under pretence of Friendſhip, he treated with them of peace after ſuch a manner as that if it had been granted, the Common-wealth would be bereſt of the richeſt and nobleſt part of her Dominions; by conſenting that *Ceſar* ſhould keep *Verona*, a gallant City, and the Gate of *Italy*, whereby he might always enter at his pleaſure to ruine her. But the Venetians did build their chiefeſt hopes upon the coming of the French into *Italy*, which made them care ſo little for Peace; for *Lewis* not being able to fall upon the Enterprize of *Millan* the year before, by reaſon of the War with *England*, and yet longing very much to put an end to the War in *Italy*, the differences being now accorded between him and *Henry* King of *England*; he had promiſed to ſend over a great and powerful Army very ſpeedily to *Italy*; to which when the Venetian Forces ſhould be added, they thought they might be able to drive their Enemies from the confines of the Common-wealth. Who as they were more inſolent by reaſon of the late troubles of the French, ſo the force of the League being ſtrengthened by their return into *Italy*, and they themſelves wanting many things, eſpecially Monies, they would lay aſide their audacioufneſs, and for their own ſafeties ſake put on new reſolutions. To increaſe theſe their hopes, and to confirm ſuch Princes as were their Friends, ſtill in Friendſhip with them, they choſe two Embaſſadours, to ſend to the two Kings, the one of *France*, the other of *England*, to wit, *Franciſco Donato*, and *Pietro Baſquillio*; but *Donato* falling ſoon after deſperately ſick, they choſe *Sebaſtiano Giuſtiniano* in his place.

They were firſt to congratulate with both theſe Kings for the Peace, and Marriage which had enſued between them, (*for* Lewis *had married* Mary, *Siſter to* Henry) *and that they ſhould render them many thanks, for that the one and the other of theſe Princes, had in the Articles of Peace made between them, named the Venetians as their Friends and Confederates. That they ſhould alſo aſſure the King of* France, *that the Senate had the ſame intentions as he had, and the like deſire of renewing the War, and to increaſe the ſtrength of the League; that therefore he ſhould not doubt of the Venetians good will towards him, ſince they were not only moſt ready to continue the Friendſhip of the French, and to prefer it at all times, and upon whatſoever events before any other Friendſhip which might be propounded to them, but alſo, if occaſion ſhould require, be as ready for their ſervice to undertake new enmities; that the condition of times had ſo far cauſed an interruption of their offices of good will, which was notwithſtanding irradicated out of their minds. And that though the Embaſſadours ſhould find a ready willingneſs in the King, concerning the Affairs of* Italy, *and of the Common-wealths Intereſts, they would not notwithſtanding forbear to make uſe of publick authority to exhort him to come as ſoon as might be into* Italy, *promiſing him that the Venetian aſſiſtance ſhould be ſuch and ſo ready, as it was not to be doubted but that being joyn'd with his Forces, they might break the Forces of the common Enemies, and taking from them that which they had injuriouſly poſſeſſed, reduce ſuch things under the Dominion of the King of* France, *and of the Venetian Common-wealth, as did belong to each of them. The Embaſſadours were enjoyn'd to perform the like offices with the King of* England; *that there had always many good offices been*

mutually obſerved between the Kings of England *and the Common-wealth; that they were confident that* Henry *would carry himſelf ſo as they ſhewed not need to deſire any further demonſtration of Love from him; but that he would of himſelf do whatſoever he knew might make for the good of the Common-wealth. But that they ſhould chiefly entreat him, to endeavour the increaſe of the King of* France *his affection towards the Common-wealth, and by his exhortations incite him to ſend his Forces away immediately into* Italy *to their ſuccour; whereby great glory would redound unto his name.*

This was that which was given in charge to the Embaſſadours. But whilſt they were upon their way, King *Lewis* fell ſick and dyed. It was thought that his death would have cauſed great alteration of Affairs. The Embaſſadours were not recalled, but commanded to go on; and for what concern'd their Embaſſie, they were to expect new commiſſions from the Senate. King *Lewis* afforded the Common-wealth of *Venice* occaſion of proving various ſucceſſes of Fortune. His Friendſhip was uſeful to them at the beginning; for they made good advantage of his aſſiſtance to revenge the Injuries done them by *Lodowick Sforza*; ſo as ſhe got *Cremona*, a great and rich City, and for a while the favour and friendſhip of ſo great a King, ſeemed to win the Common-wealth no ſmall credit with other Princes; but afterwards, when not to part from the Friendſhip of the French, the Venetians took up Arms againſt the Emperour *Maximillian*, they fell into great troubles and dangers. Moreover *Lewis* was the firſt Authour and Driver on of the League of *Cambray*, which was cauſe of great ruine to the Common-wealth; as may be partly known by what you have already heard. Laſtly he who had plotted ſo great miſchiefs againſt the Common-wealth, re-aſſuming his firſt affection towards her, began to deſire and to endeavour her exaltation, and did at this time uſe all the means he could to make her return to her former Power and Honour. And certainly the Common-wealths recovery of her State in *Terra firma* afterwards by the aſſiſtance of the French, muſt be chiefly attributed to *Lewis*, who did uſe the ſame various and uncertain Proceedings all his life time; ſo as he made others, by reaſon of his inconſtancy, make trial of Fortune ſeveral times, ſo did not he neither continue ſtedfaſt either in proſperous or adverſe fortune; nor did he long make trial of the ſame luck. All humane Affairs are for the moſt govern'd by ſuch mutual alterations.

The End of the Second Book.

THE

THE HISTORY OF VENICE,

Written by PAULO PARUTA.

BOOK III.

THE CONTENTS.

FRancis *Duke of* Angolema *is declared King of* France. *He is well minded towards the Common-wealth, which ſend Embaſſadours to him; their Propoſals to the King. They go from thence to* England. Paſqualio *ſent to the Duke of* Burgony; Martin Georgio *Embaſſadour at* Rome. *The Pope cannot be reduced from his obſtinacy by the new Venetian Embaſſadours. The King of* France *prepares for War; he goes to* Lyons. *The Switzers differences are adjuſted by the Emperour and* Ferdinand; *the Pope enters into League with* Ceſar. *Embaſſadours ſent by the King of* Poland *to the Senate. The French enter* Italy. Alviano *recovers* Lodi. *The Armies are deſcribed.* Sedunenſe *his Oration to incourage his men to Battle.* Colonna *taken Priſoner. A bickering between the French and Switzers before* Millan. *The buſineſs ſucceeds well at laſt on the French behalf, by* Alviano's *ſuccour. The number of the dead, and the Victory uncertain.* Millan *is in the French mens hands.* Sforza *ſurrenders the Caſtle, and himſelf. The Kings Entry into* Millan. Alviano *attempts the taking of* Breſcia, *and dyes there.* Giovan Giacomo Trivulcio *ſucceeds* Alviano. *The Spaniards defend* Breſcia *ſtoutly. The Venetians recover* Peſchiera, *and other Towns. The Baſtard of* Savoy *joyns with the Venetian Army; departs from the Camp.* Pietro Navarro *ſerves the Venetians; he endeavours to take* Breſcia; *but in vain. The Pope and King of* France *ſpeak together at* Bologno. Breſcia *is relieved by* Roncandolfo. *Wherefore the Venetians retreat from thence.* Trivulcio *being diſtaſted leaves the Army.* Theadoro Trivulcio *ſucceeds him. The King returns to* France. Andrea Treviſano *near* Barbone. *The Pope endeavours to alienate the Venetians from the French; but fails therein. New Wars made by* Ceſar

ſar, *by the King of* England, *and by the Pope.* Ceſar *prepares to enter* Italy. *The Venetians recall the French, and take* 8000 *Switzers into pay.* Ceſar *attempts to take* Aſola; *but fails therein; the French being afraid to retreat to* Millan: *and are incouraged by* Gritti. Ceſars *Army is diſſolved.* Breſcia *returns under the Venetian Government.* Lotreco *betakes himſelf ſlowly to the Enterprize of* Verona. *He retreats at laſt, and is diſtaſted by the Senate, who are jealous of his Actions. The King of* France *and Duke of* Burgony *meet at* Bruſſels. *Divers difficulties which ariſe there; an agreement is made at laſt; by which* Verona *returns to be under the Venetians.*

THeir time of rejoycing for the death of King *Lewis*, who were troubled at the power of the French in *Italy*, laſted but a little; but the Venetians hopes began quickly to revive, who deſired the return of that Nation into *Italy* to reduce their Affairs to a better condition, who were likely to have ſuffer'd longer by the late Kings death; for Prince *Francis*, Duke of *Angulesme*, to whom by their ancient rights of that Kingdom, he being deſcended of the Houſe of the *Capets*, and the neareſt a Kin to the late King, the ſucceſſion did belong, was declared King of *France*. He being young, and of an eager Spirit, of a lively and ready wit, greatly deſirous of War, and all things fitting for War being ready and prepared by King *Lewis*, every one thought that the new King, who ſuddenly had his eye upon *Millan*, and wanted not Forces to aſſault it, would forthwith ſend a powerful army to that purpoſe beyond the Mountains; and he was the more fervent herein, for that he thought he had juſt cauſe to undertake this War, ſince new reaſons were added to the ancient pretences which the Kingdom of *France* had to that State; for he had married *Claudia*, eldeſt daughter to King *Lewis*, to whom the ſtate of *Millan* might ſeem to belong; her Father being ſon to a daughter of *Jovan Galleazo Viſconte*. But the deſire of redeeming the ancient reputation of the French Militia, which he knew was much leſſened by the unfortunate ſucceſs of the battle before *Novara*, by the diſhonourable conventions made with the Switzers at *Dijune*, and by the loſs of two noble cities, *Terroana* and *Tornai*, which were taken by the Engliſh, prevailed moſt with this young King, who was deſirous of Military Glory. Which miſchiefs King *Lewis* could not remedy, for juſt when Fortune began to ſmile upon him, and that the honour of *France* began to revive, he dyed. *Francis* therefore thought he had a fair occaſion offer'd him of doing what he ſo much deſired, if by his Forces he ſhould win a noble Dukedom, which did of right belong unto him, by which Enterprize the Glory of his name would be much increaſed, and the Power of *France*, and whereby way would be made for greater atchievements. He therefore together with the Government of the Kingdom, took upon him the ſame thoughts of renewing the War in *Italy*, wherein his Father in Law, *Lewis*, had been much vers'd. And knowing that Friendſhip with the State of *Venice*, might make much towards his getting the Victory, as ſoon as he had taken the Crown upon him, he writ kind and affectionate Letters to the Senate, wherein he

he acquainted them with his being King, and ſhewing a ready and good affection towards the Common-wealth, he ſeemed to deſire to know their opinion touching their renewing of their League with the Kingdom of *France*; and that if he ſhould find them diſpoſed like himſelf, the League and ancient Friendſhip might eaſily be renewed to the common good. He made the Biſhop of *Aſte* ſignifie as much unto them, who was then in *Venice*, having been ſent Embaſſadour thither by King *Lewis*. Wherefore the Venetians who at the ſame time coveted friendſhip with the French, and deſired that they would come into *Italy*; and who as ſoon as they had heard of *Lewis* his death, had charged their Embaſſadour *Marco Dandalo* that he ſhould endeavour to pry into the ſecret counſels and intentions of the new King, and ſhould begin to treat of renewing the confederacy; when they had received theſe Letters, and Embaſſies from the King, ſeeming to put an high eſteem upon his Friendſhip, they humbly thanked him for his affection to the Commonwealth, and for his deſire to aſſiſt them. They promiſed to correſpond with him in love and affection; ſaying they knew very well how much it imported both of them to keep the Forces of *France* and theirs joyn'd together by reciprocal obligations of League: That they were therefore ready to renew the preſent League, and would always be ready to aſſiſt him in getting ſome Footing in *Italy*, and in aggrandizing his Power, ſo as he might be a terrour to his Enemies, and a friend and ſure help to the Common-wealth. Moreover the Embaſſadours who were ſent, as you have heard, to the Kings of *France* and *England*, and who being upon their journey, had tarried at *Lyons* after *Lewis* his death, were ordered to go on, and had commiſſions ſent them to renew the League with the King of *France*. Theſe when they were come to Court, did eaſily renew the League upon the former Articles: To which the King was already ſo much inclined, and treated with ſuch fervency of the Affairs of *Italy*, as he labour'd in all his diſcourſes with the Venetian Embaſſadours, to ſhew them what reaſons had moved him to undertake this War; affirming that he would never lay down Arms, till he had gotten the ſtate of *Millan*, and till the Common-wealth had recovered all the Cities which ſhe had loſt, and were returned to her former Dignity. The Venetians were very glad of this the Kings reſolutions: and fearing leſt this ſo great fervency, might (as it often falls out) be by ſome new accident abated, they ſhewed him how that the chiefeſt hopes of Victory lay in expedition, to the end that the Enemy whoſe Forces were now much diminiſhed, and their reſolutions doubtful and uncertain, might not have time to recrute and re-aſſume courage: and that the City of *Crema* this mean while, which was known by experience, might be a great help towards the recovery of *Millan*, might not run any farther hazard, which having for ſo many years undergone the inconveniences of War, was now brought to great extreamity; and that the Truce made with their Enemies being now near an end, ſtood them in no ſtead; for they had heard it credibly reported, that *Proſpero Colonna* had aſſembled his Forces together from all parts, and prepared to beſiege that City. That the Senate would not be wanting in any thing that was in them

to

to do, who had already begun to raiſe new Souldiers, and to provide Arms, Money, and Ammunition. Moreover, that though the War were chiefly to be made by Land-men, yet thinking it not fit to lay aſide the thought of ordering their Fleet, that they might upon occaſion therewith moleſt the Enemy, they had reſolved to rig out many Gallies, entreating his Majeſty that he would do the like. The Embaſſadours having thus done all they had in command with the King at *Paris*, they went into *England* to fulfill the other part of their Embaſſie; where being graciouſly received, they ſhewed in their firſt Audience.

The Venetians great ſorrow for the death of King Lewis, *husband to King* Henry's *Sister, a great Friend to the Common-wealth. They then told the King how highly the Common-wealth was bound unto him, for that in the Agreement made formerly with King* Lewis, *and lately with King* Francis, *he deſired that ſhe, as a Friend, and ſharer with him in all his Fortunes might be particularly named and included in the League. But afterwards at a more private Audience, they earneſtly deſired him, that he would by his Authority, and by his exhortations, confirm the King of* France *in the mind he ſeemed to be in, of intending the Affairs of* Italy, *and of ſending aſſiſtance ſpeedily to the Venetians; and that in the mean time peace and friendſhip ſhould be held inviolably between them, from which great ſafety was to ariſe to both their States, and much advantage to all Chriſtendom; that the Senate of* Venice *for their parts would never be wanting in any thing which might make for the good of the Crown of* France, *or that of* England; *and did very much deſire that theſe preſent Kings, as their Predeceſſors had done, might know that the Common-wealth was much bound and tyed unto them.*

This Embaſſie being done, *Giuſtiniano* ſtay'd behind with *Henry* to treat of the Common-wealths affairs, but *Paſquillio* return'd to *France*, and being come to *Paris*, he met with Letters and Commiſſions from the Senate, commanding him to go immediately to *Charls* Duke of *Burgony*, and to congratulate the Marriage, and Peace with him. From which as the Common-wealth knew that great honour and ſafety was to redound to her, ſo was ſhe very much pleaſed with her love and obſervance towards them both. And that to make known this her good will, they had ſent this Embaſſie to make faith thereof unto him. By theſe complemental ceremonies the Venetians ſtrove to preſerve themſelves in the favour and good will of other Princes, as the condition of times did require; but they were deſirous above all things to draw over the Pope unto them, and to make him joyn with the French in Friendſhip: whereof they had the greater hopes, for that *Juliano*, the Popes Brother, who was of great power with the Pope, having married *Filiberta* Daughter to the Duke of *Savoy*, who was ally'd to King *Francis*, it was believed that he would favour the Affairs of *France*. Moreover, that the Pope would hereafter be better inclined to friendſhip with the French, for that they having by the laſt confederacy and alliance ſecured the King of *France* from the King of *England*, and Duke of *Burgony's* Forces, it was known their power in *Italy* would be much increaſed, and might become ſo formidable, as that the proudeſt of Potentates might be injur'd by them.

Yes

Yet the Pope, continuing ſtill doubtful, and never fixing upon any one reſolution, was ſometimes one ways minded, ſometimes another: Sometimes his hatred being overcome by fear, he thought upon friendſhip with the French; but he held diſcourſe oftner, and more willingly, with *Ceſars* and *Ferdinando's* Embaſſadours, touching agreeing with them. And he anſwered the Venetians, who deſired to learn ſomewhat of his Intentions, that for the preſent he would be a Spectator of the Wars; and that when either ſide ſhould have the Victory, he would then declare himſelf and ſide with them that ſhould have the better of the buſineſs. Yet men thought otherwiſe, and that the Pope had many thoughts in his head, but that he would keep them ſecret, to ſpin out the buſineſs in length, hoping that in the interim, the King of *France* wanting his aſſiſtance, and by his authority the like of the Venetians, would fore go all thoughts of *Italy*.

But it was hardly credited that the Pope would have no hand in the War, but that he would adhere with his Forces to ſome one ſide, when King *Francis* ſhould have paſt over the Mountains with a powerful Army; for he might clearly ſee then, that things were brought to ſuch a paſs, as there was little ſecurity to be hoped for from ſtanding idle, and but little praiſe; and that he muſt either fear others, or make others fear. So as when he ſhould ſee the War reſolutely made by the French, and knowing the uncertainty of relying upon the Switzers, how weak the Emperour was, and how cunning *Ferdinand*, ſo as he could not hope for good by making League with them, he would be inforced to provide better for his Affairs, by Friendſhip with the Venetians. Wherefore the Venetians thinking it better to ſend *Marino Georgio* Embaſſadour to *Rome*, then *Pietro Lando*, they wiſhed him to treat otherwiſe with the Pope, then had hitherto been done, to try whether he could make him alter his reſolution; by acquainting him with what danger he was in.

That therefore he ſhould heighten the Forces of the King of France, *which ſince* France *was now free from War, might ſoon be ſent into* Italy; *that then he ſhould let him know the king of* France *was ſo bent upon the getting of* Millan, *as there was nothing how hard or difficult ſoever which could divert him from this his conſtant reſolution. That the Venetians had the ſame deſire of renewing the War, and of adhering to the French: That they had always greatly deſired to joyn with the Common-wealth of* Rome *both in time of Peace and War, running the ſame Fortune, which they had always very much endeavoured to do. But that not being able to perſwade* Leo *thereunto, and finding that the hopes of Victory did not only not go leſs, but was not in any part diminiſhed, the Venetians ſaw no reaſon why they ſhould forego the friendſhip of the French, knowing that they had thereby very well provided for themſelves; that therefore his Holineſs might put on ſuch reſults as beſt became his Wiſdom and the weight of the Affair; that he might do well to think what hopes or what helps he could have recourſe unto, to hinder or to retard the King of* France *his reſolutions; and that if he could find none, that he ſhould keep from reſolving upon any thing which did no ways ſtand with his Dignity, and which he himſelf knew, and thought to be ſuch. And that if the French ſhould ſucceed well in their Attempts, who would be able to defend the State of the Church, or the Pope*

from their victorious Forces? That he might learn by what had already past, what the ſtrength of his Confederates would be, what their intentions, and what reaſon they would have to wage War. That there was but one way to prevent all theſe eminent dangers, by which the diſcords of ſo many years might receive a period, and Italy be freed from fear; to wit, the Popes joyning in League with the French and Venetians; for it was certainly believed that the Switzers being abandoned by his authority, and deprived by his aſſiſtance, would no longer defend Maximillian Sforza, *but would lay down their arms which they had taken up againſt the French: So as the Confederates being bereft of their aid, would be inforc'd to change their counſels: and* Ceſar *quitting any farther thoughts of* Italy, *and* Ferdinando *reſting ſatisfied with his Kingdom of* Naples, *others might recover what was theirs; the French the Dutchy of* Millan, *and the Venetians ſuch Cities as were injuriouſly detain'd from them: and all things might be reduced to perfect Peace and Tranquillity; but that if this buſineſs ſhould be otherwiſe handled, the War would without all doubt be prolonged, and the Miſeries of* Italy *would be renewed. Which things as they made much for the univerſal good, and for the quiet of Chriſtendom, ſo would they bring glory to* Leo, *and to the Houſe of* Medici; *for what could there be more glorious to him, then by his Wiſdom to have put an end to ſo long a War, which had been ſo unfortunate for* Italy? *Or what could yeeld greater ſafety to his Brother, and to his Nephew, then this univerſal quiet, wherein their greatneſs might be confirm'd, and their riches and dignity increaſed; that no account was to be had of* Maximillian Sforza, *a new and weak Prince, where the Intereſts of ſo great Princes were in queſtion, who had always deſerved ſo well of the Apoſtolick See. That the Kings of* France, *and Common-wealth of* Venice, *had ſo often undertaken ſore Wars, not without great danger to defend the Pontifical Dignity, as if* Leo *would have reſpect either to ancient or more modern Affairs, he might eaſily know that theſe Princes ought to be upheld by Pontifical Authority, and to be thereby aſſiſted.*

For all theſe well grounded reaſons, *Leo* could not be perſwaded to agree with the French and Venetians, but being conſtant to his firſt reſolution, thought he might more eaſily draw the Venetians to condeſcend to his will; and finding he could not compaſs his mind by fair means, he reſolved to proceed more rigorouſly with them. He publiſhed an Edict, whereby he prohibited all the Subjects of the Church upon grievous penalties, to take any pay of the Venetians, though at this time many Captains of that State had taken monies of them; moreover he commanded all his Captains of Horſe, who were gone a little before to *Verona*, under pretence of guarding that City, to go with all their Horſe into the Spaniſh camp; and in fine left nothing undone which he thought might leſſen the Venetians ſtrength or reputation; to the end that being inviroued with ſo many evils, they might be at laſt inforc'd to accommodate themſelves to his pleaſure and to the times. But on the contrary, the Venetians keeping firm to the French, hoped by that means to be able to ſuſtain themſelves, and to defend their State, affirming that they thought themſelves ſafe enough in their Friendſhip. And thinking that this might be much withſtood by keeping a French Embaſſadour in their camp,

camp, they prevailed with the King *Francis* that *Theodoro Trivulcio*, (who having been ſent by the King to *Venice*, as you have heard, had kept ſtill in the Army) ſhould be ſtill kept Embaſſadour, and not have leave, according to his deſire, to return into *France*. *Francis* this mean while provided with all poſſible diligence for all things neceſſary for War: He knew that great endeavours were made by the Enemy, eſpecially by the Switzers, and that he muſt have powerful Forces to ſuppreſs them. He therefore reſolved to go himſelf in perſon to *Lyons*, to the end that greater conceits being had of the preparations for War, and more haſte being had, the Enemy might be terrified, and their inconveniences might be augmented, by a ſudden and continued War. The French reſolved to ſend part of their men before into *Piemont*, to force the Switzers, when they ſhould hear of their approach, to quit their own homes the ſooner, and block up their way: From whence they thought they might get this good, that falling ſooner into want of Victuals and Money, and conſequently beginning to diſlike that Militia, which they had adhered to only out of a deſire of Novelty, and great hopes of prey conceived by reaſon of their laſt Victory; and that being troubled likewiſe, as they oft times were, by domeſtick diſcords, they would give over the buſineſs at the firſt, and return home leaving the paſſage open for the French Army. And the fear of the Switzers being taken away, they needed not fear any of the other confederates; for if they would keep ſufficient Garriſons in the Cities which they had taken from the Venetians, their numbers would be ſo leſſened, as they would not have Forces ſufficient to make up the body of an Army, able to oppoſe the French, when they ſhould be entered *Italy*.

The King gave the charge of this whole buſineſs to *Charls Burbone Grand Eſquier de France*, to whom he gave the chief authority of ordering the War, in caſe he himſelf ſhould not go along with his Army out of the Kingdom, whereof he was not yet poſitively reſolved. *Burbone* was at this time in great eſteem and authority at Court; for his Mother, who was daughter to *Frederick* Marqueſs of *Mantua*, a woman of a man-like Spirit, and indowed with many noble qualities, had purchaſed much favour and authority both to her ſelf and ſon from all the chief Perſonages about the Court. Whilſt theſe things were doing in *France*, the Vice-roy to debar the Venetians from any quiet, when the Popes Chivalry was come, as hath been ſaid, to the Spaniſh Forces, and many Troops of Horſe being according to order come to the Cities of *Brescia* and *Bergamo*, he marched with his Army towards the Banks of *Adice*, with a reſolution of coming to *Vicenza*, hoping to win that City eaſily and in a fitting time, to ſeize upon the revenue of ſilk, wherein that Country did much abound, and to turn it into pay for the Souldiery. But *Alviano* having notice thereof, reſolved to march out of *Padua*, where he then was, and to go with all poſſible ſpeed to the Territories of *Vicenza*, taking along with him ſo many of his men, as were ſufficient to munite the City of *Vicenza*, to diſturbe their intentions, and to break their deſigns; and many being of a contrary opinion, *Alviano* gave them reaſons for this his reſolution, ſhewing chiefly of what importance it was to him and to his Ar-

my which was beaten in the laſt rout, to get ſome reputation for the inheartning of the people, who ſeemed to be very affectionate to the Venetians, and to keep them in their Loyalty and Duties, he therefore kept upon thoſe confines till ſuch time as the Inhabitants had time to gather in their ſilk, and to carry it into more ſafe places; the Enemy having this mean while endeavoured in vain by often change of Quarters, to force our men to forego thoſe Territories, and to retreat to where the other Army remained. But the cauſe of his coming thither being ceaſed, and knowing that he could not tarry longer there without ſome danger; for the Enemy being gotten very near, were encamped at *Barbarano*, where people flocking to their camp from elſewhere their Forces did daily increaſe, *Alviano* retreated with all his men towards *Padua*, where *Renzo Ceri* was with the reſt of the Army, and reſolved to take up his Quarters at the Town *Brentelle*, two miles diſtant from *Padua*, where he tarried a long time; for the Senate taking the ſafeſt way, ordered *Alviano* not to ſtir with the Army from thence, unleſs he were ſo ſure of the Enemies ways, as that he might not be compell'd to fight; from which the Senate being always averſe, it was now thought he ought chiefly to abſtain; for if he ſhould receive any the leaſt prejudice, whereby he might ſuffer either in his Forces or reputation, the King of *France* would cool very much in his thoughts concerning *Italy*; ſince he himſelf had often affirmed that he relyed very much upon the Venetians aſſiſtance; to which purpoſe he had often let them know by his Embaſſadour that he wiſh'd them not to hazard a Battle, nor put themſelves upon any the leaſt danger, before he ſhould be come into *Italy*; for it would not be wiſely done, to hazard the whole ſucceſs of that War, upon a part of their Forces. The Venetian Army being therefore come to the caſtle of *Eſte*, after the Spaniards were removed from the parts about *Vicenza* to thoſe of *Verona*; the Senate out of the ſame conſideration would not liſten to *Alviano* touching the leading of his men into the confines of *Rovigo*; for the French drawing near to *Italy*, by whoſe coming the Spaniards would be ſoon forced to keep aloof from their confines, they thought it became them to wait for ſuch an opportunity, to the end that they might both keep their forces farther from their own State, & aſſault the others with better hopes: Yet at this time the Souldiers of the Common-wealth made many incurſions, whereby the light Horſe did chiefly diſturbe and trouble the Enemy. This buſineſs was committed to *Mercurio Bua*, and to *Giovan di Naldo*, who behaved themſelves very gallantly. *Naldo*, paſſing into the Territories of *Rovigo*, took many Curaſſiers Priſoners; and *Bua* entering into the confines of *Verona*, brought away good ſtore of prey, and came ſo near the Walls of *Verona*, as meeting by chance with the Count *di Caretto*, who was a little before come out of one of the Gates of the City, he had taken him Priſoner, had he not ſaved himſelf from the Enemy who purſued him, by throwing himſelf into the Ditch without the Wall. Thus did both the Venetian and Spaniſh Army paſs away many days without making any Attempts, each of them governing themſelves according to the approach of the French. Yet the Senate reſolved at the ſame time to ſend *Renzo da Ceri* with moſt of the Infantry, to *Crema*, to witneſs

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unto the King how much they desired to infuse terrour into the Enemy. This mean while the French were very busie in preparing Arms, Horse, warlike Instruments, in raising Souldiers in all parts of their own Country, in taking in Forreigners upon great stipend, and Commanders of best esteem, and in making haste to put all things in order for a great and powerful Army, wherewith it was generally said that the King would go himself in person to recover the State of *Millan*. The King would often say in his discourse with the Venetian Embassadour, that he had a great desire to see the City of *Venice*, and that now, that he was to be so near, he would not slip the occasion, which he desired several times to acquaint the Senate with. The like was confirmed by all the chief of the Court, who spake very honourably of the Venetians. There was so great a desire seen in them all of coming for *Italy*, and so general a consent to undertake this War, as that there was not any considerable man in *France*, who did not mind this business with all his might; every one strove to wait upon the King in this journey, and all places sounded of Preparations for War. The Pope being much troubled hereat, seeing himself to be indangered by this War, began to lean a little to friendship with the French: Yet he was on the other side incited to keep his confederacy with *Cesar* out of hope of very great matters which were offer'd him, in reward for his pains, and danger by the Emperour, and the other Confederates; for at this time the League which had been treated of with the Switzers was finally concluded, in which *Maximillian Sforza*, *Cesar*, the King of *Spain*, and the Switzers did joyn for the defence of the State of *Millan*, with a resolution not only to oppose the French with all their might, if they should make War in *Italy*, but to assault the confines of *France* in several places; in which confederacy the Pope being named, they used all the means they could to have his company in this War. Insomuch as certain difficulties arising upon the confirming of the agreement, by reason of the Cities of *Parma* and *Piacenza*, which the Pope would keep to himself, and the Switzers professing on the contrary, to defend *Maximillian Sforza* and his Dignity, they could not be brought to consent that he should be deprived of these two noble Cities; to accommodate which difference, the Confederates promised, that instead of *Parma* and *Piacenza*, the Cities of *Brescia*, *Crema* and *Bergamo*, should be joyn'd to the Dukedom of *Millan*, when they should be taken by the common Forces: In which case not only *Modena* and *Reggio*, but *Parma* and *Piacenza*, which were then in the possession of *Fuliano* the Popes brother, Feudatory of the Church, should be left to the Apostolique See. *Cesar* and *Ferdinand* were perswaded to yield to these agreements, for fear lest the Switzers, when they should see the Pope depart with his authority and Forces from the League, they might also forego the agreement made with them, and joyn with the French, to which they were by many Embassies continually sollicitated. Then which nothing could be more pernicious to the Confederates, nor was more to be feared. The Pope being long assail'd by two powerful affections, Fear and Ambition, at last thinking that he had certain hopes offer'd him of his brothers greatness, covetousness overcame, and forced him to yield to what she propounded; and

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truſting that thoſe things might eaſily fall out which he ſo much deſired, he changed his former fear into confidence, thinking that aſſuredly when the French ſhould underſtand this concluſion of a League made againſt them by ſo many Potentates, they would give over the deſign they had for *Italy*. The agreement being thus made, the Pope forthwith ſent the Florentine Forces, under the Government of his Brother *Juliano* into *Lombardy*. *Ceſar* at the ſame time being according to his cuſtom, greedy of Money, but very poor, did continually ſollicite the Towns and Princes of *Germany* to aſſiſt him both with men and monies: Nor did he leave any thing undone which might make for the muniting of *Verona*, and the increaſing of his Army in *Friuli*, to the end that growing ſtronger, it might advance and fall upon other of the Venetian Territories. From whence he expected this advantage for the Confederates, that the Venetians being buſied in defending themſelves, ſhould not be able to aſſiſt the French at their firſt coming into *Italy*. He aſſembled many Dyets in divers parts of *Germany*, he deſired, intreated, commanded them, not to abandon him now, when he was endeavouring things which would be ſo advantageous for himſelf and for the German Nation. He moreover choſe ſeveral principal men to ſend them with the Army into *Italy*; to wit, *Caſimere*, the Marqueſs of *Brandebourg*, and *Bartholomeo* a Commander of *Sileſia*; *Caſimere* had the charge of keeping *Verona* given him, and the Marqueſs was to enter *Friuli* with a new Army to ranſack the Country; but *Bartholomeo* as he was going into *Bohemia* to raiſe men was drownd in the *Danube*; notwithſtanding all theſe Preparations, *Maximilian* did not truſt ſo much in his own Forces, nor in thoſe of his Confederates, as to hope to overcome the French and the Venetians, wherefore he began to incite other Princes againſt the Common-wealth. To this purpoſe he called an aſſembly in *Hungary*, in the City of *Poſſonia*, where he endeavour'd to have *Sigiſmond* King of *Polonia*, and *Udiſlaus* King of *Hungary* preſent, with whom giving out that he had to treat of many important things, his chief drift was to move thoſe Princes to take up Arms againſt the Venetians; but he, handling all things with a certain natural negligence, when the reſt were met at the Aſſemby, he came not thither himſelf; but being buſied about ſlighter Affairs, ſent the Cardinal *Gurgbenſe* thither in his name, giving him in charge to propound ſuch things as were to be treated of in that Dyet. But nothing was concluded in what *Ceſar* chiefly deſired; and particularly touching the propoſal made, againſt the Venetians; anſwer was made by both the Kings.

That they had no reaſon to take up Arms againſt the Venetians, with whom they had had long friendſhip, and which had been confirm'd by many good Offices: Moreover that the preſent condition of times were ſuch as the weakening of that Common-wealth could not but turn to the great prejudice of all Chriſtian Princes; and that the power and reputation thereof, ought rather to be maintain'd, that they might be the better able to reſiſt the Turks, who were grown ſo inſolent and bold by the late Victory which they had gotten in Perſia; *and had at the ſame time ſo inlarged their Confines by their having overcome* John *King of* Datia, *as all Chriſtendom had reaſon to dread their Forces: That therefore it would be much better done to endeavour the reconci-*

reconciling of such Christian Princes as were at odds and enmity by reason of so long and heavy Wars, that so they might with joynt consent oppose the so formidable power of the Ottoman Lords; lest whilst Christian Princes out of greedinesse strove to make themselves Masters of one anothers States, they might not all of them be inslaved by barbarous people.

Both these Kings did therefore promise to use their best means and authority with the other Princes, and chiefly with the Common-wealth of *Venice*, to perswade them to lay down Arms; which *Uladislaus* did immediately endeavour by his Embassadour, who lay Leiger at *Venice*. And *Sigismond* chose *Mathew* Bishop of *Udislavia*, and *Rafaelle di Leonisco*, Commander of *Scodravia* for his Embassadours, whom he sent to *Venice*, to acquaint the Senate in his name,

That it was the King of Polands *desire, that the Common-wealth after so long and tedious Wars, would at last be reconciled with* Maximillian, *with whom as he had often formerly treated of Peace, so he did now the like with the Venetian Senate, in desiring them to lay aside the memory of past Injuries, and imbrace peace and concord; and if any thing of hatred or prejudice remained in them by the late Wars, that they should pass it over for his sake, and for the sake of all Christendom.* The Senate thought fit to give the same Answer to these Embassadours, as they had formerly done to the like propositions.

That the Venetians did not first make War with Cesar, *but had taken up Arms in their own defence; that they did not desire to possess themselves of any thing that belonged to another, but to recover, what of right belonged to themselves, and that they would willingly lay down Arms, when they might do it upon honourable terms.*

Thus, and by these means did *Cesar* endeavour to renew the War; but *Ferdinando*, though he were bound by Articles of agreement to wage War from the Pyrenean Mountains, yet not thinking that to do so would make any thing for their advantage, he neither prepared any men for that Enterprize, nor did he hasten to send Foot into *Italy* to increase his Army, being resolved, as it appeared, not to keep any Souldiers as then in pay, save such as were under *Gordona's* command, which he kept upon very small expence, upon design, that keeping his Forces intire, he might take the Empire of the States of *Italy* from out of the hands of others, when they should be weary and wasted. But the Switzers made open profession of maintaining that War, saying that they preferr'd the Honour of *Maximillian Sforza*, and the liberty of intire *Italy*, before their own particular good; for they were so incouraged by the good success which they had had in many Battles, as they believed they were able of themselves alone to free all *Italy* from the feet of the French. Wherefore as soon as the League was made, they began to thrust out their best Souldiers, and to order many Companies, and having received two moneths pay, they came in great numbers into *Piemont*, and quartering themselves in three places, *Susa*, *Pignerolo*, and *Saluzzo*, they block'd up all the ways on that side. The French prepared also in the mean while to make War more fiercely, and upon better advice, then did the Confederates; for that their affairs were govern'd with a joynt consent, and for that they did cheerfully hasten to passe into *Italy*; their Army being the greater

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by reaſon that the Kingdom of *France* was on all ſides free from Enemies; for though *Ferdinand* was ty'd by the articles of the League to enter with an Army into the confines of *Guirome*, and the Switzers into the Dukedom of *Burgony*, to perplex the French, yet neither of them had made any Preparations to do ſo. Wherefore the French having prepared all things ready for their departure, began on the 15th of *July* to march towards the *Alpes*; and being come to *Grenoble* they quartered their Army in the neighbouring parts; for they were neceſſitated to ſtay there awhile to reſolve upon what way they would go. There were great difficulties on all ſides; for all the paſſages were ſo block'd up either by the nature of the places, or by the Enemies, as they could not make their way without much labour and danger. If they would go by the right and ordinary way, and enter *Italy* by the Confines of *Piemont*, the Switzers had poſſeſs'd the narroweſt paſſes, ſo as they muſt cut their way through with their Swords, and fight the Enemy upon great diſadvantage: and if leaving the *Cotian Alpes* on the left hand, they would paſs lower with their Army, they were to overcome the tops of ſteep craggy Mountains, and to paſs through large Valleys, with great inconvenience and difficulty, which would be the greater by reaſon of the numbers of men, and cattle, and the train of Artillery which they brought with them. Yet the King could not be pacified with theſe conſiderations, who reſolved to paſs upon whatſoever conditions; and not to leave any thing unattempted which might be done either by labour or induſtry; hoping by power and conſtancy to overcome the natural aſperity of the places. So taking their way by the right ſide of the *Alpes*, which looks towards the South, and terminates upon the Tuſcan Sea, the French came in three days to the Mountain *Argenta*; and going from thence on the left hand by divers unaccuſtomed paths, they overcame all difficulties on the fourth day, and to the great joy of the Souldier, brought their whole Army into the Confines of the Marquiſate of *Saluzzo*; they paſt from thence unto *Vercelles*, where they tarried to adviſe how they were to manage their War. About 2000 Switzers kept all the ways at the Foot of the *Pennimen*, and *Cotien Alpes*, called *Monticineſe*, guarded and block'd up, that they might oppoſe the French on that ſide, by which they thought they were to come and hinder their paſſage: and when they heard that the powerful Enemy had deluded their Forces, by taking another way, and that they were already got out of the hardeſt and moſt difficult paſſages, they admired the worth, and Fortune of the French; and chiefly the conſtancy of the Kings reſolution, to which it ſeemed even nature her ſelf had yielded obedience; and then they began to abate much of their former forwardneſs, and to deſpair of Victory. So laying aſide all thoughts of joyning Battle without the advantage of place, they retreated to *Novara*; which made the French hope they might ſoon end the War, and get the State of *Millan* without the loſs of blood. They were well acquainted with the nature and cuſtomes of the Switzers; how that they were fickle, ſeditious, eaſie to fall at oddes, deſirous of Novelties, but chiefly greedy of money; they therefore began quickly to bethink themſelves to overcome them with this engine of gifts, and fair promiſes.

miſes. Many of them being hereby tempted, laid aſide their firſt deſire of glory in War; and preferring the certain reward which by agreement was promiſed them, before the uncertain hopes of Arms, minded preſently to return home; they with much arrogancy demanded pay, left their Colours, refuſed to obey *Sedunenſe*, and the reſt of their Commanders; and all things went tumultuouſly on. They gave theſe reaſons chiefly for this their ſo great change, that things had ſucceeded proſperouſly, nay with great glory to the French at their firſt entrance into *Italy*, and on the contrary, whatſoever the Switzers had attempted, had proved vain and ignominious; that therefore having loſt all hopes of Victory, and more certain gain being offer'd them, it was in vain to ſpin out the War any longer. The Duke of *Burbone*, who commanded the firſt Squadrons of the French Army, paſt firſt on the left hand not far from *Ville Francha*, where *Proſpero Colonna* by chance was, who hearing of the arrival of the French, came thither to muſter the Switzers Army, which till then was divided in ſeveral parts; to the end that being all in one body, they might oppoſe the Enemy in their paſſage into *Lombardy*, and fight them whilſt they were tyred and weary with their journey. But the French prevented *Proſpero* in his deſigns; for *Paliſſa* and *Obegny* went with a good number of Foot towards the Town, where *Colonna* with his men thought himſelf to be ſafe; and having ſent ſome few Souldiers before clad like Pedlers, who made as if they would lodge in the Town, the Guards at the Gates, who ſuſpected no ſuch thing, were by them ſlain, and the Gates being poſſeſs'd, the French Commanders and thoſe that followed them entred, and took *Colonna* Priſoner together with all his Horſe. At which all the reſt being diſcouraged, as well for the loſs of ſo gallant a Commander, as for ſhame of the thing, fell into ſuch diſorder, as the Collegues Forces were of ſeveral opinions, and divided in all things. The Vice-roy, who had ſtay'd long in the Territories of *Verona*, and taken up his Quarters about the Banks of *Poe*, durſt not advance any farther; and *Lorenzo di Medici* ſtay'd to little purpoſe, with the Popes men at *Parma*, not undertaking any thing. So as no ſuccour coming to the Switzers, *Maximillian Sforza*'s difficulties grew daily greater, and his hopes of defending his State, which was ſet upon at one and the ſame time in ſeveral parts, grew leſs; for King *Francis*, thinking it made much for the Victory to keep the Enemies Forces divided in ſeveral parts, whilſt the affairs of *Italy* were in great commotion, by reaſon of the unexpected arrival of his Army, had ſent *Emat de Pria*, with a good Band of choiſe Foot, and with 400 Horſe to *Genua*, to find out *Ottaviano Fregoſo*. This man had then the Principality of that City, and had begun long before to adhere unto the French Party; and having gathered together 4000 Foot, and received the French Forces, he joyn'd with them, and at unawares fell upon *Lombardy* beyond the *Poe*, and laid all that Country waſte. Moreover the King did much ſollicite the Venetians (who were ready enough of themſelves) to move ſpeedily with their Forces: So as *Renzo da Ceri* being return'd, as hath been ſaid, to *Crema*, the Senate commanded him to enter in hoſtile manner into the State of *Millan*, and to endeavour the recovery of ſome of thoſe Towns, as occaſion ſhould

ſerve, in the name of the King of *France*. And though the Truce was not yet ended which was formerly made between the Cities of *Crema* and *Millan*, it was thought that no private agreement could hinder this order, becauſe the men that were drawn out then againſt the Enemy, were not taken out of the Garriſon of *Crema*; but were newly come to the Army from *Padua*; and moreover they fought not at the entreaties of the Venetians, but for the King of *France* his ſervice. The Venetians had likewiſe ordered their Captain General, that as ſoon as he ſhould know the Spaniſh Army was gone from the Territories of *Verona*, he ſhould go with all his men into *Lombardy*, and take with him thoſe others that were ſent to *Crema*, that ſo he might fall upon greater undertakings. He therefore underſtanding that the Enemy were gone, went from *Poliſine di Rovegio*, where he had ſtaid awhile, and paſt over the River *Adice*, with his Camp, at *Abbadia*, and came neer *Cremona*, exciting all the people as he paſt by, to Rebellion. The French Army was in another part, which proceeded forcibly, and made great progreſs againſt the State; ſo as *Sforza*'s Dominion, being ſet upon on ſo many ſides was ſhortly to fall; the King of *France* being already with all his men within his Confines, and finding that the Treaty handled by the Duke of *Savoy*, was ſpun out at length, and proved vain, he prepared to lay Siege to *Millan*. The diſagreement was occaſioned by the coming of many new companies of Switzers to the Camp, who unacquainted with the troubles of War, were more hot in the proſecution thereof; ſaid that *Sforza*'s reputation, which they had undertaken to defend, was to be maintain'd by the Sword, not by Treaty; ſo as the face of War was various and doubtful, both Peace and War being at the ſame time in diſcourſe with the Switzers, and there being many Armies in the ſame State; ſome to oppugne it, ſome to defend it, but all of them ſo divided, as the Forces of neither party could be increaſed by the aſſiſtance of their companions; none of them having the means allowed them of meeting together, but were by the nearneſs of the Enemy, forced to take uncertain and dubious counſels; wherefore the King did deſire the more to have *Alviano*'s Forces joyn with his: To which purpoſe he was gone to the Town of *Marignano*, where he took up his Quarters. From hence he write to the Venetian Senate, acquainting them with his ſafe arrival in *Italy*, and with his proſperous ſucceſſes, and moreover made his hopes and his counſels known to them. Thus the affairs of the French and Venetians went on with great union both of mind and Forces. The others being this mean while doubtful what to do, *Renzo da Ceri* being entred the confines of *Millan* with 2000 Foot, 500 light Horſe, and 200 Curaſſiers, had taken the Caſtle of *Lrone* by force, and had received many other Towns into the Kings Loyalty, carrying away ſuch Souldiers Priſoners as did guard them: Wherefore he was more honour'd and reſpected then the reſt; and had wonne ſo great a conceit of Worth, as mighty things were expected from him; but certain ſecret enmity, increaſing daily between him and *Alviano*, *Renzo* could not ſuffer that the ſupream degree of the Militia ſhould reſt in *Alviano*. Wherefore foreſeeing that when the Armies ſhould be joyned together he ſhould be compell'd to obey him; at a time of great importance, he asked leave,

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to give over ſerving the Venetians. They were both of them certainly very gallant men, but very proud and haughty minded. *Alviano* would not ſee any equal to him in Dignity, and *Renzo* could not be commanded by another: and both of them were highly eſteemed by the Venetians, who had been very diligent in compoſing the differences between them: To which purpoſe the Senate had ſent *Dominico Trevisano* and *Giorgio Cornaro*, two Senators of great authority, to *Padua*; but finding them both to be ſtrangely high minded, and full of envy and hatred, they could not appeaſe them, nor make them friends; wherefore they return'd to *Venice* without having done any thing. *Renzo*'s tranſcendent Worth, accompanied with like Fortune, had raiſed his name to that height, as by conſent of all men, he was equalled for fame and glory to the moſt cry'd up Commanders of *Italy*: But either his Worth or his Fortune beginning to decline, he did not any thing from that time forwards worthy of his former fame. Having obtain'd leave of the Senate, he went to *Rome*, under pretence of negotiating his private affairs, but in effect, to be entertain'd in the Popes ſervice, wherein he had but ill ſucceſs, ſo as the things which he had attempted, but failed in, did in a great part obſcure his formerly wonne fame. *Renzo* being gone from *Lodi*, the Switzers finding the City without a Garriſon, poſſeſs'd themſelves of it; but hearing ſoon after that the French Army drew near, and thinking that they were not able to defend it, they quickly quit the City; which was ſoon poſſeſs'd by *Alviano*'s people who were formerly gone into thoſe parts. From thence *Alviano* went with ſome few of his men to *Marignano*, to adviſe with the French how they were to manage the War.

Whilſt theſe things were done, *Alphonſo* Duke of *Ferrara* was only a quiet Spectator of the ſucceſs of War; and though he had often promiſed to adhere unto the French, yet he had not as yet ſent in any aſſiſtance; but minding his own intereſt, ſollicited and entreated the Venetians to aſſault *Modena* and *Reggio*, whilſt their Army was in the Territories of *Rovigo*; affirming that thoſe Cities were ſo weakly garriſon'd, as if their Army would but draw near them, they might eaſily be taken; which when they ſhould be, the Pope would be ſo much troubled thereat, as apprehending his own affairs, he would eaſily be perſwaded to alter his reſolution. But the Venetians, though the Pope adhered to their Enemies, did notwithſtanding abhorre making War upon the Eccleſiaſtical State; and this the more, becauſe they did not as yet well know the Kings mind herein; for *Leo* uſing his accuſtomed cunning, had not as yet diſcovered his alienation from the King. Wherefore the Venetians not liſtning to *Alphonſo*'s advice, preſt him to ſend his men unto the Camp, where the Common-wealths Forces were, and to lend his aſſiſtance to the War, affirming that nothing was to be done, but to lay a good foundation for the French; for if they ſhould prove proſperous, thoſe Cities would certainly be reſtored to him, as a reward of his pains and fidelity; it not being to be doubted but that the Pope would follow the Victors fortune, and accept of ſuch conditions of agreement as they ſhould impoſe upon him, who being victorious, were become arbitrators of the affairs of *Italy*: That therefore, ſince the condition of affairs were ſuch now, as

there was no peace to be hoped for, it behooved him by all means to adde unto the forces of the League, againſt the common Enemies; for it was clear that thoſe who had moſt men, would at laſt be Maſters of the Field and Towns. Theſe reaſons did not notwithſtanding prevail with *Alphonſo* to make him quit his Neutrality, till he ſaw what would become of the War. Hardly was *Alviano* gone from the confines of *Rovigo*, when *Mark Antonio Colonna*, who had the keeping of *Verona*, iſſuing unexpectedly out of the City with 3000 Foot, and about 700 Horſe, entred the Confines of *Vicenza*, plundering and ruinating the Country. At which though the Venetians were very much troubled, yet could not the grief thereof make them forget their promiſes made to the King of *France*, nor change their reſolution, of purſuing the War in the places, and manner already begun. *Alviano* gave order therefore that not any whatſoever accident ſhould make his men alter the way they had taken, but that they ſhould march on, and chiefly minde the good and greatneſs of the King of *France*; it being their chief deſign to oblige him; for they knew if the King ſhould proſper in his attempts, the ſtate of the affairs of *Italy* muſt change, and the fortune of the Common-wealth muſt chiefly be raiſed up. Out of theſe reaſons, all other reſpects being laid aſide, the Venetian Army paſt into *Lombardy*; but the nearneſs of the Enemy kept them from joyning with the French, ſo as all things concerning the War proceeded yet but uncertainly; for there were four Armies in the ſame Country, encamp'd not far from one another. There were in the French Camp above 40000 men, of which 1500 Curaſſiers, the choice Noble men of *France*, who being excellently well armed and hors'd, were of great beauty and ſtrength unto the Army. The French men hoping that by theſe men chiefly they might be able to keep the Country open every where, paſt on, and having got the Cities of *Pavia* and *Novara*, they ſtay'd, as hath been ſaid, in the Town of *Marignano*. The Venetians were not far from this place, who having taken the Town of *Lodi*, kept ſtill in thoſe parts, and this Army conſiſted of 12000 Foot and 3000 Horſe; and both theſe Armies had great ſtore of Artillery, and of all warlike Preparations. To oppoſe theſe there were two other Armies ready of the Enemies, which were likewiſe forc'd for the ſame reaſons to keep aſunder. In one of theſe Armies were the Popes Militia, the Florentines and the Spaniſh Foot, of more eſteem for the worth of their veterane Souldiers, then for their numbers: and theſe lay near *Piacenza* upon the Banks of *Po*. The other Army was the Switzers, wherein 'twas ſaid there was 40000 men, who being entred at this time into *Millan*, at *Sedunenſe*'s entreaties, kept the City excellendy well munited: and though they had neither Horſe nor Artillery, yet were they full of courage and confidence, as well in reſpect of their valour and military diſcipline, as for the many Victories which they had wonne; ſo as the buſineſs ſeemed to be ſo evenly ballanced, as it was not eaſily to be diſcerned which party was likelieſt to be worſted, nor what the event of the War would be. But whilſt all labour alike, though upon ſeveral hopes and reaſons, to weary the Enemy, and to reduce them into ſtraits, and that therefore it was thought by all men, that the War would be ſpun out into the length, the Cardinal *Sedunen-*

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ſe put an end to theſe doubts and delays. He being return'd to the Camp, from whence he was gone for fear of the riſing of the multitude, re-aſſuming courage, becauſe many Bands of Souldiers, who adhered to his party, were come unto the Army, breaking all Treaties of agreement, which till then had been negotiated by the Duke of *Savoy*, he returned all things to the firſt coveted War: Unto which it was not hard to perſwade the Switzers, who were fierce, and deſirous of money; for *Sedunenſe* magnifying the Triumphs, Rapines, and other things which wait upon Victory, as great and aſſured rewards of their labours, ſhew'd them how that by getting the State of *Millan*, they might with much glory to their Nation, get much wealth, far beyond whatſoever was promiſed them by the King of *France* in guiderdon of an ignominious Peace. The Souldiers believed this the rather, remembering the great Booty which they bore away in the laſt Wars; wherefore not valuing any faith plighted, a choice Band of Switzers were immediately ſent to Caſtle *Buſeloro* to detain the Monies which were brought thither by the Kings agents to confirm peace with them. Thus all former conventions being broken, *Sedunenſe*, to keep the King from any opportunity of making thoſe people who are ſubject to change, give over the thought of War, knew he muſt come to blows with the Enemy as ſoon as he could, and try the event of Battle; ſaying it ſtood not with the Switzers fame and reputation to ſhun conflict. The French men in this interim, drawing near *Millan*, had taken up their Quarters at *San Donato*, which Town they fortified without much labour, becauſe it was already invironed by many Ditches, made by the Inhabitants; by reaſon whereof the Commanders, thinking that they had found a very opportune place, had in encamping themſelves taken up ſuch a ſpace of ground, as that all their Troops were ſo ordered and diſpoſed of, as though the whole Army was divided into three parts, the firſt Squadrons might eaſily ſuccour the laſt; and likewiſe that in the midſt, thoſe of either ſide. Which things being known in the City, where they were adviſing touching the going forth of the Army; ſome of the Switzer Commanders thought it a raſh and dangerous advice to aſſault the Enemy, who were ready and prepared for Battle; eſpecially ſince it was likely that within a ſhort time they might find a fitter occaſion to fight them: It being ſaid that the French Camp would riſe, and go meet the Venetians who came to joyn with them. But *Sedunenſe*, thinking that any delay, how ſhort ſoever, would thwart his counſel, (for as the deſire of Battle was eaſily kindled in them, ſo might it be eaſily extinguiſhed) and fearing likewiſe leſt the Souldiers incited by their factious Commanders, might either liſten again to an accommodation, and refuſe to go out of the City, or elſe might manage the War otherwiſe; made it be falſly reported by frequent Meſſengers, that the French had gather'd up their Baggage, and made ready their Arms and Horſes, and that the firſt Files were already on their march to go meet the Venetians; and that they intended when they ſhould be met, to return, and fight the City joyntly. From hence he took occaſion to excite them to make haſte, and ſhun all delay that they might fall upon the Enemy whilſt they were raiſing their Camp, and were in ſome diſorder, not ſuſpecting

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ing to be ſet upon: That they might make uſe of that opportunity which they had ſo much deſired, and which now did offer it ſelf: Which if they ſhould let ſlip, or be ſlow therein, they would hereafter ſeek for help from Fortune in vain, when they ſhould through ſluggiſhneſs have baſely ſhewed that they valued not her favours, nor the hopes that ſhe had laid before them of Victory. Upon this the Souldiers ran to take up Arms almoſt in a tumultuous manner, and many companies went one after another out of the City; and at laſt the whole Army moved thereunto out of ſhame, and by their Commanders exhortations went out: So as orders being ſuddenly given for all things, they prepared for Battle. Then *Sedunenſe*, leſt they ſhould be diſcouraged when they ſhould find the errour, riding up and down amongſt them every where, ſpoke thus unto them.

That News was lately brought that the French did keep ſtill within their Quarters; that it was to be believed that this was out of fear, they having heard of the Switzers being march'd out, ſtrong and able men, whoſe violence they knew they were not able to reſiſt; and therefore deſired to defend themſelves by their works: But that if the bare News of their coming, and the formidable name of the Helvetian Nation, had cauſed ſuch fear in the Enemy, as it had made them alter their intended March, and forced them to change the whole courſe of their War, how would they ſuffer the preſence, or withſtand the violence of ſo great an army? And certainly, ſaid he, the changing of the Enemies intentions, ought not to frighten you, nor make you give over what you have begun to do; nay rather you ought to be the more incouraged, ſince you find the contrary in your Enemies. If you marched out of the City with ſuch joy and ſuch hopes of Victory, how can your generous purpoſe be retarded, by knowing that the Enemy, for fear of your approach dare not look out of their Quarters? Wherefore think you is it that they truſt more in their Rampiers then in their Arms? Is it not an apparent ſign that they truſt little to themſelves, or to their own Valour? If they made any account of themſelves, they would have come out into the field already, to make trial both of their Worth and yours. But certainly as there is no fence ſtrong enough for fear, ſo ſtout and valiant men, ſafe enough in their own Worth, place their hopes of welfare no where but in their own right hands. You are not now to fight with a new, or an unknown Enemy; who know the nature of the cowardly French, and their unexperience in matter of Militia, better then you? You have fought ſo often both for them and againſt them, as you may eaſily conceive the French are no ways to be compared to you, neither for experience in Military Affairs, nor for fortitude of mind. Theſe are the very men, who having taken up Arms againſt Charles *Duke of* Burgony, *received ſo great a rout at* Nanſi, *and afterwards were overcome by you in Battle near* Novara, *to their ſo great ſlaughter, as that action added glory to the Illuſtrious name of* Switzerland. *What reaſon therefore have you to fear an Enemy, whom you have ſo often beaten? Their retreat into their Quarters ſhews plainly, that they yield the field unto you, and eſteem themſelves already overcome; ſo as if you will be but minded like Conquerours, I already ſee all danger ſecure, and foretell that you may this day get a great and glorious Victory, with very little labour; that deſire of Glory, which ſeems to be naturally infuſed into the Souls of all men, hath*

always

always ſo fervently, and ſo particularly inflamed thoſe of our Nation, as nothing hath ever been ſo difficult or dreadful, which when the hope of praiſe hath been at ſtake, hath not been willingly embraced by you: and you your ſelves, calling to mind your Domeſtique Valour, and ſpur'd on by glory, have now left your houſes, and expoſed your ſelves to ſo great labour and danger: Therefore if any of you ſhall think the buſineſs may prove ſharp and difficult, let him think what noble and rich Booty this Victory will bring along with it, when ſo great an Army of the French ſhall be overcome, wherein the Perſon of the King himſelf is. The hope of ſo great Glory and Triumph, will free your hearts from fear, and make you diſpiſe danger.

Many other Commanders who were of *Sedunenſe*'s faction, ſeconded him, praiſing his advice, and encouraging the Souldiers to Battle. Wherefore going into every ſeveral company, they conjured them to be mindful of their ancient Worth, and of the late Victory: They ſhewed them what it became them to do; they amplified the great rewards, which was to be expected from the victory; they told them that if they would undertake this buſineſs couragiouſly, one onely battle would put an end to their ſo many labours, & crown all their paſt victories. The Souldiers being ſet on fire by theſe ſpeeches, did greatly deſire combate; and the ſign being given, march'd ſpeedily towards the Enemy to aſſault them in their Camp. The French when they underſtood of the Switzers approach, were at firſt greatly troubled (as uſually falls out when things come unexpected) they betook themſelves haſtily unto their Arms, and in ſome diſorder made ready their Horſes and other neceſſaries for Battle; afterwards taking courage, they went to their colours, took their ſeveral places, and drew out into the open fields. The whole Army was divided into three parts; the firſt was aſſigned to the Duke of *Bourbone*, with whom were *Monſieur di Talamone*, Son to *Monſieur della Tremouglia*, *Giovan Giacopo Taivulcio*, *Pietro Navaro*, *Gabeano*, and other Commanders, famous either for glory of War, or for their Birth. All the Dutch, Gaſconne, and French Foot were in this firſt Squadron; the King himſelf took care of that in the middle; about whom were placed the greateſt part of the Chivalry, and a ſelect Band of German Souldiers; in this Squadron were many chief Perſonages, the Dukes of *Lorrain* and *Albany*, *Lewis* Lord of *Tremuglia*, *Francis Bourbone* Count of St. *Paul*, *Odetto di Foix*, furnamed *Monſieur di Letrecco*, and ſome others: Theſe were followed by *Alanſon*, *Paliſſa*, and *Obigni*, who commanded the laſt Squadron, wherein were the remainder of the Foot. The Switzers leaving ſome of their companies in the rear for a reſerve, made but one ſtrong body of their whole Army, wherewith they marched apace in a cloſe order, towards the French Camp, to the end that by coming up cloſe unto them, they might keep the Enemy from making uſe of their Cannon, wherein they knew they did chiefly confide. Both Armies being come ſo near as that they might give Battle, the Dutch Foot, who were placed in the Front of the French Army, growing jealous, by reaſon of ſome News that was given out, that the French and Switzers were agreed, and that the Switzers out of a certain hatred and emulation in War, which is between thoſe two Nations, meant to fight only with them, began at the firſt On-ſet to give way, and permitted the Enemy

my to advance, and to come to where the Artillery was placed; which *Navar* being aware of, he called ſome of his companies of Foot, and made them immediately advance, and poſſeſs the Station which was appointed for the Dutch, ſo as the Enemy, who came in good order upon them, were made ſtay. In the Interim Monſieur *di Bourbone* comes in with his Gaſconne and French Souldiers, and renews the fight; the combate was very hot on all ſides; but the French had much ado to withſtand the Switzers violence, who minding only to repulſe the Enemy, had not yet poſſeſs'd themſelves of any one piece of Artillery; the King going then from the middle Squadron into the formeſt ranks, brought the Chivalry along with him, which inlarging themſelves, aſſaulted the Enemies Squadrons on ſeveral ſides, they might the better do; for that (as hath been ſaid) their Quarters were very large. Wherefore the Switzers, after having in very cloſe Files, kept off the Enemies Horſe a good while with their Pikes, at laſt their Ranks being a little opened, began to ſeparate, yet ſtill fought though upon great diſadvantage, being ſcattered here and there: Many of them were ſlain every where; others being forc'd from their places, and diſordered, directly yielded; others charging fiercely in among the Enemies, were more ſollicitous to kill others, then to ſave themſelves, every one being his own commander and encourager. The King not being at all afraid in this ſo ſharp and dangerous Battle, that he might the more encourage his Souldiers, by ſharing in their danger, made himſelf be ſeen amongſt the formeſt, and moſt forward of them, and did at the ſame time both encourage the Souldiers, and fight the Enemy, playing the part both of a good Commander, and of a good Souldier. And having wearied ſeveral Horſes, he himſelf to all mens wonder, remaining ſtill unwearied, he ſhew'd himſelf every where, and both by his preſence, words, and actions, egg'd on the Souldiers againſt the Enemy, and incited them to fight: The night came on already (for a good part of the day was over, before the battle began) and yet the conflict continued. Souldiers fell down dead on all ſides, as well French as Switzers; for they were mingled together in every place in great confuſion: They fought, not diſtinguiſhing their Colours, nor hearing their Captains commands: So as the heat of the Battle was comprehended more by the claſhing of Arms, by dreadful voices, and by the miſerable Out-cries of dying men, then by the eye, which was hindred by the obſcurity of night. All places were full of tumult, death, and flight. One of the ſtouteſt Bands of the Switzers being mix'd amongſt the French, cry'd out *France, France*, to the end that couzening the Enemy, they might have way made them to get into their thickeſt Ranks, and make the greater ſlaughter. But the French ſoon after perceiving their deceit, environ'd the Switzers round, who being got ſo far from their Fellows, as that they could not be relieved, were all put to the ſword: No end was put to the ſlaughter till the Souldiers of both Armies were ſo very weary as they could wield their Weapons no longer. The French and Switzers reſted that night in the ſame place, ſo as two Enemy Camps appeared to be but one Quarter: They kept on their Arms all night: The King ſhewing always an invincible ſpirit amidſt ſuch confuſion and danger,

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call'd a Council of War, to reſolve upon what was to be done the next day, and with great generoſity comforted his Commanders, and bad them hope well. The whole Army was divided, as the day before, into three great Squadrons, but otherwiſe ordered; for all the moſt valianteſt Souldiers were pick'd out, and placed in the Front, to the end that keeping cloſe together they might ſtand the firſt aſſault of the Enemy, who being pick'd juſt over againſt them, were ready to give an aſſault; they diſpoſed of all the Artillery in the moſt convenient places, the chief care whereof was given to the Dutch Foot, who promiſed to witneſs their Valour and Loyalty that day. And theſe men were ordered, that keeping quiet at firſt, they ſhould aſſiſt thoſe who were firſt to enter Battle, if they ſhould ſee them give back. The Switzers at the firſt appearing of the ſun, having allowed almoſt no time for dreſſing their wounds, re-aſſumed their Arms, and, as they had done the day before, marched towards the French Artillery; for they knew that the greateſt hope of Victory on the Switzers ſide, lay in poſſeſſing themſelves thereon, and on the French behalf in defending them; the buſineſs was therefore long and ſtoutly diſputed about them, the Souldiers on both ſides ſhewing great courage. The Dutch, to cancell the fault they had committed the day before, and to remove the jealouſie which was had of their truth, fought ſo ſtoutly, as the Switzers diſpairing to win the Artillery, were forced to alter their way of fight; they divided all their men into two Squadrons, whereof one ſtay'd over againſt the firſt Squadron of the Enemy, the other paſſing over a Fen, near which the French Camp lay, aſſaulted the Rear at unawares. *Monſieur d'Alanſon*, who had the charge thereof, was gone from thence a little before, to aſſiſt the Dutch Foot, who were ſorely put to it by the Enemy; whereby the French did with greater diſadvantage ſuſtain the aſſault, and being ſet upon on the Flank, they were compell'd to diſorder their Ranks very much by facing about; and the condition of the place was ſuch, as they could receive no help from the Horſe. The French being by theſe reaſons in great danger and diſorder, *Alviano* came in in a lucky time, to ſuccour the hindmoſt Ranks, who had much ado to withſtand the Enemy. The Venetian Army had ſtay'd at *Lodi*; for firſt they could not march ſafely, the Enemy being ſo very near, and next the King, thinking that he had accommodated affairs with the Switzers, and that therefore he ſhould not need their aſſiſtance, had agreed with the Venetian Commanders, that they ſhould keep their Army at *Lodi*, and expect the final end of the buſineſs; for the Armies had this advantage by their being ſever'd, that they might be the eaſilier victuall'd, and might paſs to whereſoever it was moſt behoveful for the War. But the King, upon occaſion of this Battle, had diſpatch'd Meſſengers ſpeedily away to *Alviano*, to acquaint him with the condition of affairs, and that they required ſpeedy help, wherefore he deſired him to make all the haſte he could to the French Camp. Which when *Alviano* underſtood, he immediately ſent for 200 of his beſt Curaſſiers, ſuch as were known to be of great birth, and worth, and went his way with theſe immediately: Leaving order for the reſt of the Army to follow after, and made what haſte he could to the French Camp. *Alviano* knew he could do nothing

which would be more acceptable to the Venetians, nor whereby he himself might purchase more honour, then by helping a puissant King, and Friend to the Common-wealth in time of so great need. Therefore finding at his first coming that the Battle was already begun; having briefly said such things to his men as the time would allow of, perswading them to shew their courage and generosity, and to hasten the getting assured glory; he at his very first arrival assaulted the Switzers on the back, and falling furiously upon the Enemy where they were thickest, he broke, and dissipated their orders; then they who were first intent only upon one Battle, must now turn both their thoughts, and hand against the Venetians, and leave the French; and not knowing what to do either by way of offence, or defence, by reason of this unexpected accident, they began to slacken that courage wherewith they fought at first. On the contrary, the French encouraged with greater hopes of Victory, gave more furiously upon the Enemy, the effects whereof were the greater, for that both sides believed the whole Venetian Army was come. The Switzers, finding themselves fought withal on all sides, began by little and little to draw out the Battle, and to wheel about, endeavouring to joyn with all those who fought the Enemy on the Front. And thus having made one strong body of all their Forces, they all of them retreated in miraculous good order, and safety into *Millan*: and the French, being wearied with long fighting, (for they had fought from the Sun-rising till after twelve a clock) suffer'd the Switzers to retreat safely, without pursuing them. But *Alviano*'s Curaffiers following some of the Enemy who retreated later then the rest, drove them into a Village not far off, where by *Alviano*'s command they were all destroy'd by fire and sword. This Battle which hapned on the 17th of *September*, was very great and bloudy, and for a while uncertain; for it was valiantly fought on all sides, and lasted so long, as many were slain on both sides, and the field was every way covered with dead bodies. There is not any one who mentions the number of the dead positively, yet all agree in this, that the loss was much greater on the Switzers side: But many illustrious men were missing of the French, as *Francis* Lord of *Tremuglia*, *Imbercastle*, *Sanserie*, *Monsieur Ambayse*, the Count *de Guise*; and to boot with these, a son of Count *Pitiglian*, a youth of excellent Parts, who fought under the Venetians. Therefore though the French got the Victory, yet was it very sad and bloudy to them, and a long time uncertain. The French accounted themselves victorious, because they were not driven from their Quarters, which was the Enemies design to have done, and because they had forced the Enemy to retreat to within the Walls of *Millan*. But on the other side, since the Switzers had retreated in good order, and gotten in such numbers into the chiefest City of that State, as that they were able to defend it, it cannot be said that this was a real Victory, the War not being thereby ended, nor the Enemy routed. And certainly, as by the Switzers admirable Valour the French bought all dearly which they got by fighting, so by their natural ficklenes the French got greater advantage by this Victory; for the very next day to the day of Battle, the Switzers giving over the thought of defending *Millan*, leaving only a Foot Garrison in the

Castle

Caſtle whither *Maximilian Sforza* was forc'd to retire, return'd to their own homes: and Cardinal *Sedunenſe*, knowing that by the bad ſucceſs of his counſels he had loſt his former authority with the Souldiery, ſo as all that he could ſay was not able to make them ſtay one minute longer, left *Millan* likewiſe, and went by the way of *Trent* to find out the Emperour. This may teach Princes upon how weak foundations the ſafety of that State is grounded, which wanting a Militia of its own, is forc'd to have recourſe to mercenary Forreigners. After this Victory the French were every where Maſters of the field, and eaſily reduced all the Towns in the Dukedom of *Millan* into their power. The Vice-roy, who had not ſtir'd all this while from about *Piacenza*, diſpairing to defend the State of *Millan* any longer, and ſuſpecting alſo that the Pope had quitted the League, went into *Romagnia*, and by little and little brought all his Army from thence to the Kingdom of *Naples*. And at the ſame time the Popes men went to *Reggio* in *Lombardy*; ſo as *Sforza*'s State being bereft of all hope of help, or of returning to its priſtine condition, *Millan*, and all the other Cities, yielded of themſelves to the French, and ſent Embaſſadours to the King to beg pardon for all that was paſt, and to promiſe obedience for the time to come; the Embaſſadours were received, and a great ſum of money was impoſed upon the Millaneſes, to be paid according to every mans abilities. But the King would not as yet enter into *Millan*; for *Sforza* keeping the Caſtle ſtill, he thought it ſtood not with his honour to enter armed into that City, which he had not totally reduced under his Dominion. But for the preſent the Duke of *Burbone* entred the City, who received it in the Kings name, and committed the reducing of the Caſtle to *Pietro Navaro*'s charge, who having play'd upon it a good while with his great Guns, began according to his cuſtom to fall a mining. He was excellent good hereat, and by applying fire to the Gunpowder, wherewith he fill'd his works under ground, he was wont to blow up Walls and Towers which were otherwiſe impregnable. Wherefore *Sforza* being much terrified, and being a little beſides himſelf by reaſon of a long ſickneſs contracted by ſo many adverſities; being alſo adviſed by ſuch as were none of his beſt friends, he reſolved a moneth after the Siege began, to receive *Antonio Bratano*, a Doctor of Law, into the Caſtle to treat of ſurrender, and concluded at laſt that he would put both the Caſtle and himſelf into the hands of the French, though it were ſo well victuall'd and mann'd, as it might have held out a long while. He was upon theſe conditions received by the French.

That he ſhould be forthwith carried into France, *from whence he was never to depart; that he ſhould for ever quit all claim and right which he had to the State of* Millan, *to King* Francis; *being to receive ſuch a revenue from him, as whereby he might live commodiouſly and with honour.*

The King having by agreement received the Caſtle, he entred *Millan* in great Military Pomp, and almoſt in manner of Triumph, environ'd by the choiceſt and richlieſt array'd of all his Chivalry. He here received an honourable Embaſſie ſent unto him from the Venetians to congratulate his Victory. Theſe were four of the principal Senators of *Venice*, grave and reverend for their age, and famous for the

supreamest Honours of the Common-wealth. *Georgio Cornaro*, *Andrea Gritti*, *Antonio Grimani*, and *Dominico Trevisano*, Procurators of St. *Mark*, the chiefest Honour in that Common-wealth next to the Duke. It fell to *Trevisano*'s part, as being youngest, to make the Oration, which is said to have been thus delivered.

As soon as the so greatly desired News (most Christian King) that your Majesty had taken your journey towards Italy, *came to* Venice, *all our Souls were overwhelm'd with joy, as if even then the Victory had been certain; for we very well knew that there was no force which could withstand your singular Worth, and your invincible Army; wherefore our Common-wealth, judging that they had great occasion of joy offer'd them, as this your coming, that they might not let slip any thing whereby they might manifest their affection and observancy, had chosen us her Embassadours to wait upon your Majesty, and congratulate your having brought your Army safe into* Italy, *and return'd your Affairs to that ancient Honour, to which questionless prosperous success in War would soon bring them. The Senate did afterwards desire that all the Forces of their Common-wealth might be offer'd you by us, as hath been formerly done by other Embassadours; that your Majesty might please to make use of them upon whatsoever occasion, either for your own greatness, or for the conveniency of your Army. We could not execute this our Commission which was long ago given us, before now, because the ways were every where block'd up by the Enemy; but it hath happened by divine providence, that we, who were sent to congratulate the hopes of your beginning to be victorious, may now give you joy of your already won victory; for out-doing the thoughts of all men, you have atchieved those very great things, which we, out of a singular affection and desire of your prosperity, were in our thoughts designing: Since having by a miraculous confidence in your self, and constancy of mind, made your way through craggy Cliffs, and almost inaccessible Mountains, you have master'd all difficulties, past over the* Alpes *even there where they were thought to be impassable, and have conducted your Army in four days space entire and safe into* Italy. *Having thus overcome the asperous Mountains, you have instructed us, that nothing is so difficult through which the valiant man cannot make his way; and that a magnanimous Prince ought to esteem nothing too hard for him to overcome; but you have chiefly shewn your Worth to be such, and so excellent, as you can rule even nature, which rules and governs all things. That which amongst other of that cry'd up Commanders Actions,* Hannibal, *is numbred as a thing of singular praise, to wit, that he durst venture to pass over the top of the* Alpes *with his Army, and that in 15 days space he conducted it safe over; your Majesty by a more singular virtue, and in a more excellent manner have out-done, by having brought over your Army, Artillery, and all your warlike Preparations in a much shorter time into the Confines of the Enemy, by rougher, and by straiter ways. But whilst men stand admiring this egregious action, and highly celebrate your name, you have by a much more glorious Enterprize, and that which none other durst to have done, out-done your self, out-shined your Glory, and have left to posterity greater and better memory of the French Gallantry; for though your Army was wearied with their long and toilsom march, yet you stuck not to joyn Battle presently with most bitter Enemies, wherein your Valour was such, as you have shewed that those may be beaten, who were before thought*

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unconquerable. You have routed and put to flight the Switzers, who formerly disposing all other Nations, did proudly usurpe unto themselves chiefest praise for what concerns the Militia; and have forced them to return home, whence they are not likely to come so soon again to disturbe your Affairs. And that nothing might be left desirable to your praise, Fortune, which for the most part useth to have the greatest share in Battles, dare lay claim to nothing in this your happy success; for no cunning, no stratagem, nothing but meer Worth had any share in this Victory. 'Tis meerly this Worth then, which whilst all things else were equal in Battle, hath made you Victor, causing fear, flight, and slaughter to your Enemies, and freeing your own Army from the like, which hath not only fought under your happy conduct, but whilst you your self acted both the Captains and Souldiers part: So as it is not the splendor of your Dignity, but your own peculiar Worth, which hath preserved you amidst the fury of Weapons, and hath freed you more then once from danger. Your Majesty may therefore promise unto your self all things prosperous, and favourable hereafter. These things which are propounded as a reward to Conquerours, Glory, Wealth, and Empire are already yours; you have already recovered the State of Millan, and your Enemies the Spaniards, who being grown more insolent through the courage and labour of other men, attempted greater things, abandoning the Enterprize, and retreating to within their own Confines, do hardly believe they can defend them against your victorious Arms; but we your true friends, well-wishers to your Honour and Greatness, being consolated and rejoyced by this your prosperity, have raised our Souls to greater hopes: and as we were ready to partake with you in any whatsoever fortune of War, so you having by Gods good will, by your own Worth, and we may say partly by our assistance, gotten so great a Victory, we also promise prosperous success to our own Affairs: Which as we know it is much desired by you, so we hope that you will be assistant to our fortune, with all your forces, since thereby your power & glory will be greatly confirm'd and increased; for to have aided such a Commonwealth, after her being oppress by many evils, so as she be returned to her ancient state and dignity, will be numbred amongst your prime praises; and as you have always found us to be your faithful Servants, so remaining still such, but more powerful, your Affairs in Italy may peradventure receive greater security. Many therefore are the reasons of our joy, that a King who is our friend hath purchased so much glory, as will be envied by memory in all ages, but peradventure paralell'd by none; that we have hopes given us of recovering our own State, and that Italy is freed from the fear she was in of the Dutch and Spaniards, who sought to imbral her Liberty. Certainly since your coming into Italy hath been long desired by us, and assisted by all our endeavours, as you your self know, it cannot be doubted but that our joy is great, in seeing all your designs prosper so successively; for we do very much rejoyce that we have had fortune to be aiding to so great a King, and do think our selves already sure of those rewards, which we assured our selves would be very great, when we resolved to adhere unto you even in your dubious condition. Then as our Common-wealth thinks that she hath got what soever your Majesty hath won by so great a Victory, and is therefore greatly consolated thereat; so we desire and hope that your Majesty will have the same respect to her, and her Affairs; being confident that our State Forces, and fortune, what soever it shall at any time happen to be, shall al-

ways

ways be ready to wait upon, and to attend your convenience and greatness.

To this the Lord Chancellour in the Kings name made a very civil and honourable reply; the Embaſſadours had private audience the next day of the King, who in a long ſpeech endeavour'd to ſhew his good will towards the Common-wealth.

Saying, *That he took their Embaſſie in very good part, and that the affection of the Common-wealth of* Venice *towards the Crown of* France *had been long ſince witneſſed by ſeveral Teſtimonies, but that it was more clear by their recent deſerts. That he had always much valued her Friendſhip, and was naturally given to imbrace it; that it was very fitting that they who had had their ſhare of the labour and danger of the War, ſhould partake of the fruit of Victory; that therefore being mindful both of their ancient amity, and of their laſt ſervice done him, he would not fail their expectation in the recovery of their State; that he had already deſtiny'd that many of his men ſhould fight under their Banners, and that he would ſend them greater helps as ſoon as his Affairs ſhould be brought to a peaceable and ſafe condition: In fine, that he would readily do any thing which might increaſe the Dignity and Power of the Common-wealth.*

The Embaſſadours, though they had ended their Embaſſie, received orders from the Senate to keep with the King, and in greater teſtimony of the honour and obſervancy which they bore him, to wait upon him whitherſoever he ſhould go, whilſt he was in *Italy*. At this time whilſt the Caſtles of *Millan* and *Cremona* were beſieged, *Alviano* marched with the Venetian Army towards *Breſcia*, to attempt the taking of that City. He deſired very much to follow the Spaniſh Army, after the ſucceſs of the Battle, that he might revenge both their former and late injuries, and utterly deſtroy that bitter Enemy. But the Vice-roy was ſo ſpeedy in removing his Camp, as *Alviano* loſt all hopes of encountering with him. Moreover, this his deſire of following the Enemy was ſufficiently cooled by Letters which he received from the Senate, wherein they ſignified their will and pleaſure to be, then ſetting all other things whatſoever aſide, he ſhould endeavour the recovery of the Cities they had loſt, and minde only that: That he ſhould make uſe of the Victory, and his late won reputation, in things of greater importance; and that he ſhould chiefly imploy all his labour and ſtudy, where greateſt good, and moſt hopes of ending the War were promiſed. Wherefore *Alviano* paſſing over the *Ada*, went with his whole Army to the taking in of *Breſcia*; *Bergamo* having been ſoon ſurrendered to him after the Switzers defeat. The Commanders in the Venetian Camp differ'd in their opinions concerning this: Some affirming,

That they were firſt to endeavour the taking of Verona, *which City was the Seat of the War, and which had always been a ſafe receptacle of the Enemy; ſo as there was no hopes of ending the War, till they were driven out of that neſt: That that City had ſtill been the chiefeſt cauſe of conteſt, and had often been the only cauſe of hindring Agreement; that others difficulties would ſoon be ended, if this City were returned into the power of the Venetians: Therefore if they could get* Verona, *all the Caſtles and Territories which were poſſeſs'd by the Enemy, might eaſily be reduced under the power of the Venetians, either by force, or by agreement that the like advantage could*

could not be had by the taking of Brescia, *the possession whereof would always be uncertain and unsafe, whilst the Enemy was powerful in* Verona. *They added that by the business of* Brescia *little more of consideration then the Town it self would be gotten, of much consideration either for War or Peace; that also great respect was to be had for the accommodation of the Army; that questionless if they should sit down before the Walls of* Verona, *they might be better furnish'd both with Victuals and with all things else by the conveniency of the River* Adice, *whereby they might tarry longer, and more commodiously in that Country, and make use either of Siege, or assault as time and occasion should require.*

The Senate being moved by these reasons were at first of this opinion, but not being so long, and taking the business again into consideration, to the end that they might not spend time to no purpose in the diversity of opinions, and that if the condition of Affairs should alter upon any accident, (as it often happens) they should not be forc'd to do what were not fitting, they resolved to leave the resolution to *Alviano*, after they had acquainted him with their opinion therein. Thus the Venetian Camp, not staying for any help from the French, came before the Walls of *Brescia*, and Siege was laid to the City, and great diligence was made to storm it; *Alviano* thought he might easilier and more honourably do this, then take *Verona*, because the one City being near friends, and the other near the Enemy, if he should carry his Army before *Brescia*.

He thought the business might prove the easier by reason of the vicinity of the French, and that it might be done with more reputation, and readier help; whereas on the contrary, if the Army should be imployed in battering Verona, *he feared lest the Spaniards and the Popes men, not being far off, might, though they were gone out of the Country, return thither, and hope to set upon our men whilst they were in disorder, and making of Trenches, or other works. Whereby he knew he could not tarry in those parts without much danger; nor depart from thence, and give over the Enterprize without as much shame, and loss of honour. Moreover* Verona *was better walled, and was excellently well provided of Victuals, and men, by the Garrison of Dutch Foot which was lately come thither. Whereas there were but few Souldiers in* Brescia, *and little provision of things necessary for defence; the Citizens very well affectioned towards the Common-wealth, and the Enemy driven out.*

But *Icardo* a Spanish Captain, a shrewd, and nimbly witted man, who had then the command of of *Brescia*, having heard, and suspected this resolution of the Venetians, had with great speed caused 1000 Foot to come from *Verona* to that City, had brought in much corn, and all things requisite for defence, so as it was sufficiently munited against an Assault. And he had used such speed, and industry in all this, as that the Souldiers of the Garrison of *Verona* might safely enter into *Brescia*, and not only not be hindred by *Alviano*, but do it before he should know of it till after it was done. *Alviano*'s advice was to assault the City on several parts, at one and the same time, and to storm it; but whilst he was contriving these things, and that his thoughts were much troubled, fearing lest the number of the Defendants being increased by the new Garrison, the business might prove more difficult then he

he had thought at firſt, and having at the ſame time undergone much bodily labour, he fell ſick, and his ſickneſs increaſing daily upon him, he was carried from the Camp to a Town called *Ghedi*, where being ſeized on by a violent burning Fever, he dyed on the ſeventh of *October* in the threeſcore year of his age. He dyed juſt when Fortune began to ſmile upon him, he having in his former days endured many adverſities; for he had won great reputation by his proſperous ſucceſſes the year before in *Friuli*, and *Poliſine di Rovigo*, and likewiſe by the confeſſion of all men, he ſhewed ſingular Valour in the laſt Battle of the French near *Millan*.

Alviano *was acknowledged generally by all men for an excellent Commander, of great courage and experience in Military Affairs; and he proved the more famous, becauſe he flouriſh'd in a time, wherein he had field room enough to ſhew his Worth and Military Skill in managing important Wars. But he ſuffer'd a little, by being thought more bold in fighting, then good at the counſelling; for he was ſo deſirous of Military Glory, as he was often too haſty in coveting Victory. Yet it may be numbred up amongſt his praiſes, that in point of execution he uſed miraculous, and at that time unuſual ſpeed: He was very much beloved and yet very much feared by the Souldiery. His great Liberality purchaſed their love, and his ſeverity in making Military Diſcipline be obſerved their fear. He was more patient in taking pains then is to be believed, wherein he would equal any whatſoever private Souldier; wherefore he was wont to ſay, that the Commander was not ſo ſenſible of labour as was the Souldier, the hopes of Glory, which ſweetens labour not being equal in them. He ſerved under the Venetian pay almoſt 20 years, always with great fidelity, but moſt commonly with ill luck; for having fought ſucceſſively in the German Wars, near* Cadore, *he was ſoon after abandoned by Fortune, and theſe good beginnings were not followed by like ſucceſs. 'Tis true that he himſelf by the fierceneſs of his nature did often times increaſe dangers and difficulties; for even then* Alviano *was thought to be born for greateſt Attempts, though through greateſt dangers, and to be one who might with praiſe ſerve any Prince in War, who was deſirous of Glory, and willing to hazard himſelf upon Fortune, upon eaſie terms. But this his forwardneſs did not ſuit well with the Common-wealth, which being always the ſame, keeping ſtill the ſame orders, though ſhe change Officers, cares not for undertaking things though never ſo glorious, if dangerous: But that ſhe may deal in them with more ſecurity, waits for time and occaſion, and walks on to her greatneſs with more mature advice.*

Alviano's body was carried to *Venice*, where his Obſequies were very ſolemnly celebrated, his Funeral Oration being made by *Andrea Navagiero*, a man of excellent wit, famous for learning and eloquence; and for the greater honour of his memory he was buried in *San Stefano*'s Church at the publick charge. And becauſe he left his wife and children very poor, he having continually loved Glory and the good will of his Souldiers more then riches, the Senate, the more to gratifie his Worth and Loyalty, rewarded him in his poſterity, they gave his wife and his only Son, to be paid them during their lives out of the publick Exchequer, 60 Duckets a moneth, and gave them a commodious houſe in the City, exempting them from all taxes belonging to their livelihood; they gave alſo 3000 Duckets a piece to his three daughters,

ters, to be paid them out of the publique Treasury at their day of Marriage.

After *Alviano*'s death, Commissary *Emo* took the care of the War, and for some days commanded the Army as Captain General. The mean while the Venetians thought upon *Giovan Giacopo Trivulcio*, to confer the Generals place upon him, for his singular vivacity of wit, for his exquisite knowledg in all Military Affairs, and especially for his ready, and well disposed inclination towards the Common-wealth. Wherefore the Venetians very much desired King *Francis* that he would permit them to make *Trivulcio*, who (as hath been said) was at this time in pay under the French, to be their General; which having obtain'd, they forthwith confer'd *Alviano*'s place upon him, and the Senate writ Letters unto him.

Wherein they signified the great love which the whole Common-wealth bore him, and the assured hopes they had in his singular Worth, and that confiding therein, and hoping to meet with the like willingness and desire in him to serve the Common-wealth, they had freely of themselves offer'd him that degree of Dignity, which they had not wont to grant others, but upon much entreaty and intercession; wherefore they desired him that he would behave himself so in that Service, as became him, who was an able and famous Commander, greatly desirous of the Liberty of Italy, *and affectionate to the Venetian Honour; that he would shew himself to be still the same man in this great and honourable imployment, as he always had been.*

Trivulcio having received these Letters, willingly accepted of the imployment offer'd him, and went suddenly to the Venetian Camp, where being received by Commissary *Emo*, he began to govern discreetly and diligently.

The first thing he did, was to call the Council together, and to be truly informed of the Enemies strength, as also of ours, what had been done, and what was to be done, and finally to inform himself of the whole State of Affairs. He afterwards began to consult with the rest of the Commanders how the War was to be carried on, wherein there were divers opinions according to every mans judgment.

Some dispairing to get Brescia, *were for raising the Siege, and carrying the Army into the Territories of* Verona, *that they might be ready upon any occasion that should be offer'd to take* Verona: *Others affirm'd that the begun Enterprize was not to be given over, that the business would not prove so difficult if it were govern'd by the ordinary ways of War; that they themselves being wearied with the trouble of a longer Siege, would not quit the hopes of Victory.*

But there were many things which made against these advices. Those that perswaded to be gone, might receive for answer, that by raising the Siege from before *Brescia*, the opinion which was had of their Forces would be lessned, and it would seem a vain and foolish thing to undertake greater and more difficult matters: And those that were for keeping the same Quarters, that Winter being near, the very season would not permit them to be long about the business, they therefore all agreed in this, which was first *Alviano*'s opinion, to wit, that environing the Town on that part where the Walls were weakest, and setting their Artillery in order, they should play uncessantly with their

Cannon upon one and the ſame place, till ſo much of the Wall might be thrown down, as might make way for an aſſault. Bringing then their Artillery into a certain place, where a little Rivolet called *la Garzetae* enters into the City, they began to play violently upon the Walls; ſo as having thrown down the uppermoſt part, the reſt might be eaſily maſter'd by the Souldiers. And now this firſt action taking effect, the Venetians began to hope well in the victory, but the City was ſtoutly defended by the Spaniſh, and Dutch Souldiers, who were very ready upon any action; they kept diligent Guard every where, they raiſed their Rampiers, and did munite the Walls with their own bodies; nor did they leave any thing undone which appertain'd to defence. Therefore our men growing daily cooler in point of aſſault, and all reſolution being drawn out at length, the Enemy growing bolder by our delay, accuſed our men of cowardlineſs, and not content to keep them aloof from the Wall, did often times indamage them by Sallies. And growing more confident by ſome ſmall ſucceſſes, about 2000 of them ſallied one day out of the City, intending to drive away ſome of the Venetians that were gotten neareſt the Walls; and bending their chiefeſt force againſt thoſe that guarded the Artillery, they ſlew many of them, and chaſing away the reſt, forc'd them to retreat and to forſake that Station, purſuing them even unto their Quarters. So as our men would have been notably prejudiced that day, had not *Trivulcio* ſpeedily ſent them a recrute both of Horſe and Foot, by which relief they being ſtay'd, who ran away, they began to fight in their own defence, and being encouraged did not only ſuſtain the Enemy, but after many Skirmiſhes, drove them to within their Walls, and recovering many pieces of Artillery brought them to the Camp; the reſt were either broken by the Enemy, or carried into the City. Amongſt the reſt *Jovan Paolo Manfrone* wan great praiſe in this action, but *Trivulcio* did not only diſpair by this to take the City by force, but growing ſomewhat afraid, by ſeeing the Enemy encouraged, and his own men abaſed, that ſomewhat of worſe might befall him, thought it his beſt courſe to remove the Camp to a place two miles from the City, called *La ſeconda Pietro*: To the end that the Army might have means to refreſh themſelves, and to expect aid from the French, whereby he might afterwards with greater force, and better advice return, and re-aſſume the buſineſs. In the interim, that the Souldiers might not grow lazy through idleneſs, and to keep up the Venetian honour, which being begun to get head again, might ſeem by ſo ſmall an adverſity to decline; the Commanders reſolved to ſend ſome of their men to *Peſchiera*, and re-gain that Town to the Common-wealth, which was very uſeful to the War. Wherein they had ſuch happy ſucceſs, as they took it the very firſt day by aſſault; and ſoon after, encountring with a Squadron of Curaſſiers, and ſome Foot Golours, who were ſent to relieve *Peſchiera*, they put them to flight, ſlew many of them, and took many Priſoners. Hereupon *Aſoli*, *Lonato*, *Sermione*, and ſome other Towns thereabouts ſoon ſurrendered; ſo as the affection to the name of *Venice* which ſeemed to be fallen aſleep, began to be awakened in the peoples minds. It was now *November*, wherefore the Venetians, partly by reaſon of the time of the year, partly by reaſon of the difficulty of the buſineſs,

buſineſs, reſolved for that time to give over the Siege of *Breſcia*; when News came to the Camp, that many Horſe and Foot would ſoon come in to their ſuccour. The King of *France* had thought to have ſent theſe recrutes much ſooner to the Venetians, but they being to have been commanded by the *Gran Baſtardo di Saveia*, a Kinſman of the Kings, and a man of great Worth and Authority, who had likewiſe given him in charge, firſt to take in the Caſtle of *Cremona*; he ſpent more time therein then he thought to have done, which had cauſed him to defer his coming thus long. He brought along with him 5000 Foot, 800 Horſe, many pieces of Artillery, and great ſtore of victuals; wherefore as ſoon as he was come to the Venetian Camp, they alter'd their opinion, and were all of one mind, to re-attempt the taking of *Breſcia* immediately with the whole Army; thinking that the bitterneſs of the ſeaſon might be overcome by the number, and aſſiduity of the Souldiers. But the buſineſs, though firſt attempted with great hopes of victory, rather by the falſeneſs and fooliſh obſtinacy of friends, then by any Worth in the Enemy; for the Dutch Foot commanded by the *Gran Baſtardo*——— ſoon began rather to be a trouble, then a help: They oft times raiſed tumults in the Camp, they refuſed ſometimes to fight againſt *Ceſar*, ſometime cry'd inſolently for pay, before they had deſerved it, and deſpiſing their Captains commands, ran into the neighbouring parts, ranſacking all things, and plundering as well their Friends as Foes. Another great inconvenience was added unto this, able to diſturbe any deſign how good ſoever; for the *Gran Baſtardo*—— falling very ſick, was forced to depart the Camp. The Venetian Embaſſadours who were with the King of *France* being advertiſed of this, did by commiſſion from the Senate, again very much deſire the King to ſend more aid; they deſired other Souldiers, other Commanders, but chiefly *Pietro Navaro*, who was at this time in great repute; for being very expert at the taking in of places, & wont to get the victory by a new way of Militia: He uſed ſuch art and induſtry in working Mines, and in uſing ſeveral unuſual Engines, as made all men wonder. This man being ſent by the King with ſuccour to the Venetian Army, the Siege was again begun to be laid to *Breſcia*; *Trivulcio* was encamped on one ſide with abont 900 Venetian Foot, and 2000 Horſe; on the other ſide, which lyes over againſt the Gate uſually called *delle Pille*, and of which *ill Baſtardo*—— had had formerly the care, *Navaro* placed himſelf, with 5000 Gaſconne and French Foot which he had brought with him; ſo they began to play upon the Town in ſeveral parts at once, and the City being beſieged on all ſides by continual Guards, nothing was free nor ſafe to them that were within; they were forced to keep Sentinels in all places, to be in perpetual work every where; and herein lay the Venetians chiefeſt hopes, that the Defendants tired out with continual action, and conſequently growing weak, would be forced to give over much of their defence; for the Spaniſh Souldiers, having had leaſure time enough to fortifie the City, had been ſo diligent in raiſing Cavaliers, in making Trenches, places of Retreat, and in well defending the Walls, as not any one part lay open, or naked to the aſſaliants; and if any part of the Wall chanc'd to be thrown down by the Cannon, a new Rampier was raiſed for defence in the place thereof. So as the

Souldiers might use their Artillery under shelter, and all other sort of Arms. But the business drawing on in length, and the Venetians knowing that their labour was but in vain, and that the City could not be taken by assault, *Navar* betakes himself to his other accustomed Stratagems, which he had not yet made use of here, because it required much labour and pain, and because he feared lest all his labour and design might meet with disturbance, by the condition of the season, and by the great store of rain that was fallen. He began to make a passage under the earth, which led from the Camp to the City, through which the Souldiers were to march, and on the sudden fall upon the City within. This work being diligently, and with much labour wrought upon by the Souldiers both day and night, so as it was now brought almost to an end; the Spaniards, moved thereunto by some sign, or were it only out of suspition, because they saw our men had given over their Battery, and that Proceedings went slower on in the Camp, betook themselves to observe diligently in every part of the City, whether or no they could find or hear any motion of the earth, they dug Ditches in many places, and searched diligently into *Navar*'s hidden ways, of which as soon as they discovered any the left shew, to the end that they might be the more certain of it, and apply remedy, they began to make countermines all in contra, and throwing great store of Gun-powder thereinto, they gave fire unto it, and overthrew our work, slaying all the Souldiers that wrought upon it: Thus many days labour was lost in a moment; yet the Venetians had one hope left whereby to get the City; the rest proving vain through various accidents; to wit, to straiten it by Siege; for they knew it wanted many things, which would force it to surrender. Corn was grown to such a scarcity, as the Dutch Souldiers not able to endure it, not having received neither any pay of a long time from the Emperour, refused to do duties, grew insolent with their Commanders, put all things into confusion, and began to rebell. Which when the Venetian Camp knew, *Trivulcio* thought he had a fair occasion offer'd him of taking the City, without the loss his of men; wherefore neither the inconvenience of Winter, nor the Snow, nor the trouble of a long Siege, were able to make him alter his resolution. He knew it made much for his Renown, and for the proving of his affection to the Common-wealth, that he should prosper in his first attempts. He therefore kept the City environed on all sides with his Army, to keep any victuals from being brought into it, and to keep the Souldiers that were within from coming out, intending likewise to seize on such monies as might perchance be sent them; and in the interim there past light Skirmishes between them and the Enemy; for many Foot came from the Garrison of *Verona*, striving to get into the Brescian Territories, and to prejudice our Army. But to hinder these the Souldiers of the Common-wealth came from out *Peschiera* and *Valeggio*, and meeting with some of them, they often fell to blows with various success of both sides; nothing hapning notwithstanding worthy of memory, nor which did much concern the main business.

Whilst *Brescia* was thus besieged, many things had past concerning peace: The Pope, seeing that his attempts by Force and Arms succeeded

ceeded not according to his thoughts, betook himſelf to his wonted artifices the better to ſecure himſelf thereby. He therefore reſolved to be a Mediator of peace between the Emperour and the Venetians: Which if it ſhould ſucceed, he thought he might treat of peace with the French upon better terms. But the Venetians weary of ſuch Proceedings, and being often deluded by vain hopes, could not believe much in the Popes words. Wherefore thinking that the ſafety of their State and of their Affairs could be grounded no where better then on the friendſhip of the French, which they deſired might be made as much known to them as might be, they refuſed all offers of agreement, and thought it better to acquaint the French Embaſſadour with all things that were propounded to them by the Pope concerning peace: And to do the like with the King by their Embaſſadours that were with him; who told him in the name of the Common-wealth, that the Senate in their preſent troubles of War, placed their hopes in nothing but on their own Forces, and on the King of *France* his help and favour. The King was of the ſame mind, to keep friendſhip with the Venetians, and to purſue the War. Wherefore *Ceſar* who was much troubled at theſe proſperous ſucceſſes, having by his Embaſſadours endeavoured to come to ſome agreement, the King utterly deſpiſing the Friendſhip and League which was offer'd him, diſmiſs'd the Embaſſadours, and acquainted the Venetians particularly with the whole Treaty. The French knew very well by many examples, that *Ceſars* mind was ſo mutable, and ſo deſirous of Novelties, as their affairs could never be reputed ſafe nor quiet, whilſt he had any Footing, or his men any receit in *Italy*: So as they muſt be forced to be at great coſt, and not out of danger in maintaining the State of *Millan*, till *Ceſar* and his Armies were driven from thence; but the King thought otherwiſe of the Pope; for though he had alienated himſelf from him, when he thought him to be moſt his friend, yet he greatly deſired the Popes Friendſhip; nor was he parted from him, but upon great neceſſity. Wherefore the Pope, having ſent his Nuntio into the French Camp, without knowledg of other confederates, to treat of agreement, the King received him graciouſly, ſeeming very well pleaſed that there was means left him whereby to be eaſily received again into favour, and friendſhip with the Pope; yet being reſolved not to buy it at any dear rate, ſince it was voluntarily offer'd him, the Nuncio could get no poſitive anſwer, unleſs the Cities of *Parma* and *Piacenza*, which were then detain'd by the Pope, ſhould be reſtored to the power and poſſeſſion of the French. The Pope though he thought it very ſevere for him to be bereft of thoſe two Cities, and to loſe that reward which he had purchas'd by ſo many dangers and labours, yet after having ſpent many days and nights in great agitation of mind, he at laſt reſolved to ſatisfie the King, and to reſign up thoſe Cities. Finding that all his labour was loſt in going about to bring the Venetians to agreement with him and *Ceſar*. Nor could he defer it any longer without hazard, not thinking either his own Forces, or thoſe of his colleagues ſufficient to ſecure him and his affairs from the power of the Conquerours. Theſe chief points being therefore accommodated, to the end that they might treat the better of the reſt, and that the League might be the more firm-

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ly made, it was reſolved that the Pope and King ſhould have an Interview, for which a certain time being appointed, the one parted from *Rome*, and the other from *Millan*, and met both at *Bolognia*, as the moſt convenient place for them both. The Venetian Embaſſadours accompanied the King, the more to honour the Royal Court in a time of ſuch ſolemnity; the Court being then full of many French Lords, and very glorious in all manner of Preparations; as alſo for that it was reported, that many things belonging to the Common-wealth were to be treated of at that convention, and touching univerſal agreement; which cauſed much rejoycing in all *Italy*, which had been ſo long moleſted, but eſpecially amongſt the Venetians, all of them hoping well in a future peace. Yet for what concern'd the Common-wealth, becauſe divers difficulties lay in it, it was only reſolved, that Cardinal *Egidio Eremitano*, a Perſonage of ſingular Integrity and Learning, ſhould be ſent Legate to the Emperour from the Pope, to treat of this buſineſs, and to endeavour to make him comply, and agree with the Venetians. Pontifical Briefs were likewiſe ſent to the Venetians, wherein they were exhorted to embrace peace; but as concerning the common condition of affairs, and the ordering of a general peace, nothing was either concluded, nor ſo much as treated of, but rather many ſeeds were ſown of other Wars; for on the one ſide King *Francis*, not being able any longer to cloak his deſire of winning the Kingdom of *Naples*, which he had long thirſted after, had by his civility and complacency with the Pope, got leave of him, that by the Popes favour and authority, he might, when time ſhould ſerve, fall upon that Enterprize; on the other part, *Leo* diſcovered a no leſs ardent deſire in himſelf of the greatneſs of the Houſe of *Medici*, by denying the King, who had very much deſired it at his hands, to pardon *Franciſco Maria della Rovere*, Duke of *Urbin*, if he had found any fault in him. Whence it might be eaſily comprehended how he was minded (when there ſhould be occaſion again of taking up of Arms, and of expoſing himſelf again to the danger and troubles of War) to put his Nephew *Lorenzo de Medici* into poſſeſſion of the State of *Urbin*, wherein he had a little before inveſted him. Thus the Sequel did ſhew manifeſtly, that both *Leo* and *Francis*, aim'd only in this their convention, at their own advantage, and their preſent accommodation; and that they did not almoſt at all think upon the common agreement, and peace for the future; for having eſtabliſh'd divers things touching their own ſecurity, and the aggrandizing of their States, they both departed from *Bolognia*, after having ſpent ſix days in this Treaty. 'Tis moſt certain that both theſe Princes did very much deſire this Inter-view, out of a thought of reaping much advantage thereby; for the Pope, being ſtrangely ingenious, and knowing how to handle buſineſs beſt for his advantage, thought he ſhould be able by his perſwaſive ſpeeches, and elegancy of words, to pacifie the King, and make him become his friend, if he ſhould find him otherwiſe; and if he ſhould find in him a well diſpoſed will, to be then able to increaſe it, and to diſpoſe of the Kings Forces at his pleaſure. But King *Francis*, ſeeing his ancient Enemies re-kindle their hatred, and his Friends behave themſelves as Enemies, and that they all conſpired together againſt him (as it is always ſeen that

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proſperity produces envy) thought nothing could make more for his good at the preſent, then to take the Pope from his Enemies, and joyn his Holineſs to him. *Ceſar* and the Switzers were already joyn'd together, and it was commonly ſaid that the King of *Spain* and King of *England* were likewiſe joyn'd with them; the latter becauſe he could not willingly endure to ſee the King of *France* his power and glory increaſe ſo much; and the other, becauſe it was held for certain, that when the French ſhould be at peace with the reſt, he would ſoon make War with him, either to put the King of *Navar* into his State, or elſe to recover the Kingdom of *Naples*. Wherefore King *Francis*, finding ſuch dangers threatened him by ſo many Enemies, thought he had provided the better for his affairs, by how much he ſhould joyn in a ſtraiter League and Friendſhip with the Pope. Thoſe things being then thus diſpoſed of, which concern'd the annexing the Forces and Authority of the Church unto him, he began to think of his return into *France* to comply with his wives entreaties; but much more to ſecure his Kingdom from the imminent danger of War, by the men that he brought back with him; and he ſtay'd now only that he might firſt ſomewhat eſtabliſh the Venetians affairs, and ſo increaſe the Forces of the League, as though he were not himſelf in perſon in *Italy*, he might have no reaſon to fear the Enemy for what concern'd the State of *Millan*. Therefore as ſoon as he was gone from *Bologna*, and arrived at *Millan*, he chiefly minded the ſending of more Forces time enough to the Venetian Camp before *Breſcia*. Which was already reduced thereby to ſo great ſtraits, as it was thought it would ſoon fall into the Common-wealths hands. It was known that the Souldiers who defended it, and who had already ſhew'd great Valour, in reſiſting many aſſaults; being weary through ſo many inconveniences of the Siege, and chiefly not having received pay nor relief; nor *Ceſar* not having taken any proviſion for it, were brought almoſt to the very laſt point of deſpair; in ſo much as the Spaniſh Souldiers had agreed; that if the promiſed relief ſhould not come from *Ceſar* within twenty days; they would deliver up the City to the Venetians, upon condition that they might be permitted to go forth with their Colours, and their other Military Affairs. The King was particularly inform'd of theſe Proceedings by the Venetian Embaſſadours, who accompanied him all this journey; and ſhew'd him how affairs went, and deſired him not to give over the hopes of getting that City; but to ſend his men forthwith to the Venetian camp to keep the Dutch Foot from relieving the City, who were led on by Captain *Roncandolfo*, which if it ſhould ſucceed well, ſo many moneths time would be ſpent in vain, and they ſhould loſe ſo fair an opportunity of putting an end unto the War. But though the King very well knew the importancy of the buſineſs, he could not uſe ſuch diligence as that the French aid could prevent the coming of the Dutch Foot, who being 8000 in number entred all ſafe into the City the 20 days not being yet expired, not meeting with any obſticle; for the Common-wealths Souldiers, who when News came of the Enemies approach, were ſent to the ſtrait Paſſes of the Mountains, baſely retreated to the Army, not ſtaying ſo much as to look the Enemy in the face. The Dutch had for their guid in this their voyage Captain *Lodo-*

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vico da Ladrone, who being very well practiſed in thoſe parts, led them over the tops of Mountains by unuſual ways, ſo as getting at unawares out of thoſe ſtrait and difficult Paſſes, they cauſed thereby more fear in our men. When News came to the Venetian camp that the Enemy was come, they differ'd in their opinions, ſome were for continuing the Siege, ſome for carrying the Army elſewhere; but the number of the Dutch Foot being given out to be greater then indeed it was, and the Spies having informed at the ſame time that *Marco Antonio Colonna* was gone out of *Verona*, and entred into the confines of *Mantua*, and haſted to aſſault them; the Venetian Commanders, fearing that if they ſhould tarry any longer they might eaſily be incompaſſed on both ſides by the Enemy, thought it beſt to raiſe the Siege. So the Artillery being brought into the Cities of *Crema* and *Cremona*, the Army march'd to *Caſtelnedulo*, ſix miles from *Breſcia*. When this News came to *Venice* it cauſed much wonder, and as much ſorrow in all the Citizens, who built confidently upon the getting of *Breſcia*. The Captain General and Commiſſaries had by letters advertiſed the Senate that all the Paſſes were ſo guarded by our Souldiers, as it was impoſſible for the Beſieged to receive any ſuccour. And this was the more credibly believed, becauſe News came at the ſame time, that the Forces which were ſent from the French to aſſiſt our Camp (which were 3000 Dutch Foot, and 400 Horſe) were already on their way from *Millan*. And aſſuredly the Common-wealth loſt no little reputation hereby to think that ſo few men gathered together out of the Countrey, unexperienced in the Militia, without either Artillery or Horſe, ſhould infuſe ſuch fear into a numerous Army, ſo well provided of all things as was that of the Venetians and French, and which expected new ſuccours ſuddenly, as ſhould make them give over their hopes of getting the City by Siege, and to change their Quarters. *Trivulcio* was accuſed by many of too much haſte and bad advice, in loſing the opportunity of putting an end unto his buſineſs, which ſo much labour had been beſtowed about. Whereat he being very much incenſed, he demanded leave to quit the Service of the Common-wealth, alledging that he was ſent for home about ſome privare affairs of his own, which would not ſuffer him to tarry any longer in the camp.

But the Senate, who thought this mans reputation and skill might be of great help in that War, writ unto him, and exagerating his Worth, ſaid,

They had always found much fidelity in his Actions, and much readineſs, and had never found fault with him, but much commended him for it; that it became not the gravity of a Senate, when things wiſely undertaken, did not ſucceed well, to lay the fault upon the Authors, according to the cuſtom of the common people; that they therefore never blamed any thing but the bitterneſs of the Seaſon, and the Fortune of War, which had been ſo long averſe to the Common-wealth; ſo as though they might be ſometimes troubled at the ſucceſs of the Commanders counſels and advices, yet knowing them to be good, they did not blame the counſels: That for all this bad fortune the Senate would not go leſs in their former intentions of providing for the War, but would take care that the Army ſhould be abundantly furniſh'd with all things, which belong'd to the care of a General, as if he himſelf were preſent at their Counſels.

Counſels. And that the General ſhould want nothing whereby to ſhew his Worth.

Theſe, and the like means were often uſed not only to *Trivulcio*, but to the King of *France*, yet were they not able to make him alter his reſolution. He therefore departed from *Millan*, and the care of the Venetian Army, and the adminiſtration of the War, was committed to *Theadore Trivulcio*. This man was formerly entertain'd by the Venetians, and had the ſame place and imployment as *Renzo da Ceri* had before; but was not able to come unto the camp till now, whither as ſoon as he was come, he had the ſame authority given him as *Giacopo Trivulcio* had before, though not the name, nor degree of Captain General. This mean while King *Francis*, having provided all things for his depar.ure, and ſent ſome of his men already before, he left the Duke of *Burbone* in charge with the Government of the affairs of *Italy*, wherein he endued him with great authority, and returned into *France*. But being reſolved before he went to ſend more aid to the Venetian Army, he recommended the men to the care of *Monſieur Odetto de Foix*, named *Monſieur di Lautrech*, one famous in War, and deſirous of Glory, who for his worth and courage was thought fit to exerciſe the place of any Commander. His commiſſion from the King was to go with thoſe men to the taking in of *Breſcia*, and to do all things for the good and ſervice of the Venetians, with the ſame care and diligence as if the City were to be recovered for him, and to be annex'd to the Crown of *France*. And certainly all the Kings Proceedings were ſuch, as plainly ſhew'd he bore a great good will to the Common-wealth; for he had often conſtantly affirm'd, that if the occaſion of War ſhould require it, he would be ready to return again into *Italy*, with no leſs Forces then he had done now, to the end that the Common-wealth might be reſtored to her former Power and Dignity.

Wherefore the Venetians to purchaſe more grace and favour with the King, thought fit to ſend an Embaſſadour who might continually reſide with *Monſieur di Borbone*, who, as it hath been ſaid, was left in *Italy* in the ſupremeſt place of Dignity; ſince it was likely they might have many occaſions to treat with him in: To which imployment they choſe *Andrea Treviſano*, who as ſoon as he came to *Millan*, *Andrea Gritti*, who had tarried in that City after the Kings departure to procure the coming of the French to our Army, returned to the camp by order from the Senate, where he was made Commiſſary in the place of *Dominico Contarini*, who falling ſick, had got leave of the Senate to be gone. Almoſt about the ſame time came *Monſieur di Lautrech* to the Army; and now the French aid being come, it was thought it was no more to be doubted, but that *Breſcia*, not being able any longer to reſiſt ſo great Forces, would at laſt fall into the power of the Common-wealth. The Pope thinking that ſuch ſucceſs would make much againſt his deſigns, ſought by all means to hinder it. He propounded a Truce, and howſoever deſired that the buſineſs might be ſpun out at length; hoping that if the Siege of *Breſcia* ſhould prove long and difficult, ſome occaſion might ariſe, which might make the Venetians liſten the ſooner to agreement, though upon bad conditions. And becauſe he himſelf was able to do but little in this buſineſs, no great

belief being given to his words, nor exhortations, he thought to interpose the King of *Polonia*'s authority, perswading his Embassadour, who was yet at *Venice*, to re-assume the business of Peace, by making new Proposals.

As, if the Venetians would forego the friendship of the French, and side with Cesar, *the noble Cities of* Cremona *and* Lodi *might be added unto their State; for the King of* France *might be easily driven out by the joynt Forces of the Emperour, the Pope, and the Common-wealth; and then those Cities might be obtain'd from* Cesar, *by the King of* Polands *Intercession, and Authority; so as being for the future sever'd from the State of* Millan, *they might be added to the Dominion of* Venice, *which would make way by occasion of handling other particulars, for the re-gaining all the other things which were now held by* Cesar.

Upon the same design, the Pope, to the end that by absence of the Commander the business of *Brescia* might be drawn out more at length, exhorted King *Francis* to send *Monsieur di Lautrech* to *Rome*, seeming very desirous to treat with that grave and wise man in many things concerning the business of *Naples*, which he knew the King did very much desire, and therefore he thought this proposition would be very acceptable to him. And though the Pope had contrary thoughts in his head, yet he seemed very desirous that the beginning of that War might not be deferr'd; for that *Ferdinando* King of *Spain*, after long sickness was dead, and the power of *Charles* Duke of *Burgony*, who had taken upon him the name of Prince of *Casteile*, grew daily more formidable to all those that had any States in *Italy*, but chiefly to him; that therefore all force and industry was to be used in not suffering his power to increase too immoderately. But as *Leo*'s cunning, already sufficiently known to all, could not bring about his design, he having lost all credit; so did it afford great cause of wonder by his uncertain way of proceeding; for it seemed that these courses wherewith he thought to have joyntly provided both for his own safety, and the like of the Ecclesiastique State, did ill become his wisdom; for he endeavoured, as he had done all the time of his Popedome, that the Venetians, who had always shew'd themselves obedient to the Apostolique See, whereof there wanted not many evident examples; being suppress by so many adversities, should be still troubled with the labour and dangers of War; so as their Forces should be kept low, and the dignity and power of the Common-wealth weakened; and that on the contrary he should so study to advance the Emperours greatness, when he knew that nothing could be so pernicious both to himself and all *Italy*, as to suffer the Dutch Armies to continue long in that Country; giving occasion thereby to revive the ancient claim and pretences of the Emperours. And say he should have forgot ancient passages, whereby he might be instructed how many cruel and bitter things that Nation had plotted against the Popes of *Rome*; how could he forget modern affairs and speeches told unto him, used by *Maximillian*? Who was wont in all his discourses to say publickly, that the Churches State did belong to the Western Empire; and that it would be his Fate to return the Dignity of the Empire in *Italy* by his Forces, to its former greatness. Therefore they who thought they saw more into *Leo*'s intentions,

tentions, were of opinion, that his chief aim was to take the Venetians off from the friendſhip of the French: Which if he could not do, yet that by the weakening of their Forces, thoſe of the King of *France* would likewiſe be weakened, he being a friend and confederate of the Common-wealths; whoſe greatneſs (moved thereunto either by hatred or fear) the Pope could not tolerate. Whereas he was leſs jealous of *Ceſar*'s Forces, as well in his own reſpect, as of that of the Church, by reaſon of his natural light headedneſs; by reaſon of his paucity of men, and want of monies; for which reaſons he thought his greatneſs could never be ſo well grounded, but that it might by ſome chance be made to totter.

Thus did this year end, mens minds being variouſly poſſeſs'd with hope and fear; and not knowing what the end of ſo many evils would be; for in the beginning of the next year, which was the year of our Lord 1516, and the 8th year from the time that all *Italy*, and eſpecially the State of *Venice* began to be ſorely moleſted with War, new Preparations for Arms, and evident ſigns of future troubles began to appear. Souldiers were taken into pay every where; more means were uſed for the renewing of War, then was before: and chiefly the Venetians, refuſing all Treaties of Peace, or of new Leagues, and being return'd to beſiege *Breſcia*, with great hopes of gaining it, were reſolute to continue the War till ſuch time as they ſhould have gotten that City either by force, or by voluntary ſurrender. *Ceſar* alſo (who had not been himſelf in perſon in any of the Armies the laſt year paſt, but managing the War by his Captains, had not managed it over well) re-aſſuming his former thirſt after War, ſought to raiſe commotions in all parts. and to augment his Forces that he might moleſt the affairs of *Italy*; he called many Dyets, craved aids, muſter'd men, ſent for Commanders; but he chiefly ſollicited the Switzers to take up Arms, and to revenge the death of their valiant companions, promiſing to be their Leader, and to be willing to ſhare with them in all labour and danger. The King of *England* did the like, out of envy to the King of *France* his recent glory, and out of anger that he had taken the King of *Scotland* into his protection. The Pope with the like intention, but more ſecretly, endeavour'd the ſame with the Switzers. All theſe affirm'd that the Switzers could undertake no War which could bring them greater glory or richer booty, then that of *Italy*, which being already begun, muſt now again be renewed with greater Forces. They moreover promis'd them ſome pay for their Souldiers, but much hopes of greater advantage which they might always have by their Friendſhip. This mean time the Venetian Commanders, *Lautrech* being already come (as hath been ſaid) with aid to their camp, held many Councils, and did differ in their opinions touching the managing of the War.

Some were for the raiſing of the Siege from before Breſcia, *and for carrying the whole Army to* Verona; *for which they alledged that that City, now that their veterane Souldiers were gone to relieve* Breſcia, *was but weakly garriſon'd, and that the Enemy had made no proviſion for neceſſary defence; as not ſuſpecting any ſuch thing then. But the ſeaſon of the year made much againſt this opinion; for the Camp could not without great inconvenience*

be removed in the midst of Winter, nor the Souldiers be led to a new Enterprize. Besides it might appear a rash thing to change greater hopes of getting Brescia, *with the uncertainty of what might befall about* Verona; *for the condition of* Brescia *being considered, it was evidently seen, that unless they did intermit their begun works, the Town must of necessity fall into their hands, either by force, or by surrender; it was apparent that the City was in great want of money, Corn, and of all sort of Victuals; the Commanders were at oddes within themselves; the Souldiers weary of being long besieged, and by reason of many sufferings, rather ready to mutiny then to fight; and the Citizens, as well by reason of their new grievances laid upon them by their new Masters, as out of their ancient affection to the Venetians, desirous of Novelties, and ready upon any accident to drive the Garrison out of the City. Moreover the Defendants were reduced to a small number; for the Foot who were come a little before to assist the Besieged, seeing that with diversity of opinion, but no resolution, many discourses had been had of leading the Souldiers forth to fight, and that the scarcity of Victuals did daily increase, were most of them gone from the City, leaving the business unperfected.*

These things being found by the report of many to be true, it was by general consent agreed, that they should keep their Quarters, and attend with all diligence to straiten the City more. Our Army abounded in all things; for the Senate were so careful to provide all things requisite for War, as though the Enemy strove much to hinder it, all their endeavours proved vain. Amongst the rest *Mark Antonio Colonna* endeavour'd often by sending his Souldiers out of *Verona*, to keep the Army from victuals, and by laying ambushes to intercept the monies which were sent to the Venetian camp. To which purpose he kept continually good store of Spanish Foot and Horse at the Town of *Legnano*, which was now fallen into his power; to block up all the ways of that Country, and the Enemy growing daily more bold, and offering at great matters, they made incursion even to the Territories of *Brescia*, which they might safely do, because they saw the Venetian Army was busied about the Siege. Wherefore the Captain General and Commissaries, thought that it stood not with the honour and reputation of that Army to suffer that so few men should come so near hand to insult over them. Wherefore having notice that *Colonna* endeavour'd to come into the confines of *Mantua*, to block up that way likewise, which as the safest, was frequented by those that went to the camp; *Paolo Manfrone* and *Mercurio Bua* were sent by our men to meet them, and to fight them. Who though they undertook the business courageously, yet did they not succeed well therein; for *Colonna* having notice of their coming by his Scouts, took with him some companies of veterane Souldiers, and went speedily towards *Valeggio*, where he had such advantage of place, as he might chuse whether he would keep safe there, or fight upon advantagious terms: Our men and the Enemy entred at the same time by several ways into this Town, and both of them strove to possess themselves of the Bridg, which joyns the Town together, being otherwise divided by the waters of *Menzo*; each side hoping to repulse the Enemy, and to make themselves Masters of the Town. When they came to skirmish, our men at first did not only valiantly withstand the Enemy, but repuls'd them, and if after a long dispute they were sometimes

ſometimes forced to give back, yet ſoon after they would return and purſue them.

Thus this Conflict laſted a good while with dubious ſucceſs: but the Enemy, who were many more in number, having at laſt driven our Horſe from the Bridg, whereby they had power to ſettle their Ranks in a larger ſpace, they charged ſo furiouſly upon our men, as not being able to reſiſt any longer, but being diſperſed, and diſcouraged, our men began to run, ſome of them getting ſafe unto the Camp, otherſome being taken Priſoners, amongſt which *Julio*, Son to *Paolo Manfrone*, was one. *Janus Fregoſo*, and *Corrado Orſino*, ſucceeded better in their Attempts, who being gone at the ſame time from the Camp, to ſuppreſs ſome Dutch Foot Colours, in ſome narrow paſſages of the Mountains, they met with them who were ſent before to be a Convoy to certain Moneys which were brought to the Beſieged. They fought them ſo couragiouſly, and ſo fortunately, as but few of the Enemy eſcaped ſafe away: But being more incouraged afterwards, they made way for a greater Victory, being by an unexpected accident, put upon a buſineſs of much danger, but of more hopes; For *Fregoſo*, and *Orſino*, being come to the Caſtle of *Anſo*, when they thought the Enemy were far off, they were unexpectedly advertized of their being neer at hand; And although the night were already come on, they reſolved to Aſſault them forthwith, without any delay, and at unawares; They quickly put the firſt Squadrons to flight, whereat thoſe that followed being diſ-heartned, they likewiſe began to run; which they could not doe ſo faſt, by reaſon of the craggy Waies, but that they were cut in peices. But the mean while theſe were Fighting, thoſe who had the conducting of the Moneys, relying upon their knowledg of the wayes, and the darkneſs of the night, went over the ſharpeſt tops of Mountains, and ſaved this prey, which the Venetian Souldiers thought themſelves almoſt ſure of. But theſe things made little for the main buſineſs, nor did they conduce any thing to putting of an end unto the War: And much greater buſineſſes began now to be agitated, by reaſon of the news of the Emperours coming for *Italy*, which news encreaſed every day, affording both the Beſieged and the Beſiegers, various effects, both of hope and fear; and many new things were broaching both in the City, and in the Camp. The Emperour had raiſed many Horſe and Foot in his own Dominions, and having egg'd on many Switzers to take up Arms, he was already upon his way for *Italy*, intending to enter by the Mountains of *Trent*, into the Territories of *Verona*, and when he ſhould have munited the Garriſons of *Verona* and *Breſcia*, to paſs into the State of *Millan*, and drive the French from thence. When the Pope heard of his coming, for his greater honour, and to witneſs how well he ſtood affected to him, he ſent his Legate *Bernardo Bibiena*, to meet him, a man of great note, both for his honour of being a Cardinal, and for his favour with the Pope; which did not a little moleſt *Ceſar*'s Affairs, nor confirme the Switzers. The Venetians, beleeving for certain that the Emperour would come for *Italy*, did ſeveral times earneſtly entreat the King of *France* to provide betimes for the common Affair, and not to ſuffer himſelf to be bereft of the fruit of ſo much labour,

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neither by *Ceſar*, nor by the Switzers, who envied his glory; That therefore he ſhould either return arm'd himſelf into *Italy*, or if that might not be, to encreaſe his Army luſtily, and to take order for all ſuch proviſions as the greatneſs of the Affayr did require; as for their part, they promiſed to ſpare for neither coſt, nor labour. The King was very much troubled at theſe things, not only for the danger which he ſaw the Dukedom of *Millan* would be in, but becauſe it would be a great hinderance to him afterwards in the buſineſs of *Naples*, which he had ſet his heart upon. Being reſolved to defend his own Territories, and thoſe of his confederates, he firſt propounded to the Venetians that 8000 Switzers might be taken into pay at the common charge; for having opportunely made League at this time with that Nation, in their agreement it was particularly declared, that it might be lawful for the King to have as many Souldiers out of their Countrey as he ſhould pleaſe. To this the Venetians aſſented readily, promiſing for their parts to pay 2000 Foot of that Nation, and to be ready to diſburſe monies for all other neceſſaries for the War. And though the publick Treaſury was already much exhauſted, and the whole City mightily oppreſt by the weight of ſo long a War, yet was there no proviſion omitted which was thought neceſſary for maintaining the Army, and continuing the War. Four thouſand Italian Foot were raiſed, the Garriſons of Cities increaſed; *Paulo Gradinigo* and *Luigi Barbaro* were made Commiſſaries; the former to have particular care of all things belonging to the Militia in *Padua*, the other, the like in *Treviſo*.

There were at this time in our camp 4000 Gaſconne Foot and 500 Curaſſiers, commanded by French men; in the Army which was particularly under *Trivulcio*'s charge were 7000 Foot, & about 2500 Horſe, part light Horſe, part Curaſſiers. The Duke of *Bourbone*, after the Kings departure, had with him 4000 Gaſconne and Italian Foot, and 700 Curaſſiers; theſe men being all joyn'd together, & the Switzers Foot being likewiſe to be added to them, whereof 6000 were already ſaid to be come to *Furea*, the French and the Venetians might ſeem to have great hopes of being therewithal able to defend the State of *Millan*, and to fruſtrate all the Emperours endeavours; for though it were given out that *Ceſar* brought with him 25000 Souldiers to this Enterprize, yet it was confidently believed that his Army was more numerous then valiant, and that their other Requiſites for War were not anſwerable; for the Dutch Foot were for the moſt part raiſed in his own Dominions, and tumultuouſly of all ſorts of men; that his Horſe were few, and unexperienced, the proviſion of victuals and monies but ſmall, and no great conſtancy in the Commander himſelf to ſupport theſe inconveniences, nor much knowledg how to remedy them. There was only one thing which ſeemed to make for the ſtrength of this Army, to wit, the Switzers Forces; yet *Ceſar* could not much confide in them, by reaſon of their changeable diſpoſition, and for a certain ill will they bore to the Houſe of *Auſtria*: Therefore theſe Forces of the Emperours being greater in fame, then in reality, it was thought that the Venetians would encounter with them, and fight them with all their men, as ſoon as they were come near their confines; leſt any longer delay might ſhew fear in them, and make the Enemy grow the bolder: and leſt their affairs

affairs might fare the worſe as if they durſt not look the Enemy in the face, but had yielded the field unto them. They therefore conſidered, that though they ſhould reſolve not to give Battle, yet they might chuſe ſome ſtrong place oppoſite to the Enemies Quarters, wherein they might keep, and obſerve *Ceſars* ways, and ſearch into his counſels, and then change place and purpoſe according as time and occaſion ſhould counſel them. Yet becauſe the French were of a contrary opinion, the whole Army was brought from the Territories of *Breſcia*, and brought into thoſe of *Cremona*, whither the Duke of *Burbone* was come but a little before with his Horſe and Foot.

Their intention was to wait for the Switzers here, who were not yet paſt by, and to keep them from paſſing. *Maximillian* being this mean while paſt over the River *Adice* with all his men, came to the Town of *Guſcolenga*, having met with many Souldiers from *Verona* in his March, as alſo with *Mark Antonio Colonna* with 200 Horſe; for the Venetian Army being drawn off, they thought they might find all things ſure in that Country. *Ceſar* being entred into the Breſcian Confines, reſolved before he would go any farther, to poſſeſs himſelf either by fair means or by foul of the Town of *Aſola*, which is the firſt Town on that ſide of the Country, thinking it neither became his ſafety nor his honour, to leave any place behind him in the power of the Enemy, whereby they might keep back victuals from his Army. But this proving a buſineſs of great length by reaſon of the Defendants valour, all other warlike Proceedings were impeded, and in the mean time the French had better opportunity to increaſe their Army. Much praiſe was attributed for this to *Franciſco Contarini*, Commiſſary of the Town, to *Antonio Martinengo*, and to all the reſt as well Souldiers as Citizens that were in the Town; for having with ſo few men, but much courage withſtood ſo great an Army, and by defending *Aſola* fruſtrated the Forces of ſo great a Prince, and much leſſened his reputation; ſince with expence of much time and labour he could not get ſo ſmall a Caſtle. Yet the Switzers had won ſuch reputation and credit in their laſt Skirmiſhes, as the French reſolved neither to keep where they were, nor to hazard themſelves upon the event of Battle, unleſs their Army were munited and increaſed by the ſame Nation. Wherefore *Maximillian* being gone from before *Aſola*, after having ſpent much time there in vain, for fear leſt by keeping ſo great an Army ſo long a time, before ſo little a Town, his Souldiers might be diſcouraged, and might miſs of doing greater matters; the French Commanders when they heard of his being gone, called ſuddenly a Council of War, wherein they reſolved to raiſe their camp, and to carry it to the River *Ada*, hoping that by keeping upon the Banks thereof, they might hold the Enemy play, and hinder them from paſſing over the River. But the French and Venetians were not well gone from thence, when all that lay between the Rivers *Poe* and *Adice*, fell into the Emperours hands, except *Cremona* and *Crema*, which redounded ſo much to his honour, and to the terrour of the others, as the French neither confiding in themſelves nor in others, march'd away with their Army ſo ſuddenly, and ſo faſt towards *Millan*, as it was doubted, whether they went thither to defend the City, or to be defended themſelves by the Walls there-

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of. *Maximillian*, making use of opportunity, pursued those that fled, and began already to promise all good success unto himself, and staying six miles from *Millan*, he let the City know,

That if it did not surrender all the sooner, it must look for all severity: But if it would yield to him of its own good will, it might presume of obtaining many immunities, and much more freedom in all things. Affirming that he was come into Italy *with intention, according to the custom of his Antestors, of taking up the Ensigns of the Empire in that City, and to drive the French from thence, and out of that State, who were unjust and unlawful Lords thereof, and to recover the right dues of the Empire. This Message was answered, as pleased the French; that the State of* Millan *which was formerly a member of the Empire, was sever'd from thence by authority of the Emperours, and for a certain sum of money which was paid down for it; that therefore* Cesar *had now no more pretence to that City, which both by right of inheritance, and right of War, was lawfully possess'd by* Francis Vallois *King of* France; *that therefore the Millaneses would keep that City for their legitimate Lord, to whom they had sworn Loyalty, and that they had so provided for all things, as they doubted not but to be able to defend the City against all injurious violence.*

Yet all things were full of fear in that City, the Citizens and Souldiers doubted much what the issue of the War would be, and not knowing well how to provide for their own safeties, which they more minded then the preserving of the State for the King, all their consultations were full of fear and doubts: Amidst these doubts and difficulties, the Venetian Commissaries, especially *Andrea Gritti*, who had most power with the French, being firmly resolved to defend the City,

Exhorted all the rest to do their utmost, and to be of good courage; they put the Citizens sometimes in mind of the Kings humanity towards them, sometime of what punishment they were to suffer if they should often provoke his anger; they likewise apply'd themselves to many of the chief of the Army, entreating them, and conjuring them, that calling to mind their late Victory, and the Glory which they had won, they should resolve upon serving the King and the Venetians: That the cause and common interest was the same therein, and that the business it self was not desperate, if it were courageously and constantly defended; to what purpose (said Gritti) *do the French take such pains, and put themselves into so much danger, to what purpose do they send so many Armies into* Lombardy, *if at the very first appearance of the Enemy all defence must be given over, and those things must be yielded, which they have gotten with long War, and with much expence, yea even of their own blood? We, as knowing the Senates intention, and the like of our whole City of running the same fortune with the French, will willingly expose all our men and all our Forces, not refusing to endeavour every thing even to the utmost.*

Thus by *Gritti* his counsel and exhortation, the Suburbs of the City were set on fire, to the end that the Enemy might not make use of them for their advantage; great Guns were placed upon the Walls, divers *Corps de guarde* were ordained, and all things were prepared for defence. These provisions did somewhat cool the Enemies courage, and afforded them occasion of many doubts and difficulties, so as taking time to think what to do, those within began to be of better hopes; for

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in this interim many Colours of the Switzers came opportunely to *Millan*, commanded by *Alberto Pietra*, to the number of 4000, of the Cantons of *Seduno* and *Berne*, who were very welcome to the Souldiers and Citizens. By their coming the faces of things altered; all fear fled from the French to the Imperialists; for the City being munited by such supplies, so as it was not to be taken but with expence of much time and labour, they within thought themselves safe enough, since *Cesar* could not tarry long before the City for want of money, victuals, and of all things necessary. Wherefore the French began to be of better heart, and on the contrary, *Cesars* hardships grew daily greater and greater. But he was chiefly troubled with jealousie of the Switzers, for calling to mind the past and present affairs, he found that there were many of that Nation as well in his camp, as in the City; whom the French might easily win over unto them by their moneys, which he could not so easily do by reason of his want thereof. Moreover, that that Nation had always, unless it were upon some occasions in these latter times, been great friends to the French: And that they had always hated the greatness of the Emperours. These considerations occasioned much fear in him, and took from him the chief ground work of his hopes of Victory. He likewise thought with much more commotion of mind, upon *Lodovico Sforza's* latter fortune near *Novara*, where he was delivered up into the hands of the Enemy, by the perfidiousness of those people. He therefore held it the better counsel to free himself from that danger by reason of the Switzers fickleness. At last his mind being agitated by such like thoughts as these, and fear growing more powerful in him, he resolved to quit his Army without having attempted any thing, and to return himself into *Germany*. Wherefore taking only 200 Horse along with him, he gave out that the cause of his departure was only to provide monies for the payment of the Army, and that he would speedily return to the camp. But the Souldiers seeing their chief Commander gone, began every one to do what he thought best for himself. The Switzers went to *Lodi*, and ruinating the Country every where, sack'd the City: And would have continued to commit the like Out-rages, had not the Switzers which were in *Millan* protested, that unless they would give over those injurious Proceedings, they should be forced to come out against them, together with the French and Venetians; so as Switzers fighting against Switzers, they were to imbrue their hands in one anothers blood. The former Switzers for this respect forbearing doing any other damage, after having made some peaceful abode in those parts some few days, returned all of them to their own homes, except it were some few companies, who went with their Commander *Morco Setio* to the custody of *Verona*, whither *Colonna* went also with his Horse, and with the Spanish and Dutch Foot who were before drawn out from that Garrison. The rest of the Spanish and Dutch Foot, returned by several ways into their own Countries, having been much prejudiced in their journey by the Venetian Horse.

Soon after the Emperours departure came the Marques of *Brandenbourg* to the camp with a certain sum of money, who though he did his best to rally the Souldiers that dis-banded, yet things being already

grown to great confuſion, and the Moneys that were brought not being ſufficient to ſatisfie all, he could doe no good. Thus a great Army, which was at firſt ſo formidable to the Enemy, being in ſo ſhort a time vaniſht to nothing; not any danger at all having befalen it, may teach us that men are oftentimes deluded in their Councels by various accidents, and meet with much unexpected ends: And that we are often times deceived through hopes, and fears, ariſing out of meer opinion, without diſcerning any thing, ſave the firſt appearances.

In this preturbation of Affairs, the no great good will which was betweene the Pope and King of *France*, began to be more manifeſtly known, ſprung from former reaſons, which were unknown till now; for King *Francis* complained that the Pope, out of ſome bad intention, had foreſtowed the ſending of ſuch recrutes unto his Army, as by agreement he was bound to doe, that he had privately incited the Switzers againſt him, and had given many other ſignes of his bad inclination towards him. Certainly 'tis worthy note (ſince occaſion leads me thereunto) with how many ſeveral affections, and ſometimes contrary within themſelves, the mindes of Princes are agitated. Pope *Leo*, and King *Francis*, thought when they parted at *Bullen*, that they had ſufficiently provided for their Affairs; and that the Friendſhip and League that was confirm'd betwixt them, was likely to laſt long, and to be cauſe of much ſafety to them both: But ſoon after, conſtruing the ſame Affairs otherwiſe, they began to doubt that the things agreed upon between them would not be obſerved; ſo as each of them grew jealous of the other. The Pope being conſcious how bitter, and open an Enemy he had already ſhewed himſelf unto the French, how often he had abuſed their hopes, under a fained pretence of Friendſhip; that even then when they were in treaty of reconciliation he would not ſatisfie him in many things, preſt hard upon by the King, in behalf of his Friends and Confederates; began to doubt the King of *France* could never be his true Friend: Moreover, calling to minde the many injuries done by the two preceding Kings, *Charles*, and *Lewis*, to the houſe of *Medici*, he could not perſwade himſelf that then when the French hoped to get ſome principal places in *Italy*, King *Francis* could willingly tollerate the greatneſs of *Lorenzo de Medici*, ſhould ſtill increaſe; whereby he had opportunity given him to revenge the ancient injuries done to the prejudice of his reputation, and to the States which he held in *Italy*. On the contrary, the King thinking that the ſame reaſons remained ſtill, which had formerly diſgratiated him with the Pope; and that this the Pope's ill will towards him was the more increaſed, by how much his power was increaſed in *Italy*, and was become more formidable to him, interpreted all things to the worſt, and according to this his aprehenſion, that *Leo* had concealed his trueſt intentions from him, that it was neceſſity which had made him accommodate himſelf to the condition of the times at their meeting; and that as ſoon as he ſhould meet with any means of hurting him, this would evidently be ſeen. The Venetians labour'd oft to free theſe Princes of theſe ſuſpitions, and ſought by all means how to reconcile them; for they knew how much it imported the ſtrength and reputation of the League, that the Pope, King of *France*, and Common-wealth,

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ſhould hold true intelligence together; and did of all things abhorre to be neceſſitated to take up Armes againſt the Church; wherefore paſſing by the injuries they had received from *Lee*, they deſired to have him leſs their Enemy. The King of *England* did alſo oft times out of the ſaid reaſons, indeavour to bring theſe two Princes to fair tearmes; for that it very well became a great and wiſe Prince as he was, and who had alwaies prefer'd the Intereſt of Chriſtian Religion before any ſelf-reſpect, to uſe his beſt indeavours to introduce peace amongſt Chriſtian Princes, that they might be able to defend their States againſt the Turks; who having overcome the King of *Perſia* in Battle, totally deſtroyed the Empire of the *Mamalucky*, and taken the Kingdome from *Camſone Gauro*, King of *Memphis*, did very much advance by the ruine of other men; and to the end that they might win greater Favour and Authority with the King, the Senate, knowing that it would be acceptable and commodious to the Kingdome of *England*, reſolved to ſend their great Gallioans, towards the Rodes of that Iſland, which had not for ſome late years been upon thoſe Seas.

Whilſt theſe things were treated of by Embaſſadors, the War did notwithſtanding, ſtill go on; for after the Switzers and Dutch were gone, *Lautrech*, having left ſufficient Garriſon in *Millan*, drew all the Army out of the City, and not making any delay, marched into the Territories of *Breſcia*, intending to renew the Siege of that Town; the Duke of *Burbone*, being at this time gone from *Italy*, the ſupream Government of the Kings affairs were intruſted with *Lautrech*, a man famous for many indowments of mind, and who would have been more Famous in War, had he not been too much opinionated. After the departure of *Ceſar*'s Army, the City of *Breſcia* was left almoſt without any defendants; for the Souldiers of the Garriſon, ſeeing *Ceſar* grow leſs in his reputation, and having no hopes of relief; being alſo weary of the toyliſome labours, and inconveniencies of the late Siege, and not having received their pay at due times, were ſome of them returned home, and ſome gone over to the Venetian Camp: So there were but only 700 Spaniſh Foot left to guard the City, under Captain *Hiccardo*, but theſe were all men of known Valour, and Integrity; Wherefore the Venetian Commanders thinking they might now hope well to get that City, made the more haſte, not tarrying for the French (who followed them a little more ſlowly) to the end that finding the Enemy unprovided, they might be the more confuſed at their unexpected approach. Thus though the night came on whilſt they were on their March, not allowing any the leaſt time for the Souldiers to reſt themſelves, at the very inſtant of their Arrival they ordered their men before the Walls, and ſuddenly clapt their ſcaling Ladders thereunto, by which many of them began already boldly to mount, and to put for entring the Town. The Foot who were upon the defence, aſtoniſhed at this unexpected accident, and confounded by the darkneſs of the night, ran up and down every where, ſtriving to keep the Ladders from off the Walls; and if any of our men were got up to the tops thereof, they threw them down; they fought in ſeveral places, endeavouring to defend themſelves, ſome here, ſome there: They at the ſame time minded fighting the Enemy, and their own defence; The

Combate drawing forth thus in length, the Enemy having borne the firſt brunt, grew hourly more corragious, ſo as the Venetians being in a diſadvantageous place, where they could neither tarry, nor fight, were forced to quit the Enterprize, and to retreat. It was afterwards known that this deſigne miſcarried by the Ladders being too ſhort; ſoon after came *Lautrech*, with his Army, wherefore the Commanders thinking they were now ſtrong enough, endeavoured to doe their beſt to ſtorme the City: They ſurrounded the Walls with 5. bodies, and placed their Cannon in ſuch parts as they thought moſt convenient, and began to play ſo furiouſly upon the Walls, as in a ſhort time a part thereof fell down to the ground, which facilitated the way to make an Aſſault: Amidſt theſe dangers and difficulties, *Hiccardo*, not at all diſcouraged, provided carefully for all things, not refuſing any labour, and all the Souldiers being equally deſirous to defend the City, labour'd both day and night about the Walls, by day in repairing the Rampiers, by night in bringing the Rubbiſh into the Town, wherewith they quickly raiſed new Rampiers where the Wall was broken down; but the ruine which were made by ſo many Batteries, could not be repaired in ſo ſhort a time, nor by ſo few men; nor could ſufficient Guards be kept in all neceſſary places at once: Wherefore *Hiccardo* underſtanding that the Enemy were ready to give an Aſſault, which he could not ſuſtaine without evident ruine to himſelf, and his men, he reſolved to ſurrender the Town. This was welcome News to the Venetians, who deſired the preſervation of that Noble City, and to returne it unto the Common-wealth undefaced or ranſackt, which would have been hard to doe, if the City had been taken by force; the Commanders not being able often times to refraine the inſolency and rapine of the Souldiers, eſpecially if Forreigners.

Truce was therefore made by a certaine tacite conſent of both ſides; and by Meſſages ſent between the Town and the Camp, an agreement was made upon theſe conditions.

That the City ſhould be delivered up to Lautrech, *unleſs it were releeved by* 8000 *men within three days, that the Souldiers of the Garriſon ſhould be permitted to goe whither they liſted, provided it were not to* Verona; *that no prejudice ſhould be done to the City, neither by the Venetian Souldiers, nor by the French; and that it ſhould be lawful for the Count* Gambara, *and for ſome few Citizens who had adhered to* Ceſar's *party, to enjoy their Country and all their goods, and that all their faults ſhould be forgiven them.*

Theſe conditions were the more eaſily given way unto, for that it was confidently beleeved ſo great a ſupply could not come unto the City in ſo ſhort a time; for the Dutch Souldiers who were come to the Caſtle of *Anſo* to relieve the Beſieged; were returned back, being routed and put to flight, by a greater number of our Souldiers.

Things being thus agreed upon, and no ſuccour appearing within the pre-limited time, *Hiccardo* and all his Souldiers march'd out of the Town in good order with their Colours flying, and Drums beating; and at the ſame time *Lautrech* and the Venetian Commiſſaries entred, who were received by a great concourſe of people of all conditions, and of all ages, manifeſting ſhews of much joy, whereby they witneſſed their

their good will to the Common-wealth. *Lautrech* took poſſeſſion of the City firſt, and then preſently delivered it up to the Venetian Commiſſaries, and the Common-wealths Standard was ſet up. Thus this famous City after ſo great confuſion of affairs, having ſuffer'd very much and run ſeveral fortunes in War, returned under the Dominion of her ancient Maſters, and was reſtored to her former peaceable condition. When the News of the recovery of *Breſcia* came to *Venice*, great joy was throughout all the City, and the Citizens by this ſucceſs began to have better hopes of putting an end unto the War. The Venetians did always make very great account of *Breſcia*, by reaſon of the number of her Inhabitants, and ſhe was of great ſervice to the Common-wealth by means of her fruitful, rich, and copious fields; and moreover becauſe the Gentry and commonalty therein were ever held to be faithful and loving to their Country. The Senate gave many thanks to the King of *France* for that by the ready aſſiſtance of his men they had re-gained that City, wherein, as his Commanders had ſhewn ſingular Worth, as ſhould always be by them acknowledged, ſo did his Majeſty ſhare in the glory, and the Common-wealths obligations to him was much increaſed thereby.

Letters were likewiſe written to Lautrech, *wherein as his faith and diligence were much commended, ſo was he deſired to make uſe of ſuch fitting occaſions as did offer themſelves for other proſperous ſucceſſes, ſince the fortune of the Common-wealth began to alter. They put him in mind, that if the Army (who were very deſirous of the Enterprize) were ſuddenly carried to before the Walls of* Verona, *they might be almoſt ſure to get that City; and ſo the whole War would be proſperouſly ended; that he could do nothing that would redound more to his own glory and to the advantage of his King then this; for aſſuredly when the Common-wealth of* Venice *ſhould chiefly by the aid and favour of the French, be reſtored to her priſtine greatneſs, their Empire would be confirmed for many years in* Italy, *to his particular and immortal glory, whereof he having ſhew'd himſelf to be at all times deſirous, he needed imitate no body but himſelf.*

Lautrech being much taken, as it appeared by theſe Speeches, he reſolved to march with his camp in company with *Trivulcio* towards the Territories of *Verona*; but being come to *Peſchiera* whilſt the Army was yet on this ſide the River *Menzo*, *Lautrech* told the Venetian Commiſſaries, who expected nothing leſs at this time,

That he could not tarry longer then three days in the Territories of Verona, *for that he had had intelligence, that the Switzers were reſolved to take up Arms, and that they were already prepared to aſſault the Dukedom of* Millan, *the danger whereof being conſidered, he thought it would make much againſt the Service of his King to keep his men any longer farther off from the Confines of that State.*

Theſe things being propounded in the Council, they were all of a joynt opinion, not to remove the camp from the place where it was, but to tarry there, till they might have ſome more certain News of the Switzers moving, which was brought to the camp only by a flying rumour.

Leſt if the Army ſhould advance farther, and be doubtful whether it ſhould tarry there any longer or no, they might make men believe by their ſudden departure that they had raiſed the Army for want of Forces, or for fear

of

of the Enemies approach, and out of diſpairing to do any good upon Verona, *which would make them loſe the reputation they had won by their proſperous ſucceſs at* Breſcia, *and whereas now they were a terrour to their Enemies, they would become their ſcorn.*

But the News of the Switzers advancing increaſing daily, *Lautrech* would needs carry the whole Army into the State of *Millan.* And though this reſolution was gain-ſaid by all the other Commanders, who alledged,

That the place where the Army now was, was naturally very ſtrong, and very fit wherein to put on ſuch Reſolves as the condition of Affairs, or the Enemies March, which was then uncertain, ſhould require.

Yet he ſtanding fix'd to his opinion of removing the camp, moved that it ſhould be carried to near *Aſola,* in the Breſcian Territories, alledging,

That Verona *was then gallantly garriſon'd; for that after the diſ-banding of* Ceſars *Army, many of the Switzers and Dutch were retreated thither; ſo as that Attempt was likely to prove vain, and that therefore to undertake a difficult buſineſs, without aſſured hopes of effecting it, was no better then to hinder themſelves in their other Proceedings, and to confound the whole Government of the War. He added hereunto ſometimes (to find other excuſes for his counſel) that the Venetians had given ear to the King of* Poland, *who was ſaid to have treated of peace by his Embaſſadours, wherefore they were to expect an iſſue of that Treaty, before they fell upon any other buſineſs; and finally he complain'd that monies were not ſent at the time appointed to pay the 6000 Dutch Foot, as the Common-wealth had promiſed.*

Gritti gain-ſaid all theſe aſſertions, ſaying that things were much otherwiſe then *Lautrech* had repreſented them to be.

That there was a great ſcarcity of all things in Verona, *eſpecially of Corn; that the Garriſon which was entred thereinto, was likely to be a greater inconvenience to the City through the dearth of Corn, then a ſafety by increaſing the numbers of the Defendants; that if the Army ſhould fall off then when the Harveſt was ſo near at hand, and ſhould afford the Enemy opportunity to gather in the fruits of the Earth, and bring them into the City, they muſt make account to attempt the ſame Enterprize upon much greater diſadvantage at another time, when they ſhould have no other hopes then what lay in their Forces and Weapons; and that not without much danger, and uncertainty of good ſucceſs. Moreover, that they underſtood by thoſe Souldiers that were fled into their Camp, that there was great fallings out in the City between the Citizens and the Souldiers, and great confuſion in all things, whereby the Affairs of War were treated of with much negligence and jealouſie: That therefore when the Army ſhould draw near, 'twas likely that the people, partly to provide for their own ſafeties, and others out of their affections to the parties they ſided withal, would make ſome commotion, and afford better opportunity of gaining the City. Aſſuredly ſaid* Gritti, *it is not to be believed that the Senate of* Venice *ſhould treat of any thing touching peace with the Poliſh Embaſſadour, contrary to the will of the King of* France, *nor yet ſo much as without his knowledg; the conſtancy of the Senators having been ſuch, and ſo manifeſt, in renewing the War for ſo long a time, their obſervancy towards the King, and their confidence in the French Nation having been ſo great, as that they had often times refuſed fair conditions of peace*

which

which had been offer'd them, and had always ſtudied the Kings greatneſs no leſs then the good of the Common-wealth, which might be witneſſed as well by their actions of the former year, as now of latter days near Millan; *wherein rather an expreſs Commandment, then tacite conſent, came from the Senate. Let theſe ſuſpitions and jealouſies then ceaſe, and let them not prevail ſo far as to make any of us leſs ready to do what the common good doth counſel; the monies which are due to the Dutch Foot are already prepared, and as ſoon as the ways ſhall be ſafe and open, they will doubtleſly be brought to the Camp; but when I think of our departure from hence, and of our going into the Breſcian Territories, I find that greater inconveniences will inſue thereby: And the like will befall our City; for the people of that Country who have been always faithful to the Common-wealth, and who have ſuffer'd ſo much by the Wars, now when they ſhould begin to make themſelves whole, will be oppreſt almoſt with their late former grievances, by the coming of ſo great an Army into their precincts; ſince it is they that muſt feed it. So we ſhall be burthenſom to our friends, and ſhall forbear our Enemies; we ſhall leſſen the affections of the former, and encourage the others. When* Gritti *had ſpoke thus, to confirm his opinion, he added; that though* Lautrech *ſhould not follow them, his opinion was that the Venetian Army ſhould of, and by it ſelf, march into the Territories of* Verona.

The Captain General, and all the reſt of the Venetian Commanders were of the ſame opinion with *Gritti*, ſo as certainly his opinion would have been followed, if after more mature conſideration, they had not feared, that ſuch a reſolution would in ſome other reſpects be prejudicial to the Common-wealth; for by this diviſion of the Army, the forces of the League would not only be diminiſhed, but the Enemies would believe by this diſagreement of the Commanders, that the confederate Princes might eaſily be divided. But *Lautrech*, were it either in purſuance of his nature, which was not to part eaſily from his opinion, or that he would not willingly hazard the glory of having recovered *Breſcia*, to any new events of War; could never be perſwaded either by reaſon or by entreaties to venture upon the taking of *Verona*, but with much ado yielded at laſt to tarry awhile in thoſe Quarters where he was. The opinion of many was afterwards confirm'd by the ſequel of things, that *Lautrech* having notice of a Treaty of agreement which was in hand between King *Francis* and *Charles* Duke of *Burgondy*, which was begun in the City of *Noyon*, did by thus drawing things out at length, more mind his Kings conveniency, then either his own praiſe, or the Venetians ſervice. The Senate being this mean while inform'd of all theſe paſſages, and eſteeming it to be very diſadvantagious and contrary to their deſigns, to permit the Enemies who were in *Verona*, to gather in their Harveſt, they charged Commiſſary *Paulo Gradinigo* to draw forth a Band of the beſt Souldiers that were in Garriſon at *Padua*, and that with them, and thoſe that were in the Territories of *Vicenza* under the Government of *Frederick Gonſaga*, he ſhould over-run the confines of *Verona*, ſpoil the corn which was upon the ground, and uſe all means poſſible to keep the corn from being brought into *Verona*. But the Enemy being advertiſed of theſe mens departure, went unexpectedly out of *Verona*, and going by another way then our men did, went into the Territories of *Vicenza* and *Padua*, and did much miſchief.

Lautrech

Lautrech had ſtay'd in the ſame Quarters about ſome thirty days when the News of the Switzers being quite over, and having no other reaſon for his ſo long delay, growing likewiſe ſuſpitious that it might redound ſomewhat to his diſparagement that he had kept the Army ſo long idle, and had loſt ſo much time, he reſolved at laſt to remove the camp, and to go into the Territories of *Verona*; whereunto he was the rather moved by a proteſtation made by the Venetian Commiſſaries that elſe they would not iſſue forth the monies which were then come to the camp for the Dutch Souldiers. The camp being raiſed the firſt day of *Auguſt*, all the Army was led to the Town *Gotalengo*, to be paſſed over the River *Adice*. The firſt thing the Commanders did was to poſſeſs themſelves of the ſtraiteſt paſſages of the Mountains, by which the Dutch were wont to come from *Germany* to *Verona*, by placing good Guards in them; to the end that the ways being block'd up, the City might be kept from being relieved: By which means the Spaniſh and Dutch Foot, (corn growing every day dearer and dearer, and not having received their pay from *Ceſar*, whereby to help their many inconveniences) paſt over in great numbers to the Venetian camp, where they were willingly received and muſter'd amongſt their Militia. And the Switzers, moved by the example of others, and hating the great inconveniences of a Siege, return'd moſt of them to their own homes. There were then in Our Army 8000 Italian Foot, and 6000 Dutch, to boot with the French aid; 1000 Curaſſiers, 2000 light Horſe, many famous Commanders in War, and all other things neceſſary for the taking in of the City. It was reſolved that the Army being divided into two camps, the City ſhould be begirt on two ſides; to the end that the Defendants, who were already reduced to a ſmall number might be the ſooner wearied by doing perpetual duties. Theſe things being begun to be put in execution, as was reſolved of in counſel, the Dutch Souldiers, though they had received three moneths pay, began to mutiny, and refuſed to obey their Commanders; and though *Trivulcio* was already on his March with his other companies, they would not ſtir from where they were; ſaying they would not carry Arms againſt the Emperour, nor be led to the taking of a City poſſeſs'd by him. Theſe men not being to be perſwaded out of their opinion, the Venetian Souldiers not being able to do of themſelves what was particularly recommended to *Trivulcio*, *Lautrech*, promiſed to give them other companies out of his Souldiers; but conſidering afterwards that by the loſs of thoſe men his Army would be much weakened, and his camp not be over ſafe, he changed his mind, and without attempting any thing, fell aloof off two miles from the City; and the Venetians were forc'd to do the like, for they were not able to do any thing of themſelves. This mean while the Garriſon began daily to decreaſe within the City, for many Dutch Colours return'd home, and others paſt over to the Venetian camp; and came in ſuch numbers, as no more fugitive Souldiers would be received into the camp; for the Venetians remembered that theſe men were rather a trouble and an expence then any aid; wherefore they thought it not ſafe to relye upon their Loyalties: And they feared likewiſe leſt a much greater number of Mountainers, who had formerly been in *Ceſars* camp, ſeeing ſuch hopes of gain given them, and that they

they might get those pays from *Cesar*'s Enemies which he had not paid them might descend from the neighbouring Villages, into the Territories of *Verona*.

Yet so many were the defendants, as though great store were gone, the City was notwithstanding well munited: Wherefore *Lautrech* not thinking it fit to attempt any thing without the hopes of effecting it, demanded more help of the Venetians, if they would have him take *Verona*; which though it were hard to do, yet that they might not leave a business of so great importance unattempted, they sent 4000 Foot to the Camp, and great store of Artillery, Powder, and Victuals, that nothing might be wanting which was necessary for War: All sufficient provisions being had, the Army drew neer the Walls of *Verona*: This City is divided by the River *Adice*, which runs through the midst of it, into two parts; and is walled round about by Walls which look upon a large Campagnia, and are in compass 7 miles about; neer unto which are great Rampiers of earth, which take up the greatest part of the space which lies between the Wall and the Houses of the City, whereby the Wall is so secured, as it cannot easily be shot through, nor beaten down by the Cannon.

There are besides in the Walls themselves divers Bastions of several forms and greatness; which bearing out beyond the right line of the Wall in certain fit places, are very proper to disturbe the Enemies Artillery, to keep the Enemy aloof from the Wall, and for the safety of the Souldiers who stand thereupon to defend the Town: The City was therefore thought to be strong enough, and safe according to the custom of those times, and the then manner of fighting; and the rather for the Count *Carreto*, who had the Government of that City, had added several new works, the year before, to the old Fortifications, which made it more defenceable. Moreover great store of Artillery were carried thither, and many expert Cannoniers. And the Garrison was not to be esteemed small, for besides Horse, there were about 6000 Foot, what Spanish, what Dutch, what Switzers, in the City; who were all commanded in cheif by *Mark Antonio Colonna*, who was now no longer a Commander under the Pope, but under *Cesar*; a man very expert in Military Discipline, which he had learnt by being under *Prospero*, and *Fabritio Colonna*, in the Wars, very Famous Comanders in those times. He was very ambitious of glory in War, more of which he would have won had he not been given, according to the abuse of those times, too much to pillageing, and to other barbarous and dishonourable deportments. He had been very diligent in preparing all things fitting for defence, and having carefully, and with much confidence, exhorted the Souldiers, and Citizens to stand upon their defence, he expected an Assault.

Lautrech on the other side, divided his Army into two Camps; he pitcht himself, with his Foot and Horse, over against that part of the City, which lies towards *Mantua*; and *Trivulcio* having past over the *Adice*, with his Venetians, sate down with them opposite to that part of the Wall that looks towards *Vicenza*. Both Camps began to play upon the Walls at one and the same time, but with some difference of designe; for *Lautrech* placed all the force of his Artillery, against one

only part, that he might make way for his men to enter the City, and that the Enemy might not have leasure to repaire the breach made in the Walls by the violence of Cannon shot. But *Trivultio* having taken more room to encamp himself, began to batter a larger place of the Wall, hoping that when he should have thrown it all down, he might fight upon better advantage; since the Enemy not knowing where the Assault would be given, must consequently be imploy'd in several places. *Lautrech* having observed that a certain place, neer the Gate commonly called *della Calcina*, was not very strong, for there was there no other defence, but one antient weak Tower, he turned his Cannon upon it, and having quickly beaten it down, he commanded his Souldiers to goe presently to the wall; who being incouraged by their Commanders, and egg'd on by the hopes of sacking so rich a City, went boldly on, and making haste that they might soon get out of the danger of Cannon shot, they came to handy blows with the Enemy, and a valiant fight was performed on all sides. The French, to win praise and shun shame, strove to get to where the Enemy were thickest, knowing that they fought in their Commanders sight; for Monsieur *de Lescu*, *Lautrech*'s brother looked on, and was a witness of each mans Vallour and Cowardlines. But the Spanish and Dutch Foot were full of confidence, calling to mind their own Gallantrie, and what they had done formerly, which made them the bolder against danger; for they were all Veteran Souldiers, who had been present at all these wars of *Italy*. The Assault was given, and sustained, with equal Valour. The Enemy brought many of their Artillery into the vacant place where the Tower had stood, and where the Combate was, and placeing them in some more eminent parts, plaid therewith apace upon the French on the flank, and made much slaughter upon them. So as having lost many of their men, they were forced to retreat unto the Camp. But *Trivultio*, although he had already thrown down a good part of the Wall, and that there was space enough for the Souldiers to have Assaulted the City, forbore falling on, being aware that a great number of the defendants, having well munited the place from whence they had repulst the French, were run thither where they knew the greatest Effort was made to assist the weaker side; whereof *Trivultio* gave notice to *Lautrech*, and desired some men of him, that he might the more safely attempt to take the City: But *Lautrech*, though he might very well have done it, for the Venetians and French Camp were so joyned together by means of a very strong and safe Bridg which was made over the *Adice*, as the one might assist the other, and though he had often promised to send him assistance, yet he prolonged the time, and sent none; it was now 15 daies since the Camp before the City, and the Enemy was reduced to great extreamety, a great part of the Wall was thrown down, the Souldiers were weary with fighting, great scarcity of Powder, and the Commanders, and Citizens differed in their oppinions: All which things invited to make hast, and yet the business must be drawn out at length. This mean time news came to the Camp that a strong band of Dutch Foot came speedily to relieve the Besieged, and that they had already upon Articles taken the Castle *della Chiosa*, which they had Assaulted at unawares, so as the way

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was open for them to enter the City. *Lautrech* was hereat more discouraged then he had reason to be, which made him give over all thought of continuing the Siege; so as he seemed not to mind it much now, and that measuring more according to opinion then reality, he was solicitous of nothing but how to carry his Army quickly to a place of safety: At which sudden change, and pernitious resolution, the Venetian Commissaries being much perplext, they went unto him, and did all they could to entreat and to conjure him, by the loyalty he ought unto his King, and for his own honour, that he would not too much undervalue his owne Affairs, the reputation whereof he ought to inhaunce as much as he could.

They told him that it was usual to report the Forces of Enemies to be greater then they were because the Authors of such News doe invent many things according as feare dictates unto them; but grant that all was to be beleeved, that was reported; none affirmed that the Enemies Forces exceeded 7000 Foot, and those with out any Millitary Discipline, and without any War-like preperations; that a more unworthy resolution, nor more prejudicial to their honour, could not be taken, then to shew unto the Enemy by raising of their Camp, wherein there was above 20000 Souldiers, many renowned Commanderes, gallant Horses both for Number and Worth, store of all things necessary, that they did so feare so small a number of the Enemy, as at the very News of their approach, they had retired themselves; so as they might with reason be thought to be driven out of their Quarters, and to have given over all hopes of Victory: And wherefore (said they) should we not think rather of sending out our light Horse, followed by our fleeteſt Foot, to encounter and oppose the Enemy? The business would not last long, nor would it be difficult; since those men who had no experience in war, and were unprovided of all things, would easily be put in disorder, and routed: And say they should prove so stout, as to stand and make resistance; a little delay of succor, would make it come too late, and doe noe good, since if wedoe resolve to use our utmost power, the City must needs yeeld, and fall into our hands, at the first or second Assault.

To these things *Lautrech* answered.

That he had not taken this resolution by chance, or moved thereunto by any feare; but that he thought it fitting to doe so, that he might in time provide for the safety of those men who were opposed by two Armies of the Enemy, the one within the City, the other upon the Mountains: That the Dutch Foot were already gotten out of the straighteſt and most difficult waies, and that there was no hopes to keep them off, since they were already Masters of the passes that were naturaly strong: It was therefore to be considered, that if they should send some few men against them it would be but in vaine; and that the nature of the places, the straight and Rocky waies would not permit them to send many. That he had a care of the safety of that Army, which being devided into two Camps, was thereby the weaker: So as if they should lessen the numbers of their men by sending a great number to this action, they should not a little indanger the main business; since several accidents might bereave our Camps (which were devided by the River into two parts) of the means of Interchangeably succouring one another, if they should be Assaulted by the Enemy.

Lautrech ſtanding thus firm to his firſt opinion, he commanded that the Enſigns ſhould be ſuddenly removed, wherein being followed by the other Commanders, all the Army was brought to *Albaredo*; Commiſſary *Paolo Gradinigo*, and *Giovan Paolo Manfrone* being left with 800 Horſe, and 2000 Foot to guard the Bridg leſt if it ſhould be broken, the Army might not know how to come by victuals; but the Army having tarried there but a little while, went to *Villa Franca*, where they took up their Quarters, and fortified themſelves. They began then to think upon the main buſineſs; but the adviſers differing in their opinions, nothing was concluded on.

This mean while *Rocadolfo* who commanded the Dutch Foot, our Army being gone, and there being none to hinder him, entred into *Verona*; and having brought good ſtore of corn, wine, and cattle into the City, he tarried there ſome few days, and leaving many of his ſound men in the places of ſuch as were weak and wounded, fearing leſt his longer abode there might prove incommodious to the City by reaſon of the ſcarcity of corn, he return'd into *Germany*.

Our Souldiers, though they were removed from before the City, and though it were in the depth of Winter, did not notwithſtanding forbear to over-run all the neighbouring Country, to keep victuals from being brought to *Verona*. Whereupon many ſlight Skirmiſhes were had, and chiefly by the Horſe; for the Enemy iſſuing out of the Town, endeavour'd to bring in ſome corn to amend the ſcarcity thereof; and our men on the contrary going out of the camp, and falling upon the Enemy as they were ſcatter'd abroad here and there, did ſeek to keep them from ſo doing. In theſe Skirmiſhes *Mercurio Bua* and *Babone Naldo* won great praiſe both for Man-like valour, and Military cunning; they left nothing quiet nor ſafe for the Enemy in that Country; they were every where, kept back victuals, and brought many of the Enemy Priſoners to the camp. The Caſtle of *Crouaria* was at this time held by the Dutch (this is a very narrow place, ſeated amidſt the hardeſt paſſages of the Mountains upon a ſteep cliff, from whence the River *Adice* is carried with a ſwift and violent courſe towards *Verona*) which if our men could recover, that paſſage would eaſily be ſtopt, and victuals hindred from being carried by the River into the City. *Mercurio* and *Babone* were imploy'd about this, who by their worth and diligence overcame the craggedneſs of the ways, and the Forces of the Enemy; for ſetting upon the Souldiers, who had the guard of the Caſtle, unexpectedly by night, they ſlew them all, put all the reſt to flight, forcing them to quit the Caſtle, and to provide for their own ſafeties. This Caſtle being taken, a Garriſon was put thereinto, which did much incommodiate the Enemy, by keeping them from ſuch corn as was wont to be carried by the River. But nothing of great moment was done in the camp, nor did they think of altering their Quarters; which made the Venetian Commiſſaries complain yet more of *Lautrech*, for that by his means the City of *Verona* was not yet taken: And that at this time when the Enemies inconveniences perſwaded them to return again unto the Siege, the Army kept loytering within the camp, as if nothing remain'd to be done. And truly as all men wondred at theſe Proceedings, ſo there was not any one that commended them. But *Lautrech*

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bade the Commiſſaries be of good cheer, and finding ſeveral excuſes for his delays, told them that all things ſufficient ſhould be had whereby to put a good period to the War, and bade them believe conſtantly that *Verona* ſhould quickly return to the Venetians Dominion. Which words made the Commiſſary ſuſpect that he meant ſome other thing then what was then in hand; for at that very time when the Army riſe from before *Verona*, News was ſpred abroad in the camp, that a Meſſenger was come to *Lautrech* from *France*, and that having ſpoken with him in ſecret, *Lautrech* ſtrove to keep his coming concealed from the reſt. The Commiſſaries did very much preſs him therefore, to acquaint them with the reaſon of his counſel, and why ſo great an Army ſhould be maintain'd, without any neceſſity or hope; and which through exceſſive expence weakened the Forces of the Common-wealth, which were always ready to ſerve the French. The Senate being acquainted by their Commiſſaries with what had paſt in the camp, were much perplex'd, not knowing what courſe to take for the advancement of their Affairs; they who but a little before were ſo rejoyced and comforted for their good ſucceſs at *Breſcia*, began now to have new fears and troubles ſince when they thought the War to be neat an end, they ſaw reaſons ariſe of greater length and difficulties. And they were chiefly troubled to think that the French, in whoſe aſſiſtance they had put their chiefeſt hopes, ſhould proceed with various and uncertain counſels; and perhaps, (as it was then believed) wholly ſeperate from the Common-wealths Intereſt.

Whilſt theſe things were in agitation, Letters came from their Embaſſadour who was in *France*, by which they were fully informed with all that had paſt at *Noion*; for King *Francis* being deſirous that the Venetians might have leiſure to adviſe well, would have them quickly acquainted with whatſoever had paſt till then between him and the Arch-Duke *Charles*: To the end that as ſoon as the Commiſſioners of both parties ſhould be come to *Bruſſels*, for the confirmation of ſuch things as had been treated of, they might find all doubts reſolved. The chief things treated of and reſolved at this convention, were;

That the King of France *and the Duke of* Burgony *(a name which* Charles *of* Auſtria *took unto himſelf till this time) had by the means of their Embaſſadours contracted Friendſhip and Peace, and confirm'd it by the tye of Alliance; for King* Charles *had promis'd to give the Lady* Renea, *daughter to King* Lewis, *to* Charles *for wife. In this Confederacy all the other Princes that were friends to either party were included: On* Charles *his part* Maximillian Ceſar *was chiefly nominated, and the Common-wealth of* Venice *on the King of* France *his behalf. But thoſe that would be comprehended within this agreement, were bound to declare their minds within two moneths ſpace. The Emperour being hereof advertiſed, promiſed to ſtand to what was agreed upon, provided that peace might be eſtabliſhed upon fair conditions; wherefore* Bruſſels *was appointed for the place of convention, to treat more particularly of the conditions of agreement; where* Charles *his Embaſſadours and thoſe of* France *were to be, who ſhould intercede as Moderators and freely Compoſers of the buſineſs. One chief thing which they were to treat on, was how the Venetians might by this agreement recover* Verona; *for it was evident, that as this buſineſs had oft times before diſturb'd the*

Treaty

Treaty of peace, ſo if it ſhould not now be decided, all other Negotiations would be in vain; for the King of France *being mindful of the League which he had made with the Venetians, and being deſirous to keep his word, was reſolved not to come to any agreement with the Emperour, unleſs* Verona *were thereby firſt reſtored to the Venetians. Wherefore as ſoon as the Aſſembly was met, this was the firſt propoſition which was taken in hand.* Ceſars *Embaſſadours demanded a great ſum of money in exchange for the reſtitution of* Verona, *and moreover the poſſeſſion of ſome other Towns which were formerly in that juriſdiction. It was farther added that* Ceſar *would not conſign over that City into the hands of the Venetians; but unto ſome of* Charles *his Miniſters, in whoſe power after it had been ſix weeks, the French might diſpoſe of it as they ſhould pleaſe.*

Notice being given of all theſe things by the Embaſſadour of *Venice*, the Senate was much perplex'd and full of various thoughts. After ſo tedious and troubleſome a War nothing certainly could be more deſirable then peace and quiet. They knew that they had often hazarded the fortune of the Common-wealth, that they were now to endeavour ſome eaſe and amendment, to free them from the neceſſity of continuing longer in War. Yet ſome men of more mature years, and greater experience, thinking how great a change of things a ſhort time was often cauſe of, feared that (ſome time being by the agreement required for the re-delivery of *Verona*) ſome accident might happen the mean while, whereby all things being put in diſorder, they might remain in the ſame troubles, and peradventure be plung'd into greater. This jealouſie was much increaſed by the knowledg of *Maximillian* his nature, and tricks which he had wont to uſe, which if he ſhould continue to do in this buſineſs, they feared leſt under the colour of Honour, by which he ſeemed deſirous that *Verona* ſhould be reſtored to the Venetians by the hands of ſome others, and not by himſelf, he might plot a greater miſchief againſt them. For which doubt of theirs they ſeemed to have the more reaſon, for that being contented to yield up another place of much greater importance, he earneſtly deſired certain little Towns, from whence not being able to reap any profit, they judged he might have a mind to keep the way open in ſeveral parts, ſo as he might aſſault the States of the Common-wealth when he ſhould pleaſe. Many things were moved in the Senate, but nothing concluded, becauſe they generally deſired to recover *Verona*, which they thought they might effect better by force then by agreement. They ceaſed not continually to ſollicite *Lautrech* not to wait for the receiving of that from the Enemy, which he might take from them by force; for ſure peace was not to be hoped for but by Arms. If *Ceſar* did really deſire friendſhip with the French, he would not ſtand ſo much upon the loſs of *Verona*, but would covet their Friendſhip though upon conditions more advantagious to them. The Senate would therefore have the King of *France* acquainted with theſe doubts which made them ſuſpend their reſolution; deſiring him that he would ſo provide for the common Affairs as became his wiſdom and his ſingular love towards the Common-wealth; and that he ſhould take heed not to do any thing which might occaſion greater difficulties. As for them, they would willingly ſubmit all things to his pleaſure if it ſhould be needful ſo to do; aſſuring themſelves that

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he would have a great care of the Honour and ſafety of the Commonwealth.

The Aſſembly being this mean while met, there were many differences between the French and Dutch, which grew to that height as *Ceſar*'s Embaſſadors were ready to depart from *Bruſſels*, leaving the buſineſs unperfect. Theſe differences were thought to be in a part occaſioned by Cardinal *Sedunenſe*; for this man who thought to acquire much glory by diſturbing peace, finding a fit occaſion to provoke the Switzers, laboured to undoe whatſoever was formerly agreed upon between them and the King of *France*. He went likewiſe to *Henry* King of *England*, and ſought by all means to incenſe that King yet more, who did already ſufficiently envy, and hate the King of *France*: *Sedunenſe* had propounded unto himſelf to perſwade both theſe Princes to joyne their Forces with thoſe of *Ceſar*, or at leaſt to promiſe him they would doe ſo, to keep him as he alledged from being neceſſitated to throw himſelf by headlong counſel into the Friendſhip of the common Enemies; which could not be done without prejudice and danger to them. The King of *England* and the Switzers being wrought upon by theſe perſwaſions, they had ſent their Embabaſſadors to the Emperour to make him large promiſes. Inſomuch as he, who ſeem'd at firſt to be well inclined to peace, began now to be otherwiſe affected, and to raiſe new doubts, ſeeming ſometimes to refuſe, and ſometimes again very much to deſire the ſame thing. But peace being finaly concluded between the French and the Switzers (for the Inhabitants of ſome of thoſe Cantons who were at firſt more averſe, and oppoſite to the King, being made more plyant by means of a great ſum of Mony, which by the agreement was to be paid to each ſeveral Canton) did afterwards deſire the Friendſhip of the French, as well as the reſt, and did by common conſent confirme the League. Hence it was that *Maximillian* failing in the hopes of their aſſiſtance, and knowing that he was able to doe but little of himſelf, did much deſire friendſhip with the French, and Venetians; and began to treat more calmely; yet the Venetians were ſo troubled at the ſlow proceedings of all things, as well concerning War as Peace (mens minds being very changeable, and apt to believe every thing, when they are governed either by conciouſneſs or feare) as they ſuſpected every thing. Sometimes they much doubted the Catholick King (which name *Charles* of *Auſtria* being already gone into *Spaine*, begun to take unto himſelf) though it was likely that he being a new Prince and inviron'd with many difficulties, ſhould rather deſire Peace, then War in *Italy*. Sometimes they would not ſtick to be jealous of the very French; to whom they had wont to commit all their Affairs. firmly reſolving to keep perpetual friendſhip with them. Whilſt the Venetians were full of theſe doubts, and fears, the treaty of Peace was concluded at *Bruſſels*; for King *Francis* finding the difficulties did dayly increaſe, made friendſhip with *Ceſar* upon condition, that he ſhould likewiſe make peace with the Venetians; and that there ſhould be a ſuſpention of Arms between them, and him, for the ſpace of eight moneths; to the end that the mean while ſuch particulars whereby a firm peace might be ſetled between them for the future, might be more commodiouſly

treated

treated of. *Francis*, King of *France*, and *Charles*, King of *Spain*, were to be Judges, and Arbitrators, to examine, and decide all difficulties; who were to meet together within the space of two moneths, to negotiate these things, and many others, appertaining to their own particular States: *Charles* was to come to *Cambrai*, and *Francis* to St. *Quintan*, within the time appointed, where they were afterwards to make choise of some convenient place between these two Towns, for them both to meet in.

But before all other things, it was established that the Towns of the Venetians which were in Cesar's *possession, should be restored unto them,* Cesar *being by particular agreement bound to put the City of* Verona *presently into the hands of the Catholick King, and to take away the Garrison, and after six weeks the French were to receive the same, that they might deliver it unto the Venetians. But as soon as* Verona *should be delivered up into the hands of the Catholique King, or his Ministers, the French and Venetians were to remove all their men both from the City and from the Territories of* Verona; *that the City should not be munited the mean while, neither with new works, nor victuals; The Souldiers were to abstain from all injuries both in the City, and Country: The Dutch were likewise to quit the Territories of* Verona *and all the Towns that were therein except* Riva, *and* Roveredo, *which though they did formerly belong to those Confines, should notwithstanding be in the Emperours Jurisdiction: For the present both* Cesar *and the Venetians were to keep possession of such Towns as were now possess'd of in* Friuli. *The Souldiers of the Garrison which were in* Verona, *were to be permitted to return quickly to their own homes; and to carry all their goods along with them; and moreover* 200000 *Duckets were to be paid to* Cesar, *at three payments, within the space of one year, for the expence he had been at in the War, the one half whereof was to be disburst by the French, the other half by the Venetians.*

All things being thus agreed upon between *Cesar* and the King of *France*, *Lautrech* was to see them executed, who was particularly inform'd of all things that had past at *Brussels*. The Venetians moved thereunto by the irksomness, and inconveniences of so long a War; as also out of a desire to please the King of *France*, whom they had clearly found to be well minded towards them, did by approbation of the Senate approve of all that he had done, and promised to stand to the agreement that the Town of *Riva* and *Roveredo* did of right belong to them, and had been under the power of the Common-wealth for above 100 years, yet to satisfie the King they were content that they should remain in the hands of *Maximillian*. The Bishop of *Trent* was then sent to *Verona*, to receive that City from the Emperours Ministers, in the name of Catholique King; but at his first meeting with *Lautrech*, out of a difference in opinion that arose between them, all things went topsie turvy; the Bishop would have it, that the time of restoreing that City should begin from the day that it was delivered up to him, and not before.

Lautrech counting the six weeks from the time that the agreement was made at *Brussels*, said that the time prefixed was already at an end, and

and therefore demanded that the City ſhould be preſently delivered up to him. Thus the buſineſs being left undecided, they departed. But when the Biſhop return'd to *Verona*, the Souldiers ſeeing there was no proviſion made for their pay, and that the buſineſs drew out into length, began to mutiny, and threatened the Biſhop as the Authour of theſe difficulties.

The Imperialiſts were therefore content that the City ſhould be immediately deliver'd over unto the French, to the end that receiving the monies which by agreement was to be paid unto them by them and the Venetians, the Souldiers might be pacified. Wherefore meeting together again at the Town called *Doſſo Cuono*, and *Lautrech* having given in ſecurity to pay the aforeſaid monies, the Biſhop promiſed that the Town ſhould be delivered up unto him the next Tueſday, which was the 23 day of *January*. Things being thus ordered, the Citizens of *Verona* ſent *Nicolo di Cavalli* and *Leonardo Liſco*, Doctors of the civil Law, to congratulate with *Lautrech*, and the Venetian Commiſſaries: Who, accompanied with 400 ſelect Curaſſiers, and 2000 Foot entred the City the next day, and were met with unſpeakable joy by all the people, and with ſuch a concourſe of men of all conditions, and of all ages, as they could hardly paſs through the Streets; and being come to the cathedral Church, had much ado to get in at the Gates. Here *Lautrech* having received the Keys of the City from the Biſhop of *Trent*, did at the ſame inſtant give them into the hands of the Venetian Commiſſaries, *Andrea Gritti*, and *Giovan Paolo Gradinigo*. Then ſome of the chiefeſt of the Citizens did together with the Commiſſaries, and in the name of all the reſt, congratulate the return of that City to under the command of the Common-wealth; atteſting the Citizens conſtant good will towards her, and promiſing Loyalty and Obedience thereunto at all times.

Theſe things being ended, and the French aſſiſtance being to be diſmis'd, the Senate, that they might not omit to ſhew their reſpects and love to ſo gallant a man, and one who had deſerved ſo well of the Common-wealth, as *Lautrech* reſolved to preſent him honourably in the name of the publick, and charged Commiſſary *Gritti* to wait upon him to *Millan*. When he came to *Lodi*, he found *Giovan Giacopo Trivulcio* there, who was come to meet him, and to bring him the Order of S^t *Mihel* from the King. Then after the paſſing of many complements on both ſides, *Gritti* left him; who according to orders received from the Senate went to viſit the other Cities belonging to the Common-wealth, to provide for all things neceſſary for them, and to confirm the people in their love to the Common-wealth.

And at laſt, after having for ſo many years perform'd his faithful ſervice with much applauſe to the Common-wealth, having won much love amongſt the Citizens, and glory amongſt Forreigners, he return-ed to *Venice*. Great joy and general Feaſtings was had throughout the whole City: Every thing ſeemed to ſmile, and to eccho forth joyful acclamations. But chiefly all due praiſes were rendred to God, and ſolemn proceſſions devoutly made by publick Decree for many days; thanks being given to God for his great goodneſs in having granted them a deſired peace, after ſo long and troubleſome a War. Great

alms were given to Monastries and to Alms houses, and such Citizens, and Forreigners as had served the Common-wealth faithfully were well rewarded.

The Common-wealth being thus restored to her pristine greatness, after having suffered so many Calamities, and the Affairs of *Italy* being put (as it was thought) into a firm and settled condition, the Venetians hoped they had been freed from all Fears for many years.

The End of the third Book.

THE

THE HISTORY OF VENICE,

Written by PAULO PARUTA.

BOOK IV.

THE CONTENTS.

THE Peace of the Common-wealth; ſuch Cities as were return'd to their obedience ſend Commiſſioners to the Senate. Padua *and* Verona *are ſtrangely fortified. The Venetian Merchants obſtructed in* Spain: *The ſituation of* Venice. *A voyage of the Common-wealths Gallioons. An end of the Truce with* Maximillian. *A treaty of peace between him and the Venetians. Univerſal Truce treated by the Pope. Truce concluded between* Ceſar *and the Venetians; the conditions.* Maximillians *death.* Francis *King of* France, *and* Charles *King of* Spain, *contend who ſhall be Emperour.* Francis *ſends Embaſſadours to* Venice *to ſtand for him.* Charls *is declared King of the Romans.* Soliman *ſucceeds* Selino *in the Turkiſh Empire. His nature.* Lodowick *King of* Hungary *prepares for War. He ſends Embaſſadours to* Venice. *The Venetians ſend Embaſſadours to* Conſtantinople *to confirm the peace. The King of* France *ſcandalized at* Charles *his being choſen Emperour, treats of conſederacy with the Venetians. The Pope hiſitates. The Dyet is held at* Worms. Ceſar *endeavours to make the Venetians his friends;* Ceſars *genius; the like of the King of* France. *The Peace of* Italy *is diſturb'd. The King of* Hungary *ſends an Embaſſadour to* Venice. *The Senate reſolves to help that Kingdom.* Soliman *takes* Belgrado, *and frights all* Hungary. *The death of Duke* Loredano. Antonio Grimani *ſucceeds him. The King of* France *ſpeaks with the King of* England *at* Ards *in* Picardy. *Commotions in* Spain. *Riſings in* Germany. *New deſigns in the King of* France. *The Pope agrees with* Ceſar. *The Venetians endeavour Peace. Preparations made by the Pope and* Ceſar. Lautrech *goes for* Italy. *The Venetians arm their Confines: Joyn with the French. The Imperialiſts before* Parma. *They retire to before* Millan: *They take it.* Lautrech *gets ſafe with his Horſe to*

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THe ensuing years contain more prosperous successes, and will afford me more delightful matter to write on. Wherefore I hasten thereunto, as abhorring the memory of the past calamities; and as weary as if I had had a part in those troubles and dangers. The Common-wealth after the past Wars, enjoy'd three years quiet, in which time being healed of her so great labour and grievous adversity, she began to hold up her head again; and to resume her ancient power and reputation. The Wars therefore which we now shall write of, made by the Common-wealth on *Terra firma*, though they be no less remarkable for the Grandetsa of Princes, for famous Commanders, Forces, length of time, and other circumstances, yet were they more prosperous, and of less danger; the Common-wealth having taken up Wars for the space of almost ten years, no less to defend the Affairs of her friends and confederates, then her own; and more for glory then safety.

In the beginning of the year 1517. all Truces being solemnly published, as you have heard in the former Book, and all men hoping that secure peace would assuredly ensue, all the Cities on *Terra firma*, which before the late War were under the Dominion of the Common-wealth, were returned to her obedience, and sent their Deputies to *Venice* to congratulate with the Senate, that Arms were laid down with Honour, and the State recovered: And they did also willingly offer all their means, forces, and fortunes, to be at the Common-wealths service. The Senates first and chiefest care was, to ease the City of *Venice*, and all the other Cities and Castles on *Terra firma* of many grievances, which were imposed upon them in the more troublesome times of War, by reason of the scarcity of publick monies; to the end that private mens means being restored unto them in the time of peace, they might be the readier to assist the Common-wealth at another time of need. It was likewise provided that the places of Magistracy, as well of the whole State as City which were formerly granted upon certain loans of money to the publick, should be disposed of without any such loan, consideration being had to every mans worth and merit; and likewise that all such as did serve the Common-wealth in any place, should be paid their full stipend; part whereof was formerly made bold with for the greater occasions of War. Nor were such things forgot as tended to the conve-

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nience or ſplendor of the Common-wealth. Study was renewed in the City of *Padua*, which had been given over for the ſpace of eight years, and many famous men in all ſorts of learning were brought thither. This Univerſity, famous throughout the world for the excellency of all learning, for the number and quality of Profeſſors, and for the abundance of Scholars, was a great adornment to the Common-wealth, and a great convenience for all other Nations; for to this place came many from all Countries, to be inſtructed in the learned Arts.

But the pleaſantneſs of peace, had not made them forget the occurences of War, nor leſſened their care in things belonging to the preſervation of the State. The wiſe Senate thought that whilſt their thoughts were not imploy'd elſewhere, it became them in wiſdom to provide for ſuch things, which being ordered and diſpoſed of in peaceful times, do either keep the ſtorms of War far off, or if they ſhall happen, make the State the ſtronger, and more able to reſiſt them. They were chiefly careful in ſeeing *Padua*, and *Verona* well munited, the ſoundeſt foundations of their Empire on *Terra firma*. The Senate ſpared therefore neither for coſt nor labour, to make theſe very ſtrong Fortreſſes; to the end that for the future, the Enemy deſpairing to win them, might not think of aſſaulting them. *Andrea Gritti* and *Georgio Cornaro* were appointed to take the care hereof; who going to thoſe Cities, were, with the advice of *Trivulcio*, and the other prime men of the Militia, to deliberate, and do whatſoever ſhould be requiſite for the exact and ſecure defence thereof. Many things were there renewed, which had been deſtroy'd by the War; and many new works were added: Great Baſtions were built in ſeveral places of the Wall, according to the modern faſhion. Many noble Gates were alſo made, not only for ſafety and conveniency, but even for ornament. And certainly if we ſhall juſtly conſider with what *Grandezza*, what illuſtrious ſhew, and what regal expence theſe ſtrong holds were in theſe times built by the Common-wealth, we ſhall find that the Venetians ought to be as much admired for the magnificence and ſtatelineſs of theſe, as were the ancient Romans for their hot Baths, and Aquiducts, and other rare Fabricks. And becauſe the friendſhip and ſafe commerce with the Ottoman Empire was of great importance for the preſervation of the peace and quiet of that City by means of Traffique, the Senate choſe two Embaſſadours *Luigi Mocenico*, and *Bartholomeo Contarini*, to ſend to *Selino* to congratulate the victories which he had won; who inflamed with the glory of War, after his proſperous ſucceſs in *Perſia*, had aſſaulted the Empire of the *Mamalucchi* with a puiſſant Army, and overcome in Battle *Campſone Gauro* King of *Memphis*, had chaſed and routed his Forces, and ſubjugated great and rich Provinces which had been long under the Empire of the Soldans of the *Mamalucchi*; whereby he had much inlarged his confines. Therefore his friendſhips was for theſe reſpects much the more to be deſired; his power being ſo much increaſed and become formidable, and ſince the Venetian Merchants exerciſed great Traffique in thoſe Countries which he had lately won. To this was likewiſe added, that the pretentions of a certain Tribute paid by the King of *Cyprus* to the King of *Egypt*, for which the Common-wealth paid 8000 Duckets yearly to the Soldans of *Caire*, as the Luſinian Kings had wont formerly

merly to do, were now together with the Empire of the *Mamalucky* past over to the Ottoman Princes. These Embassadours sailed therefore first to *Cyprus*, and from thence went to *Damascus*, where *Selino* winter'd with all his Army. Their commission was chiefly to endeavour,

That the Venetians, who by reason of their merchandizing, had wont to keep in Alexandria, Tripoli, Baruti, Damascus, *and other places of Marchandize in those Regions, might enjoy the same rights and priviledges which had been long granted them by the Lords of* Egypt *and* Soria: *And that the Common-wealth might likewise be permitted to keep her Magistrates in those places, with the same authority and dignity as they had done formerly, who were to have a care of the Venetian Merchants Goods and Persons.*

These things were easily granted by *Selinus*, who having at this time turn'd his thoughts, and forces elsewhere, desired friendship with the Venetians, and in the begining of his new Empire to increase traffique in that Province; for his own particular good, for the conveniency of his subjects, and for the Interest of the publique Revenue. They were at the same time likewise to treat of the like Affairs with *Charles* King of *Spain*; to wit, that the commerce and traffique which had been long before held in his Kingdomes and States might be confirmed; and that also the Venetians might be suffered to go into those parts, and to contract Merchandize, as they had always been allowed to do in King *Ferdinands* time: Wherein it seemed there was now some interruption; for *Charles* his Officers, he being but newly come unto his Kingdomes, had perswaded him, that he might easily, and much to the advantage of his customes, tranfer all the merchandizing which was had in divers Maritime Cities of *Africa*, into the sole City of *Oran*; which was in *Charles* his possession, if the Venetian Vessels which were wont first to touch there, and then to pass into the Spanish Rivers, should be forbidden to enter upon any such occasion into the Havens of his Dominion, when they had tarried to contract any Merchandize in any of the Moores Cities. By which prohibition it was hoped that those Inhabitants might be necessitated to come to *Oran*; and to furnish themselves there with divers sorts of Merchandize, which cannot be brought them from elsewhere; many whereof they keep for their own use, and make much advantage by carrying many others to the Ethiopians. Moreover the Spaniards had laid new Imposts upon our Merchants; for whereas formerly one only tax of ten in the hundred, and that only of such things as were exported, was wont to be paid, now two tenths of all things, as well imported as exported were exacted, and that according to a price limited by them. But the business was much otherwise then the Spanish Ministers represented them; for neither would the Moores have thought they could traffique securely in those Towns which belonged to the Spaniards, whom they held to be their bitter and perpetual Enemies; neither would the Venetians have run the hazard of so long navigation, if their profit should have been so much lessened by new impositions; and if they should not have been permitted to merchandize with the Moores, and make their best advantage in all places. Wherefore experience soon shewed that the Spaniards were much prejudiced, and did quite lose that Traffique, by which they thought to have increased their publique Revenues. And since so fair

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an occaſion is now offer'd, I think it may ſtand with my intended purpoſe, who have undertaken to record to memory the Venetian Affairs, that I ſay ſomething of their Maritime Negotiations, to the end that the chief reaſon of that Cities wealth may be the better known. The ancient Founders of this City, and their Law-makers, took ſpecial care that the Citizens ſhould exerciſe themſelves in Voyages, and Traffique at Sea, and that they might by their induſtry indeavour to increaſe the riches both of the private and of the publique; and at the ſame time make the name of the Venetians famouſly known to far diſtant countries. The ſcituation of the City did invite to this manner of life, and exerciſe, and did almoſt of it ſelf adminiſter ſuch thoughts to the Inhabitants; for the City not having any Territories of her own by land, by the fertillity whereof, or by mans diligence, ſhe might enrich herſelf; nay, wanting ſuch things as were neceſſary to maintain life, they were firſt neceſſitated to exerciſe their induſtry, and afterwards got aboundance of all things. The antient cuſtom was to ſayle with great Gallies, built for Merchandize, into many Countries both Chriſtian and Pagan; and to bring many things from thence which might not only ſerve for the uſe of their Citizens, but might be ſent into forraign Nations, and great gain might be made thereby. Many of the young Nobility had wont to go in theſe Gallies, as well to practiſe Merchandizing, as to learn the Art of Sayling, and the knowledg of Maritime Affairs. Others of them continued many years in Forraign Nations, and almoſt in all thoſe places wherein they did traffique, to deal for themſelves, and for others: So as hereby they did not only acquire riches, but experience in many Affairs; and that being to be imploy'd in the Government of the Common-wealth at their return, they might not appear rude or unexpert in managing publique imployments. Hence it was likewiſe that frugality, modeſty, all goodneſs, and the like, were better obſerved in that City, wherein the youth being imploy'd in honeſt exerciſes, were not corrupted by idleneſs, and all that firſt age was voyd of Law-ſutes, and ambition. The wiſe Authors of theſe good orders knew very well that the deſire of honour and power did imprint it ſelf early in our ſouls; and that as our age increaſeth, it getteth to ſuch a growth as it findes no bounds, and does ſometimes grow immoderate, and plots things prejudicial to the State: And that in idleneſs youth grows effeminate; and that thoſe are ſooner corrupted by evil cuſtomes, who never parting from home, ſpend their lives in aboundance of all domeſtical Affairs. But that we may not digreſs too much from our firſt purpoſe, we will re-aſſume our diſcourſe where we left. The voyages made by our aforeſaid Gallies, that were commonly called Gallies of traffique, were theſe. When they put from *Venice*, their firſt voyage was to *Taragoſa*, in the Iſland of *Sicely*; from thence they went to *Tripoli*, in *Africa*; then touching at the Iſland of *Gherbe le Sirte*, to *Tanis*: Here they turn'd their courſe towards the Kingdom of *Tremiſine*, making their chief aboad at *Tuſen* and *Mega*, which now are called *Ona*, and *Oran*, as in the fitteſt and moſt frequented places of thoſe Regions. Laſtly, they went to divers Towns in the Kingdom of *Morocco*, called in their language *Fez*, to *Bedis* of *Gomiera*; and having already touched all the Havens of *Barbary*

bary, which were anciently tearmed *Mauritania*, and *Numidia*, they went to *Spain*, traffiquing in *Almeria*, anciently called *Abdara*; from thence to *Maligo*, *Vallence*, and *Forora*. But they did not use the same traffique in all places; for they carried many sorts of Mettals, and much linnen cloath from *Venice* to the Moores of *Africa*; to buy the which the Moores came at a certain time of the year to the aforesaid places, bringing much gold with them. Then passing with this gold into the Rivers of *Spain*, they bought there divers sorts of Merchandize, as silk, wooll, grain, and other things which that Country produceth, and all these they brought to *Venice*. This Navigation, which was long used by the Venetians, and was of great advantage to them, began to be disturb'd by the reasons we have before spoken of; and divers accidents supervening afterwards, the State of Affairs being altered, it is wholly given over and lost. But let us now re-assume our interrupted Narration.

A good part of the time of Truce was now past, and the year 1518 began, wherefore it behoved them to come to a new agreement with *Maximilian*. The Pope endeavour'd as he had often formerly done, that this business might be transacted at *Rome*; but the Venetians confiding more in the King of *France*, desired that it might be handled at his Court, whither *Cesar* was to send his Embassadours with authority to assent unto, and to observe what should be agreed upon. The Treaty was begun by the procurement of the most Christian King, but things could not be brought to a settled composure; for the Venetians wearied with so long War, and no less cloy'd with *Maximillians* dubious and suspitious counsels, cared little for any other agreement save such whereby they might be put into an assured condition of peace and quiet. But the Emperour, according to his accustomed and natural inconstancy, that he might always have a loop hole for new designs, as also hoping to get a greater sum of money from the Venetians by these frequent agreements, propounded a treaty rather of Truce then of Peace. At this very time Pope *Leo* was very earnest in procuring an universal Truce, whereby all Christian Princes might lay down their Arms, to the end that true amity and sincere peace ensuing, they might by a general consent establish and conclude a powerful and firm League against *Selino*; for the Ottoman Empire being so mightily encreased both in State and Power by the acquisition of *Egypt* and *Soria*, it was evident that great mischiefs were threatened to all Christendom by a powerful Enemy. The same immoderate desire of Reign which had made *Selino* wage War with the Soldans of the *Mamulucchi*, would always be the like in him, towards all Christian Princes. Therefore mature care ought to be had, that the Turk might not arrive at such greatness, as that without any impediment or gain-saying he might hereafter make all other Provinces subject, and Tributaries to him.

These things being thus represented to the Venetians in the Popes name, and many principal Prelates of the Court of *Rome* being sent to all the Princes of Christendom to the same end, were a great means of moving the Senate to agree with *Cesar* touching a new Truce, since greater and longer difficulties appeared to be in the establishing of a Peace: To the end that they might not be thought to disturbe so great a good to

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all Christendom, out of any particular respects unto themselves. But as for the motion which was particularly made unto them by *Leo* of making War against the Turks; they answered, when things should be hopefully begun, and that they should be prosecuted with like fervour, the State of *Venice* would be readier then any others for such an Enterprize; nor would they at any time be wanting unto themselves, to whom they knew the care of these common dangers did more particularly belong, as being most concern'd therein: Nor would they be backward in the good of all Christendom, nor in obeying the Popes pious and earnest entreaties. But that notwithstanding by reason of the condition of their State by Sea, which was every where environed by the confines of this powerful Enemy; and not being able with their much weaker Forces to withstand the first Onset of the Turks, nor to sustain the War in their own Territories, before the Ottoman Empire should be assaulted by the Armies and Fleets of the Confederates; they could not be the first in declaring themselves Enemies to the Turks. But Truce with *Cesar* being treated of by *Antonio Justiniano*, who was Embassadour for the Common-wealth, with the King of *France*, it was at last concluded upon these conditions.

That all Arms should be suspended for five years: And that people might live peaceably in either State, without either doing or receiving any injury. That it might be lawful for Cesars *and the Common-wealths Subjects to travel and traffique safely in each others Country, as in time of Peace. That each of them should keep such Towns as they were now poßeß'd of; that all Prisoners of War should be released, except* Christopher Frangipane, *who was to be sent into* France *to be kept there; that during the time of the Truce the Venetians should pay* Cesar 20000 *Duckets yearly: And that the Venetians should pay the fourth part of what they had got by the Revenues of such as had followed* Cesars *party, to the former Owners.*

And the differences concerning the confines being many, and hard to decide, and chiefly in *Friuli*, they could not as then come to any determinate end; *Cesars* Commissioners saying that they had no orders nor power to treat thereof; but the settlement in this point, as in all other difficulties, was left to the King of *France*, as to the Authour of this agreement: Wherein he afterwards decreed; that the Emperour and the Venetians should chuse Commissioners, who meeting in *Verona* (whither he would likewise send one who should represent his name and authority) should treat upon, and resolve the business of confines. The State of *Venice* chose *Francisco Pesaro* for them, and acquainted the King of *France* therewith; saying that they would be ready to send their Commissioner to the place appointed, as soon as they should hear that *Cesar* was about to send his. Whilst these things were a doing, the Emperour *Maximillian* fell sick and dyed in the beginning of the year 1519.

Whereupon the Souldiers that were in Garrison at *Gradisca* and *Marano*, entring licentiously into the confines of the Common-wealth, plunder'd many of the Venetians Subjects Houses, and committed many other Hostile Acts; wherefore the Senate write Letters to the Viccars of the Empire, telling them, that for their parts, they would not violate the Truce, nor innovate any thing for *Maximillians* death,

provided that the Commanders and Souldiers of the Empire ſhould abſtain from doing injuries: Which being by them praiſed and embraced the Truce was afterwards inviolably obſerved on all ſides. Now they began to treat of chuſing the Emperour, whereunto *Francis* King of *France*, and *Charles* King of *Spain*, did chiefly pretend, Princes of rare endowments of mind, and very eminent for Fortune, but very formidable by reaſon of their great power. The Princes of *Italy* were not a little troubled at this Election, conſidering that whether of theſe two ſhould be exalted to the Dignity of the Empire, when they ſhould have the reputation of the Empire added to the already potent Forces of their own Kingdomes, and be made much greater then the other by the help of *Germany*, he would endeavour to drive the other out of whatſoever he poſſeſs'd in *Italy*, and ſo this Counterpoiſe being taken away, they would at laſt bend their thoughts upon making themſelves Maſters of all *Italy*; for ambition does always increaſe in great Princes, together with new acquiſitions and the unquenchable thirſt of Government grows greater. Therefore ſuch an Election could not but be bad for *Italy*. Yet ballancing all things well, it was thought leſs dangerous for *Italy* that the King of *France* ſhould be made Emperour, then the King of *Spain*; for they conſidered that the former, as being a Stranger, would be of much leſs power in *Germany*; and that the French Nation, as it is very hot and violent at the firſt, ſo not being very conſtant to its purpoſes, often times neglects and gives over thoſe very things which it did before ſo much deſire, and endeavour; wherefore the French are commonly thought better at getting, then at keeping. The Italians hoped that the Empire of the French in *Italy*, though it were great, might by ſome accident decline, and at laſt be extinguiſhed. Which was not to be hoped for in the Spaniards; who when they have once much inlarged their Dominions, and laid a good groundwork for it, all labour and endeavour to drive them out would be but in vain. Theſe were the reaſons which did chiefly move the Pope, and the Venetians to favour the King of *France* in this his ſtanding for the Empire. His Embaſſadours which he had ſent to *Rome* and to *Venice* for this purpoſe, were therefore willingly liſtned unto. But to boot with all this, *Monſieur de Taligni*, who was ſent by the King for this purpoſe to the State of *Venice*, made ſeveral other propoſitions.

He deſired the loan of a good ſum of money, that his King when he ſhould be declared Emperour, might have wherewith to ſupply many gifts, and great expences which he was to be at; and moreover that the Venetians would forthwith ſend ſome Souldiers into Germany, *to ſecure the Electors from any violence: And that the Senate would declare what was to be done, if* Charles *ſhould enter* Italy *with an Army (as it was given out he would do) to go to* Rome, *and force the Pope to free him from the Oath, which he took from* Julius *the ſecond, when he was inveſted in the Kingdom of* Naples *(note that it was decreed by Pope* Urban, *that whoſoever ſhould poſſeſs that Kingdom, ſhould not take upon him the Imperial Dignity) which was the chief reaſon why* Leo *uſed means to the Electors, to keep* Charles *from being choſen Emperour. To which demands the Senate anſwered, That the Commonwealth was ſo highly obliged to the King, as that they wiſh'd him all proſperity; for they had always thought, that whatſoever addition of State or Honour*

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ſhould befall the Kingdom of France, *would be of no ſmall importance for their ſecurity; wherefore they would imploy all their endeavours and power for the aggrandizing of the King thereof; and that though the publique Exchequer was very much empaired by reaſon of the long Wars, yet if need ſhould require, they would overcome all difficulties, to accommodate him with the ſum of* 1000000 *Duckets. But as for ſending their Forces beyond the Mountains, nothing could be of leſs uſe to the King, nor of more prejudice and danger to themſelves; for they ſhould ſhew a great will to do harm, where they could do none. That all the ſtrait and difficult paſſages, by which their Souldiers were to paſs into* Germany, *were poſſeſs'd by the Dutch, and well guarded and garriſoned by them. That as it would be very hard for their men to paſs over the Mountains, and to get into* Germany, *ſo it would be eaſie for the Dutch to fall down from ſeveral parts into the Confines of the Common-wealth, and put their Affairs into great confuſion. But if that* Charles, *being unprovoked by any injury, ſhould come armed into* Italy, *and ſhould attempt to violate the ſacred Majeſty of the Pope of* Rome, *the Senate of* Venice *would not differ from what their Anceſtors had ever proved themſelves to be; to wit,* DEFENDERS of the ECCLESIASTICAL LIBERTY and DIGNITY, *which name of Honour and true Glory was always held by them in high eſteem, and ſhould be preferr'd before the Imperial greatneſs.*

Whilſt King *Francis* treated thus by his Embaſſadours, *Charles*, who partly by favour, making large promiſes to the Electors, partly by fear, having already got many men together, had got the good will of the Electors, he was declared King of the Romans. Almoſt at the ſame time, *Soliman*, only Son to *Selino*, his Father being dead, poſſeſs'd himſelf quietly of the Empire, and was put into the Seat of the Ottoman Princes, without any contention. Only one *Agazzelle* a Captain in *Soria*, proved contumacious, and a Rebel to the new Emperour; but his Rebellion was ſoon ſuppreſt, and all the Provinces of the Empire became obedient to *Soliman*, in whom there appeared evident ſigns of an high and great Spirit; ſo as being come to the Empire, there was no doubt but that he would flye high, and plot great miſchiefs againſt Chriſtendom. Yet the Chriſtian Princes not minding ſo great a danger, whilſt the want of experience in the young Prince, their innate Enemy, might ſomewhat allay his power, having other thoughts, ſuffer'd the greatneſs of the Ottoman Empire to increaſe and be better eſtabliſhed. Only *Lodowick* King of *Hungary* took up Arms, and endeavour'd help from all parts, whoſe Kingdom was likely to partake firſt of the miſchiefs of War; for *Soliman* would not renew the Truce with *Lodowick*, which when it was formerly offer'd him by his Father *Selino*, was by him refuſed, being thereunto adviſed by the Emperour, and the King of *Polonia*, becauſe *Selino* was then buſied in Wars far off, which was perhaps a generous, but no good counſel. *Lodowick* ſent therefore his Embaſſadours to all Princes Courts, chiefly to *Rome* and *Venice*, admoniſhing what danger others were in by his ruine.

To this the Venetians anſwered, that the Ottoman Empire was a good while ſince grown very formidable to all men, but more particularly to their Common-wealth, by reaſon of the neighbourhood of their States:

That for their parts, they had never refuſed ſuch invitations, but had oft times both by words and example excited other Princes to withſtand the growing power of ſo great an Empire. But what were they able of themſelves to do?

They therefore choſe *Marco Minio* for their Embaſſadour, whom they ſent with their acuſtomed preſents to *Conſtantinople*, to confirm the Articles of peace after the ſame manner as they were concluded a little before by *Antonio Fuſtiniano*, as you have heard; adding thereunto thoſe things which *Selino* after his conquering of the Mamalucchies Empire, had lately promis'd to grant. To wit, that the Venetian Merchants might enjoy the ſame priveledges, and immunities in their goods, in *Egypt*, and in *Soria*, as they had anciently done. Which *Soliman* was ſo ready to grant, as the Eaſtern Seas being then much infected by Pirats, he offer'd to ſend out his Fleet againſt them if the Common-wealth would do the like, to the end that the Seas might be kept open, and that the Venetian Merchants might continue their trafique by Navigation into Nations which were under the Ottoman Empire; of which his ready will, and deſire of peace and friendſhip, *Soliman* had given teſtimony, having at the ſame time that *Minio* prepared to go for *Conſtantinople*, ſent *Acmat Ferrat* on his behalf to *Venice*, to acquaint them with his acceſſion to the Empire, and that he would continue thoſe conventions and friendly offices with the Common-wealth, as his Father *Selino* alwaies had done.

This peace with the Turks was very opportunely made, to the yet unſetled condition of *Italy*: and for the quieting of thoſe ſuſpitions which the Senators were full of, the beginning of this year, by reaſon of News that was ſpred abroad of a great Fleet that was to put forth from *Conſtantinople*; wherefore the Senate not thinking it fit to be at the diſcretion of a barbarous Prince, naturally ambitious, and grown inſolent by new victories, had been very diligent in furniſhing all their Sea-Forts with great Garriſons, and added 50 Gallies to their Fleet, wherein the Common-wealth's chief hopes ſeemed then to lye; and they made *Andrea Gritti* Captain-General of the Navy: Moreover the order of the Militia, of the men of that ſame Country, was inſtituted in the Kingdom of *Candia*, as it was done ſome years before in the State by *Terra firma*; to the end that upon any ſudden occaſion, the Garriſons of Cities in Countries far off, and which it would be hard to ſuccour ſpeedily, might be increaſed. The charge hereof was given to *Gabriele Martiningo*, who was honour'd with the title of Governor of that Iſland. But theſe proviſions proved unneceſſary for that occaſion; for *Selino* had by his death, put a period to theſe thoughts of War, and *Soliman* did readily confirm the Articles of peace, as hath been ſaid; wherefore the Venetian Fleet, the other dangers being removed, went into the Seas of *Barbary*, which were infeſted with many Pyrats to ſecure their great Gallies, which Sayled through theſe Seas not without great danger of Pyrats; by the taking of many of whoſe ſhips, the Sea was much cleanſed, and the way was opened for thoſe Voyages.

Thus did the Venetians temporize with the Turks, and kept friend-

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ſhip with them, ſince there appeared no hopes of overcoming them: For that the Chriſtian Princes kept ſtill at enmity within themſelves, little minding the much greater common danger. The King of *France* being greatly ſcandalized at the conferment of the Empire upon *Charles* of *Auſtria*; and fearing leaſt his Forces and Authority being ſo much increaſed, he would ſuddenly fall into *Italy*, and bereave him of the State of *Millan*; had ſignified to the Pope, and to the Venetians, that their States would be in great danger, if the new Emperour might be permitted to paſs Armed into *Italy*; he therefore propounded that a firm League and good Intelligence, might be eſtabliſhed between them three, whereby each of them ſhould be bound to defend the Honour, and Territories of the reſt, againſt whoſoever ſhould go about to injure them, and particularly to oppoſe *Charles* his Forces, if he ſhould come with an Army to *Rome*, to take upon him the Emperial Crown, as it was thought he intended; which could not be done without much danger to whoſoever had any State in *Italy*, as well by reaſon of all Emperours ancient pretences, as for what was diſcovered to be in the mind of this new *Ceſar*. The King of *France* did ſo much apprehend this, as he perſwaded the Pope to ſend *Charles* the Crown of the Empire, by way of Bull, before he ſhould be reſolved to come into *Italy*; which being better examined by the Venetians, was found to be rather prejudicial then good for the common Intereſt; for this would not have been ſufficient to have altered *Ceſar*'s deſire; that indeed was not to take upon him the Enſigns of the Empire, but to get more Territories in *Italy*. The Venetians readily aſſented to the propoſition made by the King of *France* of a new confederacy, having the ſame fear, and the ſame deſire to ſecure themſelves from *Ceſar*'s getting farther footing into *Italy*: And theſe were increaſed by the miſchiefs they ſuffered in the late years, by being of themſelves to reſiſt the Forces of ſo many Princes. They therefore ſaid that as it had alwaies been their firme and conſtant reſolution never to part from the friendſhip of the Crown of *France*, ſo upon this occaſion they were to ſet the higher value upon it; as that by which they might recieve the greater advantage; wherefore they would ſtill adhere to his counſels. But the Pope being irreſolute; was aſſaulted by variety of reaſons, and diverſity of affections; for he thought himſelf not ſafe from the fear of *Ceſar*'s Forces, without the favour and friendſhip of the King of *France*, having manifeſtly oppoſed his Election, by ſhewing his incapability of receiving the dignity of Emperour, he having ſworn at his being inveſted into the Kingdom of *Naples*, that he would never indeavour it, nor accept of it; of which Oath the Pope had not as yet freed him.

On the other ſide, the Dyet at *Worms* being intimated, wherein *Martin Luther*'s doctrine was to be treated of; not only concerning the Tenets of faith, but even of the Popes authority, *Leo* thought it imported much upon this occaſion, to keep *Charls* his friend, at leaſt, not to incenſe him with new Leagues, leſt he might become leſs diligent in proceeding againſt *Luther*, and in condemning his Tenets, whereby his authority might encreaſe, to the great diſparagement of the church of Rome. The Pope was likewiſe much troubled, that the reputation

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and power of the French should be encreased, whereby they might be confirmed in their possession of the State of *Milan*: Proceeding therefore slowly, and irresolutely, he seemed desirous to joyn with the King of France, and with the Venetians, in defence of the common cause: but when the business drew to a conclusion, he would not yeild that any agreement should be made in writing, saying, That it was not good to expose themselves to danger by writing, whereby the business, wherein secresie was chiefly requir'd, might the more easily be made known: That the words of Princes, to do what was agreed upon between them, might suffice. The business drawing thus out at length, and the King of France growing with time somwhat more cool in his former fervency, the Venetians began to grow jealous, lest he might hold some secret intelligence with the Emperour, which might be the chief cause of the Pope's irresoluteness, and of the so long delay in confirming the things agreed upon. This suspition was fomented by many things; as the certain knowledge that Monsignor *di Chiures*, a Spaniard, was gone from Cesars Court into France, to agree of an Interview with the King of France, as was by them given forth; and that in this Interview, the Peace should be confirmed which was made some moneths before between the King of *France*, and the King of *England*; wherein *Charls* being named as one of the chief contractors, he had not as yet ratified it. Moreover, the articles wherewith the King said he had dispatched away Monsieur *di St Marscho* from France, were kept very secret, when he was come to *Rome*; and also the said *St Marscho* departed from *Rome*, before the League was established, when there was most need of his presence for the consummation thereof, and left none with the Pope in the King's behalf, but *Alberto Carpi*, who was so grievously sick, as he was not fit for any negotiation: These were things which argued strongly that the King had altered his mind: Yet the Venetians continuing their former resolution, of not foregoing the friendship of the French, acquainted the King with this their jealousie, but did not seem any way to resent it, nor to alter their resolution: Nay, they said, they did assure themselves, that if the King had an intention to make any new confederacy with Cesar, their Commonwealth should be mentioned and comprehended in the agreement, whatsoever it should be; so as whatsoever differences they had had with *Maximilian*, should now be accommodated with *Charls*, and all occasions of new troubles should be laid aside.

But on the other side, *Charls*, when he was declared King of the Romans, having peradventure his thoughts bent upon the affairs of *Italy*, as hath been said, and knowing it would become him chiefly to hold fair with the Venetians, seemed very desirous to agree those differences with them, which had been formerly between the Commonwealth, and his predecessor *Maximilian*: and that his actions might correspond with his words, he had sent his Commissioners to *Verona*, with full power, not only to Treat of the things appertaining to the last Truce of five years, but also to accomodate all those other particulars which in the former agreement made two years ago, were not yet decided. Commissioners on all sides being met, *Francisco Pesaro* for the Commonwealth, who was chosen many moneths before for this employment,

ployment, and four of the chief Councellors of *Ispruch* in the Emperours behalf, to whom he had particularly committed the buſineſs, and *Fenanni Pino* being likewiſe ſent thither as Embaſſadour from the King of *France*, who (as hath been ſaid) was made Arbytrator in the differences which were by reaſon of the laſt Truce: The Venetians propounded that all Towns which were taken in the laſt War, ſhould be reſtored by both ſides, and that all things ſhould return to their former condition; alledging, that only ſuch an agreement could put an end to all paſt differences, and bring a certain and a long peace. But the Imperialiſts finding out ſomtime one difficulty, ſomtimes an other, ſpun out the buſineſs, not concluding any thing, and ſomtimes making new demands; as, That all ſuch as had been baniſhed from their Country by the Venetians, ſhould be thereunto reſtored; together with ſome other ſuch like things, whereof no mention had been made in the articles of Truce, and whereby a firm agreement might be rather kept off then made. Some moneths being thus ſpent in vain, Ceſar's were ſent for home by their fellow Councellors of *Ispruch*: Yet at this very time the Embaſſador of *Venice* had great hopes given him at the Emperors Court, of a good iſſue of this buſineſs, promiſe being made, that new Commiſſioners ſhould be choſen, who ſhould be ſent with better Inſtructions to *Friuli*, that being near the places of moſt important differences, they might decide them the ſooner, and with more eaſe. All *Charls* his chiefeſt Miniſters of State, ſhewed that he had a great deſire to live neighbourly with the Venetians, and to make a firm peace with them; whereby it was clearly ſeen, that Ceſar deſired friendſhip with the Venetians, and that he cunningly prolonged the accomodation of differences with them, ſo to get them to make a ſtraiter League with him, and forgo their reſpects with the French, whoſe friendſhip they ſeemed to value ſo highly, as he had but little hopes to agree with them anſwerable to his need and deſigns, unleſs they were moved thereunto out of ſome ſuch neceſſity. But the Venetians replied, that they much deſired peace and quiet; that the inſtitution of their Commonwealth had alwaies been ſuch, and that they would uſe the ſame means; but that it became them in honour to keep their plighted faith: wherefore they muſt profeſs clearly, that they could not, nor would not do any thing, which might any ways croſs their League with the King of *France*.

But ſince I ſhall ſeveral times have occaſion to diſcourſe of things that paſt between theſe two moſt famous Princes, both in this, and in other ages, and with whom the Commonwealth had both War and Peace, and ſeveral Treaties of things of very great importance; it will not be far from the purpoſe of this our diſcourſe, to know ſome thing of their natures and cuſtoms: for as they were both of them very deſirous of Empire and Glory, ſo they took ſeveral ways to arrive at this their end. *Charls* was very wary, quick of foreſight, mature at deliberation, grave at buſineſs, wonderful patient, and much given to perſeverance; whereby he knew how to wait for time and opportunity, and to make uſe of them to his beſt advantage. But *Francis* was of a magnanimous ſpirit, which made him willingly embrace any thing whereby he might purchaſe the applauſe of being generous, and honour

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in war; he deſired to overcome his enemy rather by true valour, then by advantages, and craft. His words and countenance diſcovered his moſt inward thoughts: *Ceſar* loved men that were wary and warlike: his words were few, his thoughts deep, he was very ambitious, but not very open therein; ſtriving ſtill to cloak his aſpiring after greatneſs, under the pretence of uprightneſs, and common Intereſt.

But *Francis* favour'd and embraced all ſuch, and was very liberal unto them, who were rare at any profeſſion; he affected to be thought eloquent, affable, civil, liberal, and was chiefly deſirous of warlike glory: Neither did he conceal this his deſire, but diſcover'd his will and thoughts by his words and actions. Theſe two Princes did at the ſame time, but by ſeveral ways, endeavour friendſhip with the Common-wealth, that they might make uſe of her Forces in their Affairs in *Italy*, in which buſineſſes this year was ſpent, without coming to any concluſion in any one thing.

In the beginning of the next year, which was the year 1520. the peace of *Italy* began not only to be diſturbed, but even Chriſtendom in ſeveral parts to be moleſted with great miſchief and dangers: Which though they were fore-ſeen by all, none did ſeek to prevent; for *Soliman*, finding himſelf very proſperous, and not willing to grow effeminate through idleneſs, nor to degenerate from the Worth of his Anceſtors, reſolved to wage War, as it was formerly ſuſpected, in *Hungary*, hoping thereby to reap the greater glory, for that the fame of that Nation was very great for War, and becauſe though that Enterprize had ſeveral times been undertaken by his Predeceſſors, it was not as yet brought to a good end.

Therefore the year 1521. being begun, *Soliman* march'd with a powerful Army from *Conſtantinople*, himſelf in perſon into *Hungary*. At which great warlike Preparations King *Lodowick* being much troubled, not finding himſelf able to ſupport ſo great a bulk of War, and the danger growing every day more apparent, he did again by new Embaſſies ſollicite all Chriſtian Princes to ſuccour him in the defence of his Kingdom, and therein befriend all Chriſtendom. To this purpoſe he ſent *Philip More*, Biſhop of *Agria* to *Venice*, who being brought before the Duke and his Senators, ſpoke to this purpoſe.

My King, moſt Illuſtrious Prince, and you famous Senators, doth ſo much confide in your faith, humanity and power, in the ſtrait conjunction which for theſe many years hath been between your Common-wealth, and his Crown, as that for the common Intereſt of both States, for the Juſtice of his cauſe, and out of the uſual cuſtom of your ſelves, and your Anceſtors, you will favour what is juſt, and aſſiſt him with your help, who in this eminent War of the Turks would make his chief recourſe to you, and communicate his Affairs, and Needs firſt to you: Hoping not only to find you ready in your ſelves to do what you are able for the defence of his Kingdom, but that by your power and interceſſion you will apply your ſelves to other Princes, and facilitate their aſſiſting of him; and truly reaſon tells us that the firſt applications belong to this Common-wealth, when oppoſition is to be made to the increaſing of the Ottoman Empire; for as her opportunity is great of troubling this Enemy, by the power ſhe hath at Sea, ſo for the neighberhood of ſo many of her States, ſhe ought to covet the abaſing of it, and

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to be careful that together with the ruine of others, her own danger do not encreaſe. Therefore if you my Lords will be the firſt who ſhall move other Princes to take upon them the defence of the Kingdom of Hungary, *ſo as the courage of this new, and fiercely minded Emperour may be allay'd, who will leave nothing unattempted whereby he may hope to purchaſe Glory and Empire, you will reap the fruit of real and true Honour, of great ſafety, and of the increaſing of your State. Conſider Gentlemen to what an height the Ottoman Family is riſen of late years: And chiefly (if I may be permitted to ſay ſo) through the negligence of Chriſtian Princes; for meeting with no obſtacle, he marcheth on apace to Supream Monarchy; if* Conſtantines *entreaties and proteſtations had been liſtned unto when* Mahomet *aſſaulted* Conſtantinople, *aſſuredly the Grecian Empire would not have been deſtroy'd: Nor would the like of the* Mamalucchi *have now fallen, if that had ſtood. Theſe two joyn'd together did ſo counterpoiſe the Turkiſh Forces, as their ſafety would have freed now the Kingdom of* Hungary, *and the reſt of Chriſtendom from danger. He who ſhall well conſider the progreſs of the ancient Monarchs, will find that their chiefeſt difficulty lay in getting to ſuch a pitch of power and force, as no one Potentate could of himſelf alone give a juſt counterpoiſe to their power. Other acquiſitions have been the ſooner, and more eaſily made by reaſon of the almoſt inſuperable difficulties which have been ſtill met withal in getting many Princes joyn in the deſtruction of one alone. The Romans ſpent many years in conquering* Italy, *but being by the Conqueſt thereof made ſtronger then the reſt, they in a few years vanquiſh'd ſo many Princes, as they ſubjugated the greateſt and fartheſt diſtant Provinces. It is therefore evident, that the longer Chriſtians defer to oppoſe the Turks, they make the danger the greater, and the remedy more difficult. I will not ſay that to take upon them the defence of* Hungary *is a glorious thing for Chriſtian Princes to do, not that it is a duty which they owe to their Religion, to their profeſſion, not that it makes for every one of their Intereſts, but I will more truly ſay it is neceſſary for the preſervation of their States. This Kingdom being loſt, which hath for ſo many years withſtood the violence of the Turkiſh Forces on this ſide, and retarded the courſe of their Victories, what remains to keep them from over-running* Auſtria, *from diſturbing all* Germany, *and from entring into the Confines of this your State? This very Kingdom, which hath hitherto been the great Bulwark to hinder their advancing, if this be loſt (which God forbid) it will be of great opportunity for them, to the ſubjugating of other Nations, and to the ruinating of other Kingdomes. But this being defended, as it is neceſſary it ſhould be, ſo is it neither impoſſible, nor yet very hard to withſtand their farther progreſs, if Princes do not rather want will then Forces. The Hungarian Nation by ancient cuſtom, and almoſt by nature, hath always been warlike, our Princes and our people have won great and particular praiſe and honour in War; nor hath my now King and Maſter, nor his Subjects degenerated, nor are they to degenerate any whit from the Worth of their Anceſtors: They have minds, and for as much as is poſſible for men to have, Forces ready to defend themſelves. But alas how can one only Kingdom, not very great, not very rich, find men, monies, munition, and ſo many other requiſites for War, to withſtand the numerous Turkiſh Armies, gather'd together out of ſo many Provinces? Marry if it be aſ-*

ſiſted and ſuccour'd by other Princes, the Kingdom of Hungaries *Forces will not only be ſo increaſed, but even the Honour and Courage thereof, as we no ways doubt to fruſtrate all the Enemies deſigns made againſt us; nor will we refuſe if occaſion ſhall be offer'd, to give him Battle in a pitch'd field, ſo to ſecure by our own dangers (if God ſhall pleaſe to favour) as we are to hope he will, our pious and generous boldneſs) not only of our own Country, but all the Kingdomes and Provinces of Chriſtendom for many years. But I find I have tranſgreſs'd my bounds by my too long ſpeaking: I ſpeak of things that are well known, and to thoſe that underſtand them better then I do. The ſum of all is this. Our Kingdom is one of the out-walls of Chriſtendom, againſt the fury of the Turkiſh Forces; Common ſafety, and common defence, ought to be provided for by common Forces and Counſels: Your wiſdom and piety makes you foreſee, and conſider dangers, and your power and authority endows you with means to give a ſpeedy and opportune remedy thereunto.*

The Embaſſadour was very attentively liſtned unto, whoſe ſpeech made the greater impreſſion in all that heard him, becauſe they were all very well minded to the buſineſs, it was therefore reſolved, that endeavours ſhould be made with all the Princes of Chriſtendom, by means of the Commonwealths Embaſſadors, to make them all joyn with common conſent and force, to aſſiſt the Kingdom of *Hungary*, and to provide againſt ſuch great dangers, to the which they readily offered their beſt aſſiſtance, and the power of the whole Commonwealth: But theſe Treaties wrought no better effect then they had formerly done; ſo as the danger growing daylie greater, and King *Lodowick* thinking himſelf neceſſitated to fight the Turks, for the freeing of *Belgrado*, a ſtrong and important City, and the Frontire Town of that Kingdom, from the fury of the Turks, before which the Turkiſh Army was already incamped, he ſent *Iovan Stuilio* his Embaſſadour again to *Venice*, to borrow ſome monies of the Senate, by which he might increaſe his Forces, and put himſelf with better hopes upon the fortune of Battel. The Commonwealth had formerly many times furniſhed the King of *Hungary* with monies, to aſſiſt him againſt the Turks; and they thought themſelves now more obliged to abbet that Kingdom out of the particular ſtrait conjunction which they held with King *Lewis*, and for that by reaſon of the greatneſs of the *Ottoman* houſe, thoſe reſpects were grown more conſiderable, for which he had endeavoured the preſervation and proſperity of that warlike Kingdom. The Senate therefore reſolved to ſend thirty thouſand Ducats to King *Lodowick*, together with greater promiſes and offers, and not concealing the friendſhip which they held with him, they ordered *Lorenzo Orio*, who was their Embaſſadour in *Hungary*, to follow his Camp. Bet the King's forces had ill ſucceſs, *Belgrado* was loſt, nor were the other Cities of the Kingdom free from fear of the Turkiſh forces; for *Soliman* left his Artillery, and part of his Militia in *Hungary*, intending to return thither (as he told the Venetians by one of his *Chiaus*, whom he ſent to *Venice*, to acquaint them with this his victory) and ſubdue that Kingdom. At this time, to the great grief of the whole City, Duke *Loredano* died, who had governed the Commonwealth very prudently for the ſpace of twenty years, and who

who incouraging others by his invincible ſpirit, had overcome the malice of Fortune, and reduced the City to a peaceable and quiet condition. He was of a great wit, and natural inſight into Affairs, and of much experience in the world; having ſpent his youth in continual Navigations, and his riper years in managing the moſt important Affairs of the Common-wealth, exerciſing the chiefeſt places of Magiſtracy both within the Common-wealth and abroad. He dyed being almoſt 90 years old, having even till then had vivacity in his Intellectuals though his body was ſubject to divers infirmities. His Encomium was made by *Andrea Navaghiero*, and he was buried with great pomp in S^t *John* and S^t *Pauls* Church. *Antonio Grimani* was choſen to ſucceed him, a man famous for his wealth, and for the honours he had attain'd to in the Common-wealth, and one who had often times tryed both proſperous and adverſe fortune; and who was lately return'd to his Country, after having been many years baniſh'd, for that being General at Sea, he had not made good uſe of occaſion in fighting, and in overcoming the Turkiſh Fleet at *Lepanto*. *Grimani* took upon him the place of Duke, the Common-wealth being (as you have heard by what is paſt) in Peace and Tranquillity. But ſuch ſeeds of diſcords and war between Princes were already ſown, as it was to be feared they might bring forth new troubles in the Common-wealth, and perhaps neceſſitate her to take up Arms again; for *Ceſar* (who was already gone to *Aquiſgrane* in *Germany*, where he took upon him the firſt Crown of the Empire) had ſtill a great deſire to come into *Italy*, wherefore he had often times ſollicited the Venetian Senate to joyn with him; thinking that the Friendſhip and Forces of the Common-wealth, would be of great importance for his deſigns. Therefore amongſt other things, he promiſed to inveſt them fully with all thoſe Towns and Territories which he then poſſeſs'd, and unto which the Empire laid any claim, or pretence; which the Venetians, who knew that by juſt title and right they had long belonged to them, did little value; and therefore this was of no greater force then his other promiſes, to make them alter their firſt intentions. Wherefore they delay'd ſending to congratulate with him, according to cuſtom, for his acquired Dignity; and having choſen *Franciſco Contarini*, for their Leiger Embaſſadour, in the place of *Gaſpero Contarini*, who had ſtay'd at that Court the uſual prefix'd time; leſt they might give any the leaſt ſuſpition to the French, of their joyning with *Ceſar* in any undertaking, they retarded his expedition. Wherefore *Ceſar* diſpairing to make the Venetians forego their friendſhip with the French, he took a new reſolution, which was to ſend Monſieur *Philiberto*, Embaſſadour to the Court of *France*, with a reſolute intention, as he would have it believed, either to agree with the King of *France* touching the Affairs of *Italy*, excluding the Venetians; or elſe that they being jealous thereof, might at laſt be moved to joyn with him, ſo to ſhun the greater evils which they had a little before had tryal of, by the joyning of thoſe two Crowns againſt the Common wealth. And that he might leave nothing unattempted, he, by his Embaſſadour, who was then reſident in *England*, complained grievouſly to the King thereof;

(whose Authority was then so great, as he was made Arbitrator and Moderator of all the important businesses which past amongst the Princes) accusing the *Venetians*, for that, not having observed what they had promised in the Agreement made with *Maximillian*, they had refused peace, when he had offered it them.

But the Princes did the less believe these things, for that *Cesar*, at that same time that he seemed so much to desire peace, was known to prepare for war. Therefore King *Francis*, acquainting with great sincerity the *Venetians*, with this whole Treaty, would not listen to *Cesars* Proposals; but growing rather every day more and more desirous, either to fall foul upon *Cesars* Territories, or else to defend his own Dominions from being assaulted by him, he applied himself to confirm his friends, thereby to increase his power and reputation: he therefore spoke with the King of *England*, at *Ardes*, a Town in *Picardie*, to confirm the peace made between them but a little before; and having a daughter born unto him, he desired the Senate, that she might be held at the Font by their Embassador, and proceeded very civilly in all things with the Commonwealth. But for all this, the League, which had been long treated of at Rome, was not yet concluded: but the Articles being drawn up by common consent, and the *Venetians* having sent sufficient Commissions to their Embassadour, then resident at *Rome*, to ratifie them, the Conclusion was defer'd by reason of new difficulties which arose: For the King of *France*, who was at first content that the League should aim onely at the peace and safety of *Italy*, to the which, the other *Italian* Princes being invited, there was place reserved for such as would Confederate; to the end that they might join in the Common cause, made, now new proposals, which aimed at other ends, moved thereunto, either out of new desires, or out of some new occasion, seeing *Cesar* busied about many weighty affairs; for there were many Commotions in many of the chiefest Cities of *Spain*, which in a tumultuous manner sought to withdraw themselves from *Charles* his Government; and constituting a popular Government, to injoy Liberty, as many Towns in *Germany* doe: Besides, many of the Princes and people of *Germany*, shewed themselves to be but badly satisfied with the new Emperour, for divers of his actions; especially, for *Martin Luther's* being banished, by Imperial Proclamation, at the Dyet at *Wormes*; so that, he had reason enough to be troubled. Wherefore the King of *France*, thinking that those dangers were sufficiently secured, which had first made him endeavour the League, being little satisfied therewith (as humane mindes, especially those of Princes, disquieted with new longings, are easie to give way to new desires) he more fervently coveted greater matters; thinking, that he had now a fitting opportunity offered him, to oppose *Cesar's* greatness, which did already grow too immoderate; and particularly, to drive him out of his Territories in *Italy*, wherefore he made his forces move towards *Navarre*, to assist the King, and repossessed him of his ancient States, which were formerly taken from him, by King *Ferdinando*; and did little less then discover his intentions openly, in the Treaty of League with the Pope and *Venetians*.

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The Pope moved by theſe or by ſome more hidden reaſons, he likewiſe being full of new cogitations, began to propound new Articles in the conventions of the League; deſiring, that it might be ſpecified, that all the Colleagues ſhould be bound to aſſiſt him, in puniſhing the Churches contumatious Subjects; whereby it clearly appeared, that his ancient deſire of driving Duke *Alfonſo d'Eſte* out of the Dominions of *Ferara*, was riſen up in him again; which was nothing elſe, but to kindle a great combuſtion in *Italy*: for the leſs able the Duke knew himſelf to be, to reſiſt the power of the Colleagues, by reaſon of his ſmall forces, and the little love his Subjects bore him, the more he ſhould be inforc'd to have recourſe to Forraign aid for his defence, and to leave no ſtone unturned.

The Venetians knowing that whereas they deſired to procure quiet and ſafety, both to themſelves, and to all *Italy*, the way would, by theſe new Obligations, be opened to new troubles, and to greater dangers; they began likewiſe to proceed more ſlowly in concluding the Agreement: For they maturely conſidered, that it made not for their good, wholly to break the Truce for five years, confirmed by *Ceſar*; and to anger the King of *England*, who they knew would not be pleaſed with the new Confederacy; he having done many friendly offices to the Emperour. Whilſt the buſineſs of the League, for theſe Reſpects, was delay'd, and doubtfull; it was known by a new, and unthought of Accident, which did alter the whole courſe of affairs, and was cauſe of grievous and important Tumults, that the Pope, after having ſhew'd ſo great a deſire for the peace of *Italy*, and after ſo many negotiations had with the *French*, to oppoſe ſuch as ſhould go about to diſturb it, had ſecretly agreed with the Emperour, to aſſault the State of *Millane*, by their joint forces. All men, eſpecially the *Venetians*, did ſtrangely wonder, and were very much confuſed, that the Pope, by taking away the Counterpoiſe of the *French* Forces, ſhould by his forces and authority increaſe the Emperours power in *Italy*, which he himſelf had, but a little before, made appear to be ſo ſuſpicious and formidable to the Church, and to all the *Italian* Princes; and that it ought to be ſuppreſt, or at leaſt moderated. By the Pope's conſent and counſel, ſeveral ſecret practiſes were held by the Imperialiſts with thoſe that were outlaw'd in *Millane*, whereof there were many principal Noble men, of great attendance, and authority; that, by their means, tumults ſhould be unexpectedly raiſed, at one and the ſame time, in ſeveral Cities, to drive out the *French* of Force, who feared nothing leſs; whoſe Garriſons were already much leſsned, and when *Lautrech* was abſent, who was gone a little before to *France*. But theſe conſultations coming to the knowledge of *Monſieur di Lerce*, brother to *Lautrech*, and to whom he had left his Lieutenant in *Italy*, before the time was ripe, to put them in execution, he ſpeedily raiſed ſo many men as did ſuffice to ſuppreſs theſe Plots; and many of the Outlawed being by him driven out of the State of *Milan*, where they had ſecretly hid themſelves, and fled to the City of *Regio*, where they were received by him that was governour for the Pope, who, as hath been ſaid, was conſcious of what was formerly agreed on with *Ceſar*, and knew all

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these Designs. And these men being pursued by the *French*, even to the gates of *Regio*, the Pope complained grievously, that the *French*, bearing so little respect to his dignity and authority, and to the friendship which he held with the King of *France*, should go to his Fort, and seek to use violence; anticipating by these complaints, which were chiefly made to the Senate of *Venice*, those which were rather to have been made by the King of *France*; that the Pope, contrary to the agreement which was made between them, should suffer that his rebellious and contumacious subjects, and who were Out-lawed, should be received into the Cities belonging to the Church, just when they sought to disturb his affairs.

But the Venetians being desirous (as much as in them lay) to appease these tumults (for the Pope's more resolute will, and his confederacy made with *Cesar*, though it were ratified by him, was not as yet publiquely known) laboured to free the Pope of these suspitions; shewing, that the proceedings of the Kings of *France*, had always been such towards all Popes, and that upon their knowledge, the now present King bore so great a respect to the affairs of the Church, and such observance to this Pope's person, as a contrary opinion was not now to be grounded upon so slight an occasion; nor ought so continued, and so good an Intelligence betwixt that Kingdom and the Apostolique See be broken upon such a cause: They therefore earnestly desired *Leo*, that before he should settle in such an opinion, as might produce many pernicious effects, he would be pleased to write to the King, to know his mind, and to be better informed of what had happned. But it was in vain to perswade the Pope; who though he seemed to put on new resolutions upon this new accident, had notwithstanding, for certain established his agreement already with the Emperour, wherein it was accorded,

That when the State of Milan *should be recovered by their joynt Forces, the Cities of* Parma *and* Piacenza *should return to the Church, and all the rest of the State of* Milan *should be assigned over unto* Francesco Sforza: *That the Pope should forthwith absolve* Charls *of his oath, which he took at his being invested into the Kingdom of* Naples, *that so he might with the better Title hold the Empire.*

All Treaties of agreement being then despaired of, the Venetians resolved to be by no means failing to the obligations which they had to the King of *France*, touching the preservation of the State of *Milan*. It was known that many souldiers were assembled by order from the Pope and Emperour, to the end, that since they succeeded not in their secret practises, they might forthwith betake themselves to open force: To which purpose the Pope, though under other pretences, had already taken six thousand Switzers into pay, and *Prospero Colonna*, who was declared Captain General of the Enterprize, went to *Bologne* to raise a great many souldiers, and the Viceroy of *Naples*, with the Cavalry of that Kingdom, and Marquis *Pescara*, with the Spanish Infantery, were come to the banks of the River *Tronto*, to be ready to pass over upon the first occasion. Wherefore the Venetians hasted to take six thousand Italian foot into pay, and mustering all their Horse in *Brescia*, they ordered their Governour *Theodoro*

Trivulcio

Trivulcio, to march with them to the banks of *Ada*; and that if the French affairs should require it, he should pass over it. They likewise commanded *Paolo Nani*, who was then Commander of *Bergamo*, that he should wait upon the Governour, and follow the camp, executing the place of Commissary. This news being this mean while come to *France*, *Lautrech* returned speedily into Italy, began to provide for the succouring of the State of *Milan* in time, there not being sufficient Garrisons there in it, to defend it, if it should be fallen upon by a powerful Army: His chief care and diligence was, to keep the new succour which the enemy expected (who had already about a thousand Curassiers, and eight thousand foot) from joyning with them. The Pope had lastly taken three thousand more Switzers into pay; for half of his former number of them were diminished: And at the same time, *Ferdinand*, brother to *Charls*, being come to *Villaco*, to raise six thousand foot in those parts, prepared (as soon as his number should be full, to pass with them into Italy, for whom *Cesar* demanded passage from the Venetians: They answered, they could by no means satisfie him in that his desire, by reason of the agreements which they had made with the King of *France*; wherein to fail, was to falsifie their words: But to be sure that they should not enter against their wills, they gave order for the stopping of all passages, and placed diligent Guards in them: And because there were several Passes whereby the Dutch foot might fall down into the Territories of *Verona*, and joyn with *Colonna's* men, so as it would be a difficult matter to secure them all, by putting sufficient Garrisons into them, the Venetians were minded to erect a Fort between *Pesthiera* and *Lonato*, whereinto their Forces being put, which were then eight hundred Curassiers, six hundred light Horse, and six thousand Foot, they might hinder the enemy from advancing any further; whatsoever way they should come; which it was thought they might easily do: for those Dutch Foot had neither Horse nor Artillery with them, nor any warlike tackling, whereby to force their passage. This advice was at first much applauded by *Lautrech*, who affirmed, that he would come himself in person, with his men, and joyn with the Venetian Army; confessing oft, that this was the securest way to defend the State of *Milan*; yet altering his mind not long after, he desired the Venetians, that leaving the thought of hindering the enemies passage, which he thought to be impossible, they would send their men to joyn with the French in the Territories of *Cremona*: So the Venetians leaving the Passes, Guarded the best they could by the people of the Country, ordered *Trivulcio* to go with all his Horse and Foot towards *Cremona*; and for that *Lautrech* desired that he might have some Venetian Gentleman with him, of authority and experience, with whom he might advise what way that War was best to be managed, the Senate sent forthwith *Andrea Gritti* to the Camp, continuing *Paolo Navi* there still, to provide for all things necessary for the Army. *Ferolimo da Pesaro*, was moreover chosen Commissary General on *Terra Ferma*, to whom the care and custody of the Forts was particularly commended; where into were put 2000 foot newly taken into pay, and some Curasiers to secure themselves upon all occasions

occasions from danger. Moreover the Senate resolved at *Lautrech's* intreaty, to take 3000 more Foot into pay; and gave willingly way likewise to the contributeing of maintaining some Horse and Foot, with whom the Duke of *Ferrara* promised to march in behalfe of the French: To the end that the King, and all men else, might acknowledg that nothing was wanting one their side for the safeguard of the State of *Milan*, nor to the ready, and sincere maintaining of the agreement which was made between them and the French.

But the French were more diligent in exhorting the Venetians to make good the Articles of the confederacy, then to make requisite provisions themselves, wherein they proceeded but slowly; which is very prejudicial to the essence of War: For though *Lautrech* did continualy affirm that Monsieur *di S^t Vallier* was to pass imediately over the Mountains with 6000 French Foot, and that 10000 Switzers being already raised by the King, would soon begin to march, yet they were never seen to appear.

On the other side the Enemy, being already grown very strong, the Dutch Foot being joyn'd with them, passed safely into the Territories of *Mantua*, and from thence to those of *Millan*; and knowing what advantage it was for them to make hast, they went to Besiege *Parma*, the taking whereof would be of much safety and honour unto them. But *Lautrech*, who when he first saw them begin to move, had some suspition of the business, and had sent his brother Monsseur *di Lescu* thither with a good Garrison; which did not, notwithstanding, keep the Cesarians, and Ecclesiastick Commanders from pursuing their first intention, hopeing to take it, since the Town was but weak of it self, and their Army very strong: Which they had done, had not *Lautrech*, to whom a great recruit of men was come from *France*, resolved to march nearer up to the Enemy with his whole Army, by whose comming and because the Duke of *Ferrara* had raised a great many Foot, theatning to Assault *Modena*, and *Regio*; *Colonna* was forced (as he himself said afterwards) to rise from before *Parma*: Which the Pope was wonderfully displeased at who in his joyning with *Cesar* did cheifly covet the getting of that Town. The bad success of this first enterprize begat (as it usualy happens upon such like ocasions) no small jealousies between the confederates; for the Pope complained of the Imperial Commanders, as if cunningly prolonging the taking of *Parma*, they had taken an occasion to rise from thence to inforce him, whom they knew to be so desirous of that place, to contribute readily to all the expences of the War. And on the other side the Emperour, finding the Pope so ill satisfied, grew more confirm'd in his former suspition, that he would either forsake him, when he should have atchieved his end, in getting by the confederacy all that belong'd unto him; or else that failing that hope, and being soon weary of the expence and danger of War, as also being naturaly given to change in opinions, he might as easily forego his Friendship, as he had done the like of the King of *France*. Therefore thinking it necessary, for the well grounding of his designes, to draw the Venetians into the confederacy, because the Pope, by reason of the Authority and Strength

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that they would add unto the confederacy, would be more cautious in breaking it; and becauſe the Common-wealths Aids would be readier, and more conſtant then thoſe of the Church; he reſolved to ſend *Franciſco Laus* to *Venice*, to recide there as his Embaſſadour: And by him he did again very much preſs the Venetians to joyn with him and the Pope. Saying that this was the only way to that peace which he deſired no leſs then they; and that this was his intention might eaſily be proved, by his ready condiſcention to inveſt *Franciſco Sforza*, Duke of *Bari*, in the Dukedom of *Milan*, thereby to reduce the affairs of *Italy* to a peacefull condition, when he might lay juſt claim thereunto. But the Senate, not altering their firſt determination, partly becauſe they thought *Ceſar* would not be as good as his word, partly calling to mind the laſt actions done by the French in ſervice of the Common-wealth; thought it ſtood not with their faith and honour to abandon them, upon the firſt occaſion of danger. The War went therefore on, and more men were daily raiſed, as well in the French and Venetians Army, as in that of the Emperours and Popes, by the coming of many Switzers to both Camps; for Cardinal *Sedunenſe* went into *SwitZerland*, where he took many of that Nation into pay in the Popes name, who finding the opportunity of ſome Barks, paſſed therein over the River *Oglio*, though the Venetians had endeavour'd by all means poſſible to hinder their paſſage, and to guard the Banks, and ſo entred into the Territories of *Breſcia*, and not without great harm to the Country people, got to the Emperours Army: And the 10000 Switzers which had been ſo long expected, came at laſt to *Lautrech*. Thus both Armies being very ſtrong, ſo as they gave a juſt counterpoiſe one to the other, they did nothing for a good while, but ſtood doubtful; till at laſt *Colonna* was the firſt that moved, to paſs over the River *Ada*, and marched towards *Milan*. Which when *Lautrech* heard of, he reſolved to depart immediately from the Territories of *Cremona*, where he had tarried a good while, and marched towards *Caſſano*, to hinder the Enemy from paſſing over the River, but they preventing the Frenchmens deſign by their ſpeedy March, paſt the River ſafely between *Riva* and *Caſſano*, and continued on their March towards *Millan*: So as *Lautrech* failing of his firſt hopes, followed the Enemy with more diligence, intending, if he conveniently could, to give him Battle; but *Proſpero* who loved not much to hazard himſelf upon Fortune, kept him from doing ſo; and *Lautrech* at laſt brought his Army into *Milan*, leaving the Venetian Commiſſary with the Artillery, and part of his men at *Lodi*. The reſt whereof being led on by *Trivulcio*, entred *Millan* too. But *Colonna* thinking that he might attempt *Millan* without much danger, came ſpeedily to the Suburbs, rather to try what he could do by an unexpected aſſault, then out of any hope of good ſucceſs. Advancing therefore a Band of ſelect Souldiers, he aſſaulted one of the Gates of the Suburbs after Sun ſet, when the Defendants did leaſt fear it, giving order that theſe ſhould be readily ſuccour'd by a greater number, if the firſt aſſault ſhould prove proſperous. *Trivulcio* had the guard of this Gate with ſome companies of Venetian Foot, who (ſuch Orders being given as the ſhortneſs

of time, and the unexpected action would permit) made ſtout reſiſtance, and adverti ſed *Lautrech* of the ſudden accident, and of what danger he was in. But many Harquebuſiers coming in to aſſiſt the Enemy, and no ſupply coming to the Venetian Foot; for the Switzers being commanded by *Lautrech* to go thither, would not ſtir; and the Guaſcons who were ſent afterwards in their ſteed, came too late; *Trivulcio* was inforced to retreat with his Souldiers, and to give way to a greater Force: So as the Imperialiſts entring the City, where all things were full of fear and confuſion, they fell to plunder the Houſes with ſuch fury, as there was no diſtinction made between thoſe that were for the Imperialiſts and the contrary party. In this tumult *Trivulcio* was taken Priſoner, *Mercurio Bua* Captain of the Venetians light Horſe, *Luigi Marino* Secretary to the Commonwealth, & many others; *Lautrech* minding nothing elſe but how to ſave the Cavalry, wherewith he got ſafe and entire out of *Milan*, and got quickly to *Como*. The Venetian Curaſſiers, who being gone from *Lodi*, were coming towards *Milan*, were ſtript by the way, and the greateſt part of them got into *Bergamo*. And the Switzers who firſt began the mutiny, the tumult increaſing, valued not their Captains commands, but returned to their own homes. *Milan* being thus taken, and the French Army in ſo great diſorder, *Lodi*, *Pavia*, *Parma*, and *Piacenza*, yielded ſuddenly to the Imperialiſts, as did *Cremona* ſoon after, though a great number of French arriving, who made good the Caſtle, it was ſoon recovered. Thus the French, not having received any rout, nor having ſo much as ſtruck a ſtroke, being very ſtrong, were by a very ſlight accident put to great diſorder and confuſion, and loſt ſo large and ſo fair a State, the winning whereof had coſt them ſo dear. This is the change and uncertainty which all humane actions are ſubject to, wherein we often labour in vain, the labour of many years being loſt in one day, in one moment. *Colonna* endeavouring to make uſe of this good Fortune, and to defeat the remainder of the French Army, purſued *Lautrech*, who leaving *Como*, was gone towards *Lodi*; but not making any ſtay there, he went with his Curaſſiers into the Country of *Geraddada*, and not tarrying long there neither, he went to *Leonato*, in the Territories of *Breſcia*. Which though it were very grievous to the Venetians, by reaſon of the inconvenience which would thereby redound to that Country, which had been already exhauſted by long War, being to find food for ſo many Horſe, whereof *Lautrech* had 5000. Every compleat Lancier having 10 Horſes, yet being unwilling to refuſe the admittance of the French into their State, they made other propoſals to them. They put them in mind of carrying their men into the parts about *Ferrara*, which indeed the Duke did deſire for his own ends; for that being a very fat Country, and not toucht upon by the War, they might be there fed commodiouſly, and it was very opportunely ſituated; moreover it might be advantagious; for the Pope, who was ſtill apprehenſive, being by reaſon of the Neighberhood of ſo many Warriers, jealous that *Bologna*, and the State of *Urbine* might run ſome hazard, had cauſed the Army of the League to come into thoſe parts; ſo as this might be a means of ſome good

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ſucceſs. But *Lautrech* refuſing this and all other propoſalls, the Senate was contented to pleaſe him, by ſuffering him to winter his men in their Dominions; at which, when the Emperours Embaſſadour ſeemed to be troubled, anſwer was made; that in caſe of ſuch misfortunes, not onely friends and confederates, but even enemies ought to be aſſiſted: that therefore, both in reſpect of their Articles of capitulation, and out of meer civillity, they could not but aſſiſt the *French* in this their adverſe Fortune, and afford them all convenience, for the preſervation of their men, which were to ſerve either for the defence, or recovery of the State of *Milan*, to the which the Commonwealth was by particular agreement bound. It was therefore ordered, that the *French*, and our men alſo, ſhould forbear moleſting the enemy, whileſt they tarried in thoſe Territories; leaſt the enemy might take occaſion to purſue them too within the *Venetian* Confines, which would be very prejudicial to the Country.

But *Bartolomeo di Villa Chiara*, and Monſignor *Viſconte* being paſt over the *Ada*, and entred with ſome of their Troops into the *Bergamaſco*, to infeſt the Country; Commiſſary *Gritti* gave leave for the defence thereof againſt the Imperialiſts; ſo as ſome Troops of light Horſe, and ſome Gentlemen that were baniſhed out of *Milan*, coming out of *Crema*, and paſſing likewiſe over the *Ada*, they aſſaulted ſome of the Enemies Curaſſiers at unawares, plundered them, and did them further harm. This mean while *Lautrech* propounded to go with all the men he then had, to *Cremona*, intending to throw a Bridge over the *Po* at *Pontinico*, near the greater *Caſal*, that he might be maſter of the country on both ſides of the River; and might hold intelligence with the Duke of *Ferrara*, who was come into the field with no ſmall forces to attempt the taking of *Modena* and *Regio*. This Seat was likewiſe thought very opportune to fall upon the Territories of *Mantua*, and particularly *Viadana*, a very rich and opulent Town, from whence they might get good ſtore of Victuals for their Army: and the Marquis of *Mantua*, who was in the Leagues Camp, as Captain General of the Churches forces, would be forced to depart from thence, and come to defend his own affairs. But the Venetians not thinking it fit to make any attempts before they had greater forces, nor to draw new enemies upon them in time of ill fortune, not being thereunto neceſſitated, diſſwaded *Lautrech* from this: When things were in this condition, Pope *Leo* died, whereupon the face of things did ſoon much alter.

This Pope was famous for many vertues, particularly for his Princely liberality and munificence, wherewith he cheriſhed and befriended the *Litterati*, and all ſuch as were excellent in any knowledg: But he would have left a better memory of his Popedom behind him, if he had not obſcured his glory, by buſying himſelf and others in troubleſome Wars, and ſuffering himſelf to be ſomtimes tranſported by his affections: He ſeemed both by his words and interceſſions, to be well affected to the Commonwealth, and to deſire her greatneſs; yet covering his contrary proceedings, by various pretences, he was alwaies a back friend to her. It was evidently ſeen, that the reputation of the Colleagues would be much leſſened by the Pope's

death: for the Switzers, who by reaſon of their confederacy, renewed (much to their advantage) with the King of *France*, were alwaies troubled to be led on againſt him, having already begun their wonted tumults, when they heard that *Leo* was dead, they preſently left the Camp, and the State of *Milan*; and it was thought that the Colledge of Cardinals would at their firſt meeting, recal the Churches forces out of *Romagna*, whereby great opportunity appeared to be offered for the recovery of the State of *Milan*, with as much eaſe as it was loſt before, the City not being over-well Garriſon'd, and the Enemy not having ſufficient forces in the field to ſuccour it. Moreover the Town was full of confuſion, the people were very ill ſatisfied with the Imperialiſts, by reaſon of the many miſchiefs done by the Switzers, Spaniſh, and Dutch foot; hating them and their Nations, almoſt as much now, as they had formerly done the French; and the Cardinals of *Medices* and *Sedunences* were gone from the camp, that they might be preſent at the election of the new Pope; and by their abſence, the authority of the League, and all mens obſervancy thereof was much leſned. Out of theſe reſpects, as alſo to free their Territories from the expence of feeding the French, the Venetians haſted to raiſe ſouldiers every where, taking the greateſt part of the Garriſons from their Cities; they choſe alſo new Commanders, for *Malateſta Baglione*, and ſome others, had foregone the Venetian pay, that they might recover their particular States in the vacancy of the Apoſtolike Sea. But the hopes of good ſucceſs conſiſted chiefly, in the Protection which the *Switzers* had taken with much fervency of the French affairs, and of the recovery of the State of *Milan*, in the laſt Dyet of *Lucerna*; to which purpoſe, they had, by reſolution of the ſame Dyet, ſent ſome to *Venice*, to deſire the Senate, that they would continue their forwardneſs in favouring the affairs of France, and to make good their Articles of confederacy; promiſing that they would take upon them, to defend thoſe who ſhould in this caſe help, and adhere unto the king of France: wherefore *Lautrech* reaſſuming courage, reſolved, though it were in the very depth of winter, to move with thoſe men which he had got together, and to enter the Territories of *Milan*. But *Colonna* this mean while minded the mending of the Rampiers, and inlarging the Platformes, and the ſecuring of *Milan*, by many other works: the Garriſon whereof (which conſiſted onely of *Spaniſh* Foot, was much increaſed by the *Dutch*, who were firſt brought from *Como*, to *Marignano*, and from thence to *Milan*. The Marqueſs of *Mantua* was no leſs diligent in *Lodi*, where he had 200 Horſe, and but a few Foot.

The *French* and *Venetian* Commanders falling to conſult what they had beſt do, at firſt, many things were propounded, with ſome difference of Opinion. *Frederico di Bozzuolo* propounded, the ſudden aſſaulting of *Parma* and *Piacenza*, wherein there were but weak Garriſons, and thoſe made yet the weaker by the uncertainty of the *Switzers* Loyalty, it being gathered by ſome diſcourſe which had been had with them, that they would paſs over to the *French* camp, But it being neceſſary, that to effect this, the whole Army muſt be carried beyond the River *Poe*, it was openly gainſaid by the *Venetian* Commiſſary,

Commiſſary, as a thing wherein there was more danger, then hopes of good ſucceſs; eſpecially, ſince they could not very well guard the Pope, ſo as they might at their pleaſure retire. He therefore was for carrying all their men to *Cremona*, and for getting the country thereabouts, the greateſt part whereof held for the *Spaniards*, and that then they might make uſe of time and occaſion, in falling upon other enterpriſes: Thus both of them perſiſting in their opinion, it was reſolved, that (neither of theſe counſels being fully allowed of, nor yet fully rejected,) *Frederick* ſhould paſs the *Poe*, with part of the forces, and draw near *Parma*, but without any artillery; becauſe, if his deſign did not ſucceed, he might retreat the ſooner, and without danger: and that the reſt of the *French* Army, and all the *Venetians*, ſhould return to *Cremona*. But affairs not falling out ſucceſsfully about *Parma*, *Bozzuolo*, without making any atempt upon *Piacenza*, returned to joyn with *Lautrech*; who was already gotten into the Territories of *Cremona*; and this was all that was at that time done, and wherewith the year 1521 ended. But the two great Princes, *Charles* the Emperour, and *Francis* king of *Fance*, were ſtill ſet hot upon war, which foretold great combuſtions in *Italy*, and other Provinces, in the beginning of the next year.

The *French* Army being now very ſtrong, for many *Switzers* were come unto their Camp, and the *Venetians*, who were then 6000 Foot, 600 Curaſſiers, and 800 Light-horſe, being already thereunto joyned; *Lautrech*, by the conſent of the other Commanders, reſolved to attend the final iſſue of the Warr, and to march towards *Milan*. Being therefore advanced with the whole Army, the *French* encamped themſelves at *Caſſano*, and the *Venetians* at *Binaſco*, upon the Road that leads from *Pavia* to *Milan*, to hinder the Victuals which were brought by that way. Whileſt they were in theſe quarters, ſome Companies of *Switzers*, and ſome Troups of *French* Horſe, were ſent to *Novara*, which place, not being time enough relieved by the Marquis of *Mantua*, who was come out of *Pavia* to that end, it was eaſily taken and ſacked by the Aſſalliants, and *Philip Torniello*, Commander of the adverſe Partie, was made Priſoner. *Novarra* being taken, *Vigevena* ſoon ſurrendred; which purchaſe was thought the greater; becauſe it opened the way for Succours, which were expected from *France*, to come and join with the Camp: in hopes whereof, they did the more eaſily bear with many hardſhips, which the camp began already to undergoe, for want of monies, and through other inconveniences; there being no hopes of bringing the War to a final good end, without other new and important ſuccours; the King of *France* had given out, that he would come himſelf into *Italy*: and being gon in the beginning of *April* to *Lyons*, hee ſent the Admiral there forwards to *Granople*, and gave order for the levying of 12000 Foot of ſeveral Nations, being very ſollicitous in ordering ſuch a preparation for war, as became his forces, and ſuch an enterpriſe, on which his heart was ſo ſet, as he would often times ſay, That rather then to give it over, he would hazzard his own perſon, and his kingdome. Hee therefore indeavoured, by many fervent ſollicitations, to keep the *Venetian* Senate in their firſt and conſtant reſolu-

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tion, of not foregoing his friendſhip, for any offers that *Ceſar* could make them. Hee writ likewiſe particularly to *Gritti* the Commiſſary of the camp, as to one that hee knew very well, and eſteemed very much, recommending the buſineſs to him, and aſſuring him, that he might ſafely build upon his comming into *Italy*, and upon the Forces which he would bring with him, which ſhould be certain, and ſudden: which made the *Venetians* concur the more readily to the charges of the war, not onely for what belonged unto themſelves, but in the concernments of the *French*, aſſiſting them at their needs with much amunition, and many other things; and with good ſums of mony to pay their ſouldiers.

For all this, proviſions came not from *France*, anſwerable to what was requiſite, and to their promiſes: But after long expectation, *Monſieur di Leſcue* came, without any men, and but with little monies. Therefore thinking that they ſhould doe no good by tarrying longer about *Milan*, they reſolved at laſt to remove, and to come with their camp before *Pavia*; hoping, that the ſtrength of their Army, and the weakneſs of the Garriſon which was in that City, being conſidered, they might get a ſudden, and a ſafe victory; for though, out of ſome ſuch ſuſpicion, the Marqueſs of *Mantua* was entred the Town, with ſome ſouldiers, yet there was not, at that time there, more then 12000 *Italian* Foot, 500 Curaſſiers, and ſome few Light horſe: wherefore it was thought, that when the Marquis ſhould ſee the *French* Army draw nigh, he would come out, and forgoe the defence of the City, as a thing too hard to be done.

The whole Army, both of the *French* and *Venetians*, being incamped before the walls, they began to batter, and having already thrown down about 50 foot of the wall, the *Switzers*: who are naturally impatient of delay, deſired the *French* Commanders, that they might be led on to the aſſault. But they thinking it better to let the buſineſs grow more ripe, till they might be more ſure of victory, differr'd the doing ſo, till a Mine might be accompliſhed, which was preparing to be made by the invention of *Petro Navara* under a great Baſtiome, by the downfall whereof, the aſſault might be the better given. And the mean while, a bridg being made over the *Teſino*, the Light-horſe made inrodes, even to the very gates of the city, keeping the enemy from either coming in, or coming out. Yet all paſſages could not be ſo diligently kept, but that ſome Foot ſent with ſuccour from *Milan* got into the City, by the way of *Marignavo*, though many of them were kept back by the Cavalry, and many brought priſoners into the camp. But buſineſſes went ſlowlier forward then the preſent neceſſity required; for *Navaro's* Engines required length of time, and were hard to compaſs; and ſome pieces of cannon were expected from *Lodi* and *Crema*, wherewith to renue the battery. By this delay, *Colonna* had opportunity given him, to draw forth his whole army into the field, and having taken up his ſtation in a ſtrongly ſituated place, upon the way to *Pavia*, the *French* were very jealous, leſt he might advance farther, and indanger them, whileſt being buſie about aſſaulting the City, they were the leſs intent upon other buſineſs: Therefore they placed

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10000 *Switzers*, and 600 French Curaſſiers on their back, who if need ſhould be, might ſuſtein the brunt of the enemy, who ſhould come to aſſault them. In this interim, ſome French horſe which were gone out to over-run the Country, advancing too far, fell upon the Enemies Van-guard, by whom they were chaſed, and many of them taken Priſoners; *Colonna*'s men leaving their firſt Quarters, came and placed themſelves in a ſtrong ſituation at *Binaſco*, about 8 miles diſtant from the French Camp, which made the French Commanders more jealous and afraid; for to tarry long idle about the Walls of the City, without uſing any violence, redounded much to the diſreputation of their Army, and there was much danger in making an aſſault; for if they ſhould be beaten back, they feared leſt the Switzers, having made this trial in vain, deſpairing of good ſucceſs, might quit the Camp, not being well ſatisfied that they had not received the pay which they had already deſerved. Moreover, being of ſome days paſt much ſtrained in victuals, they could not have been able to refreſh their wearied and afflicted Souldiers, nor ſupply their greateſt neceſſities.

But ſay that things ſhould have ſucceeded luckily, and that they ſhould have taken the City, how could any Commander hope to keep his Souldiers, eſpecially the Switzers, from plundering, wherein being buſied without either any Order or Government, the whole Army was in danger of manifeſt ruine, having ſo powerful an Enemy ſo neer at hand.

Theſe things being conſidered, *Grimi* adviſed that they ſhould raiſe the Camp from before *Pavia*, and go to ſome ſtrong and ſafe place, where they might expect the coming of the King of *France*, which they were informed by new meſſages from *France*, would be very ſoon, and with great Forces. And it is moſt apparant that his preſence accompanied with ſuch a ſtrength of men, would have brought ſo much reputation to that Army, and have won ſo much favour from ſome, and infuſed ſo much terrour into otherſome, as they muſt have been ſure of a notable Victory. Nothing pleaded againſt this commendable and wholſome advice, but the Switzers fickleneſs; who not admitting of any reaſon, did obſtinately demand either to be diſmiſs'd; that ſo they might return home, or elſe brought to fight the Enemy: And it was the harder to appeaſe them, for that the ſcarcity of Victuals was now grown greater, becauſe the Country being overflown by very great rains, and the Bridges over *Teſſino* being broken down, whereby Victuals was brought from *Novarra*, and *Vegivene*, they had much adoe to get proviſions for the Army.

Whilſt theſe doubts and difficulties were diſputed in the French, and Venetian camp, they underſtood that the Imperialiſts being riſen from *Binaſco*, were marching forwards with all their Forces. Whereupon *Lautrech* reſolved ſuddenly to meet them, and to fight them. He was very diligent in putting his Army in good order, behaving himſelf like a valiant, and well experienced Commander. But the Enemy haſtening their march, got into a ſtrong Station, ſo near the

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Charterhouſe, as *Colonna* and the Marquis of *Peſcara*, were quartered in the very Monaſtry of the Carthugiens; a place very Famous for the ſtately and excellent Building: *Lautrech* not being then able to doe what he firſt intended, moved to march forward, and get beyond the Enemy, and to ſettle in ſome fitting place upon the way to *Milan*, thinking to make *Colonna* diſlodge, and draw nearer *Milan*: But this being argued in the counſel of War, and many difficulties being found therein, it was reſolved that they ſhould go to within two miles of the Emperour's camp, and that the Switzers and French ſhould Quarter on the outſide of the Park of the Charterhouſe, and the Venetians within the Park; but yet ſo as both parts of the Army might commodiouſly ſuccour each other through ſome gaps which were made in the Park wall. And before the camp was ſettled, *Lautrech*, to try the Enemy, ordered that two Bataglions of the Switzers and two great bodies of Curaſſiers, ſhould advance neare the Enemy, againſt which none appearing, it was thought that the Imperialiſts were ſuddenly removed, and returned to their former Quarters of *Binaſco*, whither they came two days after; *Colonna* having the mean while, much to his praiſe, relieved *Pavia*, and made the Enemies camp to riſe from before it. But the French camp were in great diſturbances, by the Switzers mutinying, who though they knew that the Moneys deſtin'd for their pay was come to *Arona*, yet they continued ſtill to mutiny, refuſing to go any whither, ſave where they might ſooneſt, and moſt commodiouſly receive their money. Wherefore they propounded that the whole Army might go by the way of *Biagraſſa*, towards *Vigivene*, and that making a Bridg over the Teſino, a ſafe convoy might be ſent to bring them their Moneys. Which *Gritti* did openly gainſay, ſaying, he would not go ſo far from the Territories of the Common-wealth, and expoſe his men to ſo much the greater danger, as that the Switzers being in a better, and ſafer way homewards, might the more eaſily forſake them. After divers debates, it was at laſt reſolved that the whole Army ſhould march towards *Monz*, to which the Venetian Commanders conſented; having firſt cauſed *Lodi* to be well munited, and thrown a Bridg over the *Ada* at *Trecco*, that they might upon all occaſions have a way to retreat ſafely, and to ſecure their Men and their Countrey.

When the Switzers were come to *Monz*, they would preſently have paſſed over the *Teſino*,

Openly blaming the French for their irreſoluteneſs, and backwardneſs, and complaining grievouſly, that they, who were a Valliant Nation, ſhould be put to ſuffer ſo many inconveniencies ſo long, without recieving their juſt, and well deſerved pay; and without being brought to try their Valour in War. That they had ſeveral times offer'd to be the firſt who ſhould go on in aſſaulting Pavia, *that they had often times deſired to come to a day of Battle with the Enemy, who were more incouraged by the fear, and cowardlineſs of others, then by their own Forces. That they had never refuſed any danger, labour, or military action, wherein they might ſerve the Crown of* France; *but that yet they would not be held to be baſe,*

and

and servile, such as would doe their work, without such reward as their Valour and Labour did deserve.

And though the French Commanders did what they could to appease this tumultuous proceeding.

Shewing that the Kings service (which was the thing they ought chiefly to respect) required them to do what they had done, and what at least would redound to their glory, and secure the Victory; that the delay of their Pay proceeded not from any want of care in the King, or negligence in his Ministers; but from unavoydable impediments, all the passages being block'd up by the Enemy.

Yet they had much ado to appease the tumult, and to keep them in the Camp.

The Cesarian Army which was come to *Bicocca*, a place about four miles from *Milan*, was in great disorder for the same cause: For the Lanschenets mutynied, demanding pay; and many Italian Foot, who were not paid, passed over into the Enemies Army, and were taken into pay by the Venetians; and some of the Spanish companies had let our Commanders understand that they were ready to doe the like, if they might be received. Moreover there was no good correspondency between the chief Commanders; for *Pescara* being high minded, scorned to do any thing by any other mans order, or counsel, or to depend upon *Colonna's* Authority.

But so great was the Switzers impatiency in the French Camp, as it marr'd all good resolutions, and would not suffer the Commanders to make use of time, or to draw any advantage out of these the Enemies disturbances. So as the Switzers affirming still that they would go over the *Tessino*, and *Gritti* being necessitated therefore to say, that then he must need depart the same day with his men towards *Lodi*; *Lautrech*, partly disdaining these Proposals which were made on all sides, partly to shun the being thought a Dastard (for the French are always naturally friends to sudden counsels, though not safe, more then to long expectance, though with more security) resolved to try the Fortune of Battle, though upon great disadvantage, being to assault the Enemy within their Quarters, which were naturally strong, being environ'd by many waters, and made the stronger by many works which the Imperialists had raised with much industry, for their better safety. The assault was so ordered as all the Switzers went in the first Squadron, being divided into two great Battalions, with 14 pieces of Artillery, and they were attended by *Baboni di Naldo*, with 800 Venetian Harchebusiers on Foot: After these were the French Curassiers to follow, and then the whole body of the Venetian Foot with 9 pieces of Artillery, backt by their Curassiers divided into two parts. The Switzers marching thus apace, but in great good order, went boldly on to the assault; and though the badness of the place appear'd to be far worse when they were at it, then they had conceived it to be, yet not at all abating their fierceness, they strove to beat the Dutch Foot back, who did defend the Rampiers: Who making use of the advantage of place, fought the more courageously, to the end that they might not dispute the business with

the Enemy upon equal terms, if they ſhould be ſuffer'd to win the Ditch. At the ſame time the Switzers were play'd upon on the Flanks by great abundance of Musket ſhot, by the Spaniſh Foot; but all of them readily encountring the danger, thoſe who remain'd alive, ſoon revenged their companions death. Whilſt it was thus ſtoutly fought on all ſides, on the Front of their Quarters, *Monſieur di Leſcu*, wheeling about with the French Horſe, aſſaulted the Enemies on the back, and finding the field open on that ſide, he advanced a good way in, committing great ſlaughter, and put the Enemy into great fear and diſorder: So as it was generally thought, that if he had been followed by good ſtore of Foot, the French and Venetians would that day have eaſily routed, and defeated the Imperial Army. But the Switzers, who after five hours fighting, found they were in vain to overcome the diſadvantage of the place, began to retreat by little and little to within their Squadrons in a ſtupendious order, carrying off all their Artillery, and being more encouraged in their orderly retreat, becauſe they ſaw themſelves backt by the Venetians, who making good the Rear, ſecured them from being preſt upon by the Imperialiſts. Of the French Army there periſhed in this aſſault more then 2000 men, all of them Switzers; but the loſs was peradventure greater in the Imperial Camp, they having loſt many men of good condition. Though this action had no very good ſucceſs, yet as being full of confidence and courage, it was likely rather to have added unto, then to have leſſened the reputation of the French Army, and to have invited them to other undertakings, had not the ſame impatiency of the Switzers, which formerly perſwaded them againſt reaſon to attempt the Battle, diſturb'd all their deſigns, and fruſtrated other hopes by their returning to their former tumults; *Lautrech* loaded the Captains of the Switzers with gifts and promiſes, and pray'd them that by their entreaties, reaſons and authority, they would endeavour to keep their Foot in due obedience, which they all did: But amongſt the reſt *Alberto Pietra*, a man in much favour and authority with his Nation, calling them all together, ſpoke thus unto them.

You gave yeſterday, My valiant Fellow Souldiers, ſo noble a proof of your daring, and military experience, as that action is not to be numbred amongſt the leaſt of praiſes which by common conſent are given to our Nation, in all that appertains to the Militia: But to ariſe to the height of glory, it is requiſite that we perſevere in the ſame purpoſe of beating and quite conquering the Enemies Army: And that we return to try the fortune of War, leſt it be thought that by yielding to the firſt no very fortunate encounter, it was ficklenes, not true valour, which made us expoſe our ſelves to the dangers of Battle: Or elſe that we confeſs we are overcome, though in truth we be rather Conquerours, having aſſaulted the Enemy even within their works, done them much harm, and retreated ſafe and in good order, not any one of the Enemy having dared to come out of their Camp, and purſue us: No not ſo much as to ſhew any reſentment, or that they do equal us in Force and Valour. But if we do firſt quit our Quarters which we now are in, it will aſſuredly be ſaid, that the Imperialiſts got the Victory,

and

and that we are gone, not of our own wills, but driven away by the Enemy. Whereas on the contrary, if we tarry here, we may get many notable advantages; we ſhall confirm all men in the opinion, that the Victory was really ours, we ſhall not a little encourage thoſe that adhere to the French party, we ſhall infuſe ſuch terrour into the Enemy, as to avoid the danger of more aſſaults, and of more certain ruine, now that they are aware we are better acquainted with the ſituation of their Quarters, and with our advantage, and diſadvantage, they will retreat to within the Walls of Milan, *and will leave us Maſters of the Field, and free to fall upon whatſoever Deſigne we ſhall pleaſe: We have underſtood by expreſs Meſſengers, that it is the will, nay the expreſs command of our Maſters and Governors, that we continue during this* Militia, *in the ſervice of the King of* France, *How can we diſobey what they command? Or, wherefore ought we to do it, in a buſineſs, which for our own glory and profit, we ought to ſeek and purſue, yea, though we were forbidden? We muſt not then certainly refuſe to do it, when it is enjoyned us under pain of diſobedience. We are aſſured that the King will very ſhortly come into* Italy *with a great warlike preparation, nor can I ſee what forces the Enemy have to withſtand ſo great a Force, or how they can oppoſe our Deſigns. The whole State of* Milan *will aſſuredly fall ſuddenly into the King's hands, who to revenge himſelf of the City for her rebellion, and of thoſe his Subjects for their many injuries, and to reward the valour of his Army, will give the prey and plunder of them and it, unto his Souldiers; and you who have hitherto ſhared in ſuch labours, and in ſo many dangers, will you loſe the advantage thereof, and not be at the ſacking of ſo many, and ſo rich Cities; for the very hopes whereof, though you were in Countries far off, you ought endeavour by all means poſſible to be preſent at this* Militia, *that you might receive fitting rewards for your military actions? What conſideration can there be of ſo great moment, I beſeech you, which can counterpoiſe ſo great glory, ſo great advantage? What elſe is it that can make you forego ſuch hopes? You complain for want of pay, and in reſentment thereof, will revenge your ſelves upon your ſelves: Conſider better what the injury is that is done you, what it is you can with reaſon complain of: The King hath not provided monies time enough for your occaſions: his Miniſters may peradventure have been negligent therein: Can you doubt that your Pays are ſtopp'd, or that there is any doubt to be made of your receiving them? We know for certain, that the monies are already in your maſters hands, and that the delay of payment, is only becauſe the paſſages are ſo ſhut up and guarded by the Enemy, as the monies cannot without manifeſt danger be brought unto the Camp: If you will reſent this, revenge your ſelves upon thoſe that are the true cauſe why they are detained. Think of beating the Enemy, and ſo all the ways will be open, the Country will be ours, all things will depend upon us, and not upon the will of others: Theſe are more uſeful, more generous thoughts, and more anſwerable to your former actions, then to think of returning home, as chaſed by your enemies, to whom you have been a terror, and will be ſo ſtill, if you be not wanting unto your ſelves.*

These words unwillingly listned unto, made no impression in the Souldiers, as being contrary to their already resolved will; who persevering obstinately in their former refractorines, required that the Camp might be removed from thence, and that they might be dismist the Militia: wherefore *Lautrech*, to shun further danger, was forced to rise, and went with his whole Army towards *Trecco*, where finding the Bridge already made, he lodged upon the Banks of *Ada*, his men being quartered, some on the one side, some on the other side of the River; the Venetian Commanders desiring it should be so, for the better security of their affairs: Where having stayed a few days, the Switzers disbanded, and went several ways to their own homes; but most of them took their way towards *Lecco*, where they understood the monies for their pay was come; The Grand Maistre, Monsieur *de Mommorancie*, Monsieur *de Palissa*, and other Frenchmen following them, with their companies, since neither words nor actions were able to prevail with the Switzers, to make them tarry any longer; for it was so provided by the Venetians, that they should be defrayed by them without monies, till their pay was come from *France*: For the Venetians were very much troubled, and damnified by the Switzers departure; *Lautrech* affirming, that he must be enforced to return with all his men to *France*, together with the Switzers, and thorow their country, if they should resolve to go, so as the parts about the *Ada* being left unguarded, the Imperialists might freely at their pleasure enter in hostile manner into the Territories of the Commonwealth. But if the French should stay in *Lombardy*, they desired the Senate that they might be permitted to quarter in the Territories of *Brescia*, against which there were many objections to be made; the country was wholly ruin'd by so long Wars, and by so many Garrisons, and it was to be feared, that it might afford the Imperialists occasion of passing into the confines of their State, who did already complain, that they had exceeded the bonds of their confederacy, in favouring the French; so as in many considerations, several inconveniencies and differences and difficulties arose by the departure of the Switzers; who not being by any means to be detained, the Senate resolved to satisfie the French in their desire, and to receive them into their State, that they might not lessen their past deserts with the King, and because the preservation of those men made for the common safety, and facilitated the business of *Milan*, against the King should come into *Italy*. But *Lautrech*, and the other Commanders, being perswaded either by the reasons formerly alledged by the Venetians, or out of no small fear of what might ensue, if they should so suddenly abandon the whole State of *Milan*, resolved that part of their men should go to *Cremona*, whither also *Lautrech* himself went, and the rest to *Lodi*, with *Frederico da Bozzuole*, and *Giovan de Medici*; though *Medici* not being able to make his men move without money, came not time enough thither: and the French Garrison which was in *Trecco*, not being sufficient to defend it, the Venetian Commissary sent *Giovan dal Saracino* thither, who was under the pay of the Commonwealth, with two companies of Italian Foot: But

Lautrech

Lautrech seeing that nothing came from *France* but fair words, and news of great warlike preparations, things which did little avail the present business, resolved to pass over the mountains, and to go himself to Court, to give an account of the affairs of *Italy*, leaving his brother Monsieur *di Leiscue* in *Cremona*; whither *Colonna* coming with all his Army, and no succour appearing, *Lescue* was forced to yeild up the City unto him, he having taken *Lodi* but a little before by an unexpected assault.

The End of the fourth Book.

THE

THE HISTORY OF VENICE,

Written by PAULO PARUTA.

BOOK V.

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The

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Renzo

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THe Fortune and reputation of the *French* being much declined, by their being driven in a ſhort ſpace out of the State of *Milan*, and by Forces not greater then their own; it was generally thought, that the *Venetians*, whoſe Army was defeated, and the greateſt part of their Horſe by them diſmiſt, they having likewiſe given leave to their Commiſſary *Gritti* to return from the camp, and come home: having largely made good their Confederacy with King *Francis*, though they got but little good thereby, would at laſt follow the victorious Fortune of *Charles* the Emperour: who as he had formerly ſeemed to deſire their friendſhip, ſo did he now more then ever endeavour to draw them to ſide with him; hoping, by reaſon of the low condition which the *French* were in, to be able to ſeperate them from King *Francis*; and believing that the preſervation of the State of *Milan*, and the good end of all the war did chiefly depend upon this new Confederacy, and upon the aſſiſtance and forces of the *Venetians*; for it was very certain, that king *Francis* made great preparations to paſs into *Italy* with a powerfull Army; and that if he ſhould be aſſiſted by the *Venetians*, the Emperialiſts and *Sforzas* would not be able long to maintain the burthen of ſo heavy a war: As on the contrary, if the *Venetians* ſhould joyn with the Imperialiſts, it was thought, that the *French* would be kept from retiring into *Italy*, being they were to meet with ſo ſtout reſiſtance: and that King *Francis*, ſeing himſelf deprived of the *Venetian's* aid, would lay aſide all thoughts of coming into *Italy*, as deſpairing of good Succeſs. *Ceſar* therefore laboured hard to effect this; and did not onely treat thereof at his own Court, with *Gaſparo Contarini*, who was Embaſſadour there, for the Commwealth, acquainting him with many reaſons, wherefore the Senate ſhould be perſwaded to joyn in like Confederacy with him, to defend the States of each other, as they had of late years done with the King of *France*; but he likewiſe interpoſed the authority of the King of *England*, with whom *Charles* having had ſpeech at his return from *Spain*, he had had much diſcourſe thereupon, and the Cardinal of *York* had the copy of the Capitulations, drawn up by the Emperour's Lord Chancellour;

Chancellour; and having acquainted *Gaſparo Contarini* with them, offered to moderate them, and to make them ſuch as the Commonwealth (which had complained thereof, as being too ſevere) ſhould have reaſon to accept them. But the buſineſs requiring ſome length of time, by reaſon of this diſtance of place, a League was concluded between *Charles* and *Henry*, reſerving room for the *Venetians* to be comprehended therein, if they would declare within three months; and if they would accommodate their affairs firſt with *Ceſar*, either by way of Truce, or Peace: which being communicated to the Senate, produced as then no other reſult, ſave onely fair correſpondency in general, with a ſhew of being much inclined to peace, and to friendſhip with *Ceſar*, ſo it might ſtand with the honour and ſafety of the Commonwealth: and that, ſince the Cardinal of *York* had already offered himſelf to be a Mediator, and ſtickler in the buſineſs of greateſt difficulty, it was requiſite, to hear what he would propound, before any reſolution could be taken.

But the news of the *French* preparations for the affairs of *Italy* increaſing dayly, and greater doubts ariſing in *Charles*, and *Henry*, by reaſon of the *Venetians* delaying to put on any reſolution, that their State would continue their confederacy with *France*, they reſolved to ſend Embaſſadours to *Venice*, to accelerate the concluſion of the League which was propounded by them. The King of *England*'s Embaſſadour came thither firſt, which was *Richard Pace*, who having received his Commiſſion from his King, whileſt the ſaid *Richard* was at *Rome*, diſcharged his truſt, together with the Emperours Embaſſadour, which was reſident at *Venice*; deſiring in their *Princes* name, that the Senate would declare, what they intended to do, when the King of *France* ſhould return with an Army into *Italy*, to poſſeſs himſelf of the State of *Milan*. But the Emperours Embaſſadour proceeded further, deſiring that the Commonwealth would wage war againſt the King of *France*, if he ſhould not deſiſt from troubling *Ceſar*, and from diſturbing the peace of *Italy*: alledging, that the *Venetians* were bound to do ſo, by a particular Confederacy made two years before at *London*, wherein by particular conſent of their Senate, the State of *Venice* was named amongſt the chief Contracters.

The *Venetians* proceeded very maturely in this Treaty; weighing how pernicious any reſolution they could put on might prove to the Commonwealth, according to the various events which might happen in the affairs of *Italy*, and by the ſecret Counſels of Princes: for it was certain, That if the King of *France* ſhould, through any accident that might happen, delay ſending a powerfull army on this ſide the Mountains, his reputation would be ſo much leſned, and the Forces and authority of his enemies ſo confirmed, as the adherers to the *French* would be expoſed to eminent dangers: and, on the other ſide, to forego their Friendſhip, to boot, that it went againſt their general inclination, brought with it no leſſer difficulties: For it was rather to be believed, both in reſpect of the power, and wealth of the Kingdom of *France*, and out of the immenſe deſire that King *Francis* had to get the State of *Milan*, that the *French* would return with

powerfull Forces on this ſide the Mountains, and regain his former power, and authority, ſo as they might have means to revenge themſelves of the *Italian* Princes, for any injuries received by them; which if they ſhould not be able to do, they might peradventure joyn in League with their own enemies, againſt the Common-wealth; as King *Lewis* had done ſome years before, which was the beginning of her ſo many and ſo heavy calamities. Out of theſe and other ſuch reſpects, the Senate being reſolved not to make any new confederacy, unleſs neceſſitated; and being unwilling either to forgoe Friendſhip with the *French*, or to make *Ceſar* deſpair of what he was in treaty with them; acquainted the King of *France* with theſe practiſes; and anſwered *Charles* and *Henrie's* Embaſſadours, in general tearms: ſeeming to be as deſirous of *Ceſar's* friendſhip, as he was of theirs: But the preſent condition of Times, and the many late afflictions of the Common-wealth did require, that being to make any new agreements, they ſhould aim at putting their State into a quiet and peaceable condition, and ſhun whatſoever determination might (though upon like, or greater hopes,) be an occaſion unto them of new diſturbance and danger: That therefore, if the King of *France* ſhould come into *Italy*, they would ſo keep their Confederacy with him, as they would have a care not to violate the Truce, and their Promiſes made to *Ceſar*; nor would they the mean while be wanting to do all good offices, as well for the common ſervice of Chriſtendome, as for their own particular good; to the end, that armes might be laid down, and injuries ceaſe to be done on all ſides: But, that if this might not be compaſſed, they had not any juſt pretence to make war with the *French*, with whom they had ſo long had Friendſhip, and that Friendſhip confirmed by many obligations: The League made at *London* not being any wayes valid to that purpoſe, as well, becauſe it was never compleatly perfected, as alſo, that *Leo* being dead, who was one of the chief Contracters, it became invalid, and null.

Whilſt the Imperial and Engliſh Embaſſadours could get nothing but general anſwers, though they labour'd that the Embaſſadours of the Common-wealth who were reſident at their Princes Courts, might have Commiſſion given them to come to ſome concluſion concerning this propounded League: *Girollimo Adorno* the Emperours Counſellour and Chamberlain, came to *Venice*, ſent by *Ceſar* with Commiſſion, to treat upon and conclude thoſe things wherein there lay any difficulties between him and the Common-wealth; knowing that to treat thereof at his Court, or at the Court of England, as was begun to be done, would require much length of time; a thing very unfit for the preſent buſineſs. *Adorno* labour'd in a long ſpeech to perſwade the Venetians to quit their Friendſhip with *France*, and to embrace the like of *Ceſar's*, which was offer'd them upon honourable, and advantagious tearmes. But the Senate ſtill moved by the aforeſaid reſpects, continued in the ſame anſwers, neither reſolving nor diſſolving this Treaty; but looking to find out in proceſs of time what would be beſt for the Common-wealth to do; they excuſed this their delay by the Importancy of the buſineſs, by the condition of the times, and of the ſtate wherein their Common-wealth then

then was, and by the form of their Government; where all things being to be ſifted, and reſolved by the liking, and judgment of many, which are moſt commonly (eſpecially in ſuch things as are hard and difficult) ſeveral, and ſometimes contrary. Affairs could not be ſo ſoon, nor ſo eaſily ended, as in Princes Courts, where they paſs through the hands but of one only, or but of a few.

This mean while the number of Spaniards increaſed very much in *Giaradada*; wherefore the Venetians raiſed many Foot, and increaſed their Garriſons, which begot many jealouſies in the intereſſed Princes (for mindes contaminated either by too immoderate deſire, or fear, uſe to judge of things according as their affections lead them, not as they are in themſelves) *Ceſar*, and *Henry* thought this raiſing of men to be made in favour of the French; and on the other ſide, the King of *France* being already grown jealous of theſe negotiations, though he were made acquainted with them, began to think that the Imperialiſts might be entred into *Giaradada*, by the conſent, and counſel of the Venetians; and that the Souldiers raiſed by the Venetians, might be to effect ſome new confederacy, which they might have made privately with the Emperour. The one and the other of them being much troubled hereat, they all of them indeavoured to make the Venetians ſide with them, or at leaſt, to declare themſelves.

The King of *England*, to add neceſſity to his endeavours, made two of the Venetians great Gallies, which were full fraught with rich Merchandize, and which chanc'd to be then in his Havens, to be unloaded, under pretence that the Emperour would make uſe of them for his navigation: But notwithſtanding all ſuch occaſions being over, the veſſels, and goods, were ſtill detained in that Iſland, to the great inconveniency of particular Venetian Merchants, and to the offence of the publique dignity.

On the other ſide the King of *France* did often advertiſe the Venetians of the very great preparation for War which he made to come with, into *Italy*: Touching which, he deſired to receive the Senates opinion and counſel. To which, anſwer being made in very affectionate terms, but without any particular expreſſion concerning the Enterprize, they commended much the Kings wiſdom, ſaying, that he knew beſt the fitteſt time, and the condition of Forces wherewith he might ſecurely effect what he had deſigned; but that it was to be believed, it was ſpeed which was to do him moſt good therein, ſo to prevent the counſels and preparations of the Enemy. At the ſame time that theſe things were in treaty, News came that *Soliman* prepared a powerful and numerous Fleet, to aſſault, as was better known afterwards by the effect, the Iſle of *Rhodes*, the ſeat and peculiar habitation at that time of the Knights of *Jeruſalem*.

The News of this preparation made the Venetians make *Dominico Treviſano* their Captain General by Sea, they increaſed their number of Gallies, and the Garriſons of their Iſlands, minding chiefly the ſecurity of the Iſland of *Cyprus*, which, according to no ſlight ſuſpicions which were given out, *Soliman* intended to aſſault with this Fleet. *Treviſano* was ordered to advance towards *Cape Malio*,

to observe the ways of the Turkish Fleet, which if they should make towards *Cyprus*, that then he should go first to that Island, and should possess himself of the Haven of *Famagosta*; and that if the Turks should intend any prejudice to the Common-wealth, he should by all means possible endeavour the safety of the State, and the indemnity of its Subjects: But that if he should see they bent their Forces elsewhere, he should carry himself so, as *Soliman* might know, that their Fleet was intended for the safety of their own affairs, and not to hinder his designs: Thinking it no wisdom to expose the Common-wealth, which was hardly as yet freed from the malignity of fortune, and from so many cross and calamitous events of War on *Terra firma*, to greater, and more grievous dangers, for the safety of others, at a time when the other Christian Princes, being bent upon their private and present Interests, did not mind the publique cause of Christendom. *Adriano Florentino*, by Nation a Low Country man, was now chosen Pope, a man but of mean Parentage, but highly esteemed by all men, for his goodness and learning, as also by reason of *Charles* the Emperours grace and favour, whose Tutor he had been: He took upon him the name of *Adrian* the first, and departed soon by Sea from *Spain*, where he then was, to *Nice*, and from thence to *Rome*: Whither many Prelates and Embassadours from Princes, flocked from all places, to do their wonted obedience. The Senate of *Venice* sent six of their chief Senators in a solemn Embassie to *Rome*, to present themselves according to custom before the Popes feet; To wit, *Marco Dandalo*, *Luigi Mocenico*, *Vicenzo Capello*, *Antonio Foskiniano*, *Pietro Pesaro*, and *Marco Foscari*. Who being gone as far on their way as *Bologna*, staid there, because the Plague was grown very hot in *Rome*, and the infection still increasing, so as the Pope himself was forced to quit the City, they after a few days returned to *Venice*.

The Pope wish'd very well to concord and general quiet, and was very zealous of the welfare of Christendom; for as soon as he took upon him the Popedome, he set himself wholly upon accommodating of differences between Princes, and sent Briefs unto them all, wherein he piously and efficaciously exhorted them, all to lay down the arms which they had taken up one against another, that they might turn all of them joynly against the Turks, the common Enemy, who threatened grievous and instant danger to Christendom, and had now assaulted *Rhodes* with so great a power, threatning ruine to others. He gave many grave and fatherly admonitions in particular to the Venetians, exhorting them not only to dispose themselves to peace, but that they would, together with him, indeavour to accommodate the differences which were amongst other Princes, to the end, that they might at last joyn all of them in a firme League, and oppose the power and greatness of the Ottomans.

But finding the Princes very slow, and cool in embracing his remembrances; and on the other side the dangers of Christendom increasing; for the Island of *Rhodes* was already taken by *Soliman*, with a powerfull Army; the Pope thinking it became him to proceed more severely in this business, he made his Legates who were resident

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at all Princes Courts, to present them with Monitories, whereby he made all such lyable to Ecclesiastical censures, who did not within the space of 3 Moneths, apply themselves to accept of the universal Truce, which was propounded and treated of: And because the differences which were between *Cesar* and the Venetians, was a principal impediment to the bringing of this business to a good end, he offer'd to take upon himselfe the care of accommodateing all their difficulties. The mean while, he desired that a League might be made between the Church, the Emperour, Venetians, the Duke of *Milan*, and the Florentines, for the defence and quiet of *Italy*. Which thing though it was known to be of it self very good and advantagious and was willingly listned unto by the Senate; yet there arose some difficulty in the manner of the Popes propounding it, whereby it was clearly seen, that the end of this League aim'd at the taking up armes against the Turks, by which vaine rumour, the Venetians feared lest they might provoke the anger of a most powerful Prince against them, who was now more proud, and puffed up then ever, with his new victory: So as they might be the first, and peradventure, those alone, who were to withstand the violence of his Forces. The aforesaid Embassadours were therefore more speedily dispatch'd away from *Venice*, to doe their obeisance unto the Pope; and that they might inform him with their rational respect, and therewithal ascertain him of the Senates good will, alwaies ready, and disposed to peace, and true quiet with Christian Princes, and no less ready to wage War with the Turks, when they should see it might be done joyntly, and with Forces fitting to suppress their power.

The Embassadours were honourably received by the Pope, who commended the Senates good intention, promised to inlarge their priviledges, and that he would so handle the League, as that it safely might be imbraced by the Common-wealth; hoping (as he said) that when he should have any earnest of the other Princes good will, the Venetians would be the forwardest, and most fervent in providing for the safety of *Christendom*, and in preventing so many eminent dangers. The Venetians did not this mean while intermit the treaty of agreement with *Cesar*, but to the end the particulars thereof might be more commodiously treated of, the Senate deputed three Senators, of several orders of the Colledg, to wit *Luigi Mocenico*, Counsellour, *Giorgio Cornaro*, Savio of the Counsel; and *Marc Antonio Veniero*, Savio *di Terra firma*: To negotiate all things thereunto belonging, with *Adorno*. The chief difficulty lay in finding how to accommodate things which were taken by all sides in time of War. *Cesar* propounded that all parties should keep what they were then possess'd of, but the Venetians desired that all places which were usurped should be restored, and that all jurisdiction should returne to the same condition it was in before. Whereunto was added that *Cesar* would have the Venetians bound by vertue of this confederacy, to defend not only the State of *Milan*, but the Kingdom of *Naples* also, generally against all men, the which the Venetians refused to do: For to oblige themselves to take up Armes against the Turks, seemed so dangerous, as the safety of this League did not counterpoise it;

and

and that by sending their men so far from the State, would more weaken their affairs, then *Cesar*'s friendship could secure them. Moreover this League aiming at the defending of *Charls* his Territories in *Italy*, from being offended by the French, the Kingdom of *Naples* was thought to be safe enough, by defending the State of *Milan*: the condition of times, and the Commonwealths occasions required, that before all other things, regard should be had to keep friendship with *Soliman*, who had a great Army ready to assault *Hungary*, as he did afterwards; so as it was wisely done to shun all occasions of irritating a powerful Prince, whose friendship they might make use of to the singular advantage of the City, by reason of the great good it reaps in time of Peace, by its many negotiations to the Levant: and the Common-wealth having at this time particularly sent *Pietro Zeno* to *Constantinople*, by reason of the success at *Rhodes*, he was honourably received by *Soliman*, and had quieted some former distastes, occasioned by certain depredations made upon the confines of *Dalmatia*; and had obtained very large orders to the *Sangiacchi* of those neighbouring places, that they should deal friendly and neighbourly with all the subjects of the Commonwealth.

But to return to the Treaty of the League. Many things were urged by *Cesar*'s Agents to obtain their intent: That it was not reasonable, that since *Cesar* did prefer the friendship of the Commonwealth before his other conveniences and interests, he might also make use thereof for the preservation of his own States; nor ought it to be esteemed so hard a thing, nor so prejudicial to the Venetians, to send their Armies into the Kingdom of *Naples*, since there was an example thereof, when not many years since, they sent the Marquis of *Mantua* with their men, to assist the King of *France*. To satisfie which particulars in part, the Senate resolved to promise *Cesar* some Gallies for the defence of the Kingdom of *Naples*, provided that in time of such need, they should not be busied in the Turkish War.

The slow and irresolute councels of *France*, concerning the affairs of *Italy*, made the Venetians the more inclinable to agree with the Emperour; which affairs they thought the French to be far from thinking upon; for that it was said, all their forces would be turned upon the Kingdom of *England*: and truly, if no other accidents had intervened, the confederacy with *Cesar* had then been concluded; for Embassadors came from the Archduke *Ferdinand*, in whose name *Cesar*'s agents had formerly treated; who brought word, that their Princes pleasure was, not to come to any certain agreement of Peace at that time, but only to a renewing of Truce for five years: for being but newly entered (as he said) into the Government, he was not so well informed of the State of his affairs, as was requisite, to come to such an agreement: so as the Archduke being excluded from this confederacy, whereby the chiefest difficulties which were between the Commonwealth, and the House of *Austria*, were kept on foot, the Venetians resolved not to conclude any thing with *Charls* the Emperour. Moreover, the Pope had at this time sent *Campeggio*, Bishop of *Feltre*, to the Venetian Senate, to exhort them to embrace the Universal League, and to put all other differences which were between them

them and *Cesar*, into his hands; alledging for this his request, that he feared if the Commonwealth should first confederate with the Emperour, and so forego the friendship of the French, the French would the more hardly be brought to joyn with the other Christian Princes in the general League against the Turks: This gave the Senate a just cause of new delay: but of all things else, *Adorno*'s death did chiefly impede the conclusion of this business, who died in the beginning of the year 1523. A wary and wise man, who by his fair carriage, had won favour with the Senators. *Marino Caracciola*, the chief Apostolique Notary, who was already gone from *Spain*, and destined an Embassadour for *Rome*, was sent to *Venice* by *Cesar*, to supply his place.

The King of *France* having certain knowledge of these practises, who did much suspect them before, sent *Renzo da Ceri*, and soon after *Ambrogio da Fiorenza*, and Monsieur *di St Valiere* to *Venice*, that they might assure the Venetians of the many preparations for War, which were making in *France*, and of his resolution of coming himself in person into *Italy*; and that consequently, they might solicite the Venetians to order their forces for the sudden attempting the enterprize of *Milan*; thinking hereby to remove the chief cause of the Senate treating of a new confederacy with *Cesar*, which the King and Court knew to be, because they feared that Forces would not come so soon, nor so strong from *France* as was requisite: But all these endeavours were of less efficacy, because little belief was given to the words nor promises of the French, of whom they had heard so much, and seen so little. Wherefore some colour for delay being made, by reason of the endeavours of an universal Truce, as hath been said, which was so much put for by the Pope, the Senate answered the Embassadors, That they neither could, nor would do any thing, till they saw an end of this business, lest they might seem to trouble the peace of *Italy*, and spoil the hopes of great good to Christendom. But the King of *France* having reasons for Truce propounded to him by the Venetians, and by the Pope himself, said, That he was not dis-enclined to lay down Arms, not that he did desire to enjoy what belonged to another; but that his honour would not permit him now to desist from the recovery of the Dukedom of *Milan*, which was his; wherein if the Pope and Venetians would assist him, they should finde him very ready for the future, to do any thing which might be for the common peace and safety: but that it was in vain to attempt the union of the Christian Princes, and the settlement of the affairs of *Italy*, without this. To which purpose, and in witness of his good will, he sent *Ludovico Canosa*, Bishop of *Bayeux*, to *Rome*, and to *Venice*. But howsoever, there was more noise of Wars heard, then effects seen: so as many moneths being spent in these transactions, with great variety of counsels and opinions, Peace and League was at last with great solemnity concluded between *Cesar* and the Venetians, the particulars whereof were these;

That the Venetians should possess the Cities, Towns, Villages, and other places of their Dominions, in the same Jurisdiction as now they did. That they

they ſhould pay two hundred thouſand Crowns to Ceſar *within the ſpace of eight years. That the Citizens of their State, who had adhered to* Ceſar, *ſhould return into their Country, and ſhould be received into favour, all faults being forgiven to ſuch of their Citizens as had followed* Ceſar's *party, to whom (in lieu of their confiſcated goods) five thouſand Ducats of yearly Revenue ſhould be aſſigned. That reſtitution of all places taken, ſhould be made by all parties, as was agreed upon at* Worms; *which, as ſoon as it ſhould be performed in its other parts, the Venetians ſhould be bound to diſburſe thirty eight thouſand Ducats, as was likewiſe determined by the agreement at* Worms. *That it ſhould be lawful for the ſubjects of the Venetians, as alſo for* Ceſar's *ſubjects, to live freely, and commerce in either of their Dominions, and that they ſhould be civilly and lovingly treated, as ſubjects of the ſame Country. That for the defence of* Milan, Sforza (*for whom* Ceſar *engaged his word*) *ſhould be bound to maintain continually in time of Peace, five hundred Curaſſiers, and that the Venetians ſhould maintain as many; but that in time of War, the number ſhould be increaſed to eight hundred Curaſſiers, five hundred Light Horſe, and ſix thouſand Foot, with an anſwerable Train of Artillery; and that* Charls *ſhould be obliged to do as much, for the defence of the State of* Venice: *and they all of them promiſed to hinder, for as much as in them lay, the coming of any victuals to any Enemies Army, which ſhould come to the prejudice of their States. It was alſo added, that the Venetians ſhould be particularly obliged to defend the Kingdom of* Naples *in time of War, with five and twenty armed Gallies; which defence was intended to be made againſt Chriſtian Princes, and when the Commonwealth ſhould not be buſied in any Turkiſh war. The Kings of* Poland, Hungary, *and* Portugal, *the Duke of* Savoy, *Commonwealth of* Florence, Antonio Adorno, *Duke of* Genua, *the Houſe of* Medici, *and the Marquis of* Monferato, *were included, as friends to all parties concerned in this confederacy; and the Pope and King of* England *were named as Keepers and Conſervators of theſe Articles.*

The Peace being thus concluded, *Lorenzo Priuli*, and *Andreo Navagiero* were choſen Embaſſadors to be ſent from *Venice* to the Emperour, and *Carlo Contarini* to the Archduke, *Ceſar*'s brother, to congratulate this renewed confederacy, and to witneſs the Senates deſire to continue in friendſhip with the Houſe of *Auſtria*. And becauſe *Trivultio*, Governour of the Venetian Militia, depended much upon the French party, that charge was taken from him; yet they were very civil to him in their words, and ſeemed very well ſatisfied with his ſervice, offering him a penſion of three thouſand crowns a year, if he would live in the Commonwealth as a private man, till a better time and occaſion ſhould happen. But he refuſing all offers, would return to *France*. This place, under the ſame Title of Commiſſary General, and upon the ſame conditions as *Trivulcio* had ſerved, was given to *Franciſco Maria della Rouere*, Duke of *Urbine*, he and his State being protected by the Commonwealth, againſt whoſoever ſhould moleſt it. They diſcharged themſelves to the King of *France*, anſwerable to the time and occaſion, excuſing this their reſolution, partly by reaſon of the ſlowneſs of his proviſions, by which their hopes, which

which were grounded upon his forces and assistance, were too much weakned; and partly by reason of the Pope's commands, that they might no longer hinder, nor delay the Treaty of universal peace, which he did so affectionately propound and desire.

But the resolution the King of *France* put on, when he was assured of the League made between *Cesar* and the Senate, was certainly very strange, differing from the common opinion of men, and very void of reason: Whence it may be conceived, how hard it is to know the secret thoughts of Princes, by any force of argument, or by the rules of ordinary reason; or to foresee their actions before they be done. King *Francis*, who being entreated and solicited by the Venetians to come into *Italy*, when he might hope to be received, and assisted by the Commonwealth, which he in his own judgment knew to be of great concernment, was either averse thereunto, or at least, but cool therein: now when he wanted such friendship and aid, when he was sure to meet with great opposition in *Italy*, where all were become his enemies, when the dangers and difficulties appeared to be greatest; resolved to undertake the business of *Milan*: But the Duke of *Burbon's* rebellion being at this time discovered, so as he had reason to apprehend danger at home, he was forced to forbear that his fervency at that time; so as tarrying himself with part of his forces in *France*, he sent Monsieur *di Beniuette*, Admiral of *France*, into *Italy*, with two thousand Lanciers, and twelve thousand Foot of several Nations. Though *Prospero Colonna* was not ignorant of these preparations, yet did he not so much consider them, as the importancy of the affair required.

But when the French Army began to move, and that those suspicions proved true, which he would not credit before, he assembled speedily all the men he could, and came first to the banks of the *Tesino*, hoping to hinder the enemies passage; which quickly finding he could not do, he entred with part of his souldiers into *Milan*, and with the rest encreased the Garrisons of *Pavia* and *Cremona*, abandoning *Lodi*; to the end that he might not weaken the more important places, by dividing his small forces into so many Garrisons. The Venetians being advertised hereof, that they might readily make good their new confederacy, ordered their Curassiers to go towards the banks of *Oglio*, and resolved at the same time to raise six thousand Foot, and four hundred Light Horse, for the defence of the State of *Milan*; and other three thousand to dispose of in the Garrisons of their Cities. They made *Lunardo Emo* Commissary General of the Army, and acquainted the Duke of *Urbine*, that he would come speedily into *Lombardy*, to execute the place which he had taken upon him. But the Admiral being quickly past over the mountains, and it being said that he advanced with his Army to pass over the *Tesino*, the Venetians resolved to bring their men into *Giaradada*, to secure the Cities of *Bergamo* and *Crema*, and that they might be the readier to succour *Milan*. And because the Duke was long a coming, they sent a Secretary of the *Pregadi* to hasten him. But the French having taken up their quarters between *Binasco* and *Bigrassa*, twelve miles distant from *Milan*, and the Duke not being as yet come unto the Army, they

were doubtful whether they ſhould paſs over the *Oglio* or no. Thinking it then the ſafer way to bring their Army (which they underſtood the French intended to aſſault) into ſome ſtrong place upon the Banks of *Ada*, where it might be free from that danger. So the Venetian Camp was at laſt brought to *Pontivico*, whither the Duke of *Urbin* came within a few days. Not far from hence was the Marquis of *Mantua* encamped with other forces: Wherefore *Colonna* did earneſtly deſire both of them, that they would joyn together, and enter into *Lodi*, which was not yet poſſeſs'd by the Enemy. But they both of them refuſed to do it; the Marquis ſaying that he would go with his men to ſuccour *Parma*; holding himſelf bound to do ſo, as being a Souldier of the Church; and the Venetians General, becauſe he thought he could not do it without much danger. So as *Lodi* being abandoned by all, fell eaſily into the French-mens hands. Who having reſolved to ſuccour the Caſtle of *Cremona*, ſent to *Mariguano*, *Frederico da Bozzole* with 6000 Foot and 400 Launciers, wherewith they began to ſtraiten the City; which having within it 4000 Foot, and 100 Curaſſiers, did manfully defend it ſelf, and beat back the French ſeveral times. Yet *Ceſar*'s Embaſſadour and the Duke of *Millans* did earneſtly intreat the Senate of *Venice*, that their men might paſs as ſoon as might be over the River *Oglio*, and incamp in ſome ſtrong ſituation in the Territories of *Cremona*; that ſo by raiſing jealouſies in the French, they might keep them from perſiſting in the Enterprize of *Cremona*. But the French intended nothing but *Milan*, before which they were ſate down, and that they might keep it from being relieved, endeavour'd to hold thoſe forces which might aſſiſt the Beſieged, buſied elſe where. For which their intention it made much that they ſhould keep their men at *Caravaggio* and *Montia*, in the Territories of *Cremona*: Whereby the Venetian Army was troubled much to advance.

This the Enemies counſel being diſcovered by the Emperours Commanders, who did not juſtly weigh the dangers and difficulties, was the reaſon why they did greatly ſollicite the Venetians, that their men paſſing ſuddenly over the *Ada* at *Trecco*, might place themſelves ſomewhere, whereby the City of *Milan* might be ſuccour'd. Whereupon many things being diſcuſs'd by the Senators, and knowing that the beſt reſolution to be put on therein, conſiſted in the particular condition of places, and variety of accidents, they committed the whole buſineſs to the opinion, faith, and diligence of the Duke their General, leaving him to do what he thought might make moſt for the advantage of the Enterprize, and for the ſatisfaction of the Collegues: Having a convenient regard to the preſervation of that Army, on which the ſecurity of their State did chiefly depend. But the Duke, having maturely conſidered all the ſituations, reſolved to quarter his men beyond the River *Oglio*, between *Romano* and *Martinengo*: at which the Imperialiſts being but badly ſatisfied, they deſired that the Venetian Camp might be brought nearer *Trecco*, and that if the Duke ſhould not think fit to paſs with all his men then over the *Ada*, he ſhould at leaſt ſend 3000 Foot, 200 Curaſſiers, and 100 Light horſe to relieve *Colonna*, when they ſhould be deſired by him to do ſo.

Which

Which thing being very hardly to be done, the Duke ſent *Baldiſera Signorelli* to *Milan*, to inform himſelf more particularly of *Colonna*'s pleaſure and deſigns, and of the Enemies proceedings. This mean while other ſuccours came to defend the State of *Milan*; for 400 Launce Knights, whom *Ceſar* had taken into pay in the Arch-dukes Country, came to the Territories of *Verona*, by the way of *Trent*; and the Viceroy of *Naples* was already on his way with an Army: To whom for his greater honour, the Venetians ſent their Embaſſadour *Carlo Contarini* to meet him, and to be aſſiſtant to him. The Duke of *Burbone* was likewiſe ſpeedily expected, whom *Ceſar* had declared to be his Lievtenant General, in *Italy*, and to whom he had committed the whole management of the War. Yet amidſt the fury of arms, the buſineſs of agreement between the Emperour and the moſt Chriſtian King was not pretermitted. The Arch-biſhop of *Bari*, who was once Nuntio from the Pope in *France*, was at this time gone into *Spain*, to treat upon the conditions of peace. Which though of it ſelf it was pleaſing to the Common-wealth, in relation to the general agreement, yet could they not but be troubled thereat, by reaſon that by former example they could not be totally free from fear that theſe two Princes might agree, leaving them out, and peradventure to their prejudice. Yet the Senate unwilling to be faulty to the obligations of confederacy, without ſome more evident reaſon, gave commiſſion to their Commiſſaries, that if the Imperialiſts ſhould have a mind to go into the field with all their Forces, they ſhould joyn with the Vice-roy of *Naples*, and paſs over the *Ada*: But ſo as they might leave good Garriſons for the ſecurity of their Towns, and be ſure to quarter themſelves in ſome ſtrong and ſafe place, and that above all things they ſhould ſhun being neceſſitated to go into *Milan*.

But however, the execution of this Order was delayed; nor did the Army paſs ouer the *Ada*: For the Duke of *Urbane* thought it not ſafe, to go into the field with thoſe men, till the Lance Knights, and the Marquis of *Mantua*'s forces were arrived: and eſpecially, having underſtood, that more *Switzers* were come into the *French* camp, ſo as they now amounted to the number of 10000. Wherefore, being deſired by the Imperialiſts to go with his Army to *Belriſguarda*, he refuſed to go; for, that quarter being but bare four miles from the *French* camp, he had reaſon to fear, that being ſo near the Enemy, he might be forced to fight, againſt his will, and upon diſadvantage: He was moreover troubled, to think that the Territories of *Crema*, or of *Burgamo*, might be aſſaulted by thoſe of *Lodi*, whether 2000 *Switzers* were lately come: which Country was threatned alſo with another danger, it being given out, that 6000 *Griſons* were ſent by the King of *France* to endammage it; who, juſt at this time, had diſmiſſed the *Venetian* Embaſſadour his Court. But at laſt, the Vice-roy continuing to ſollicite the joyning of Forces, the Senate, to avoid the giving ſuſpition of any diſtruſt, reſolved to ſend again to the Duke of *Urbane*, to joyn with the Imperialiſts; having, the mean while, taken into pay 3000 *Italian* Foot, & 400 Light-horſe in *Greece*, for the preſervation and ſafety of their State; and the charge of theſe

men was given to *Jovanni Moro*, who was then choſen *Podeſta* of *Crema*, with the Title of Commiſſary General in *Breſciana*: and *Emo*, who was Commiſſary of the camp, being at that ſame time very ſick, he got leave of the Senate to return to his own Country; and *Pietro Peſaro* was choſen in his place. But *Carlo Contarini*, after having ſtaid a while with the Viceroy, was ſent to *Milan*, to the end that a Publick perſon might be near the Duke, till ſuch time as *Marc' Antonio Veniere*, who was intended to be ſent Embadour to him, but was now ſick, might go to perform his Embaſſie. By the *Venetians* drawing near to the Town of *Trecco*, the Marquis of *Mantua* being gone, to the ſame purpoſe, to *Pavia*, the French Army was brought to a great ſcarcity of Victuals; all paſſages being block'd up, by which proviſions were formerly brought to the camp: in which the Venetians Greecian Horſs did very good ſervice: So as the Admiral fearing leaſt his Army might be reduced to the ſame neceſſity, whereunto he had thought to reduce *Milan*, he reſolved to enlarge the ſiege, and to take up his quarters 12 miles further off. The Apoſtolick Sea being at this time two moneths vacant, by the death of *Adrian*, a new Pope, to the general joy and ſatisfaction of all men, was choſen: For *Julio*, Cardinal of *Medici*, being called up to the Supream dignity, who was afterwards called *Clement* the 7th, and was held by all men to be of a mature Judgmement, great Ingenuity, and of admirable dexterity, in weighty and important buſineſs; it was thought, that Chriſtendome was fitly provided of ſuch a head, as did become the conditions of thoſe times.

The Senate, deſirous to do all honour and reverence to the new Pope, reſolved to ſend him eight Embaſſadours, all of them chief Senatours of the Commonwealth, to congratulate his election, and to do their obeiſſance to him: Theſe were, *Marco Dandalo*, *Ferolomi da Peſaro*, *Dominico Veniero*, *Vicenzo Carepello*, *Thomaſa Contarino*, *Lorenzo Braggadino*, *Nicolo Tiepolo*, and *Luigi Bono*. Soon after, the Duke *Antonio Grimani* dyed, having had the Dukedome onely 22 moneths: His funeral Oration was made by *Frederico Valereſſo*, a young man, very eminent for his learning; and he was honoured with a ſtately Tombe in St. *Antonie's* Church: *Andree Gritti* was created Duke in his place; a man of great worth and fame, who had for many years before been imployed in all the moſt important buſineſſes of the Commonwealth, both at home and abroad; as partly may be ſeen by what wee have related: So as it fell out very happily for the Commonwealth; that in time of ſo great commotions of Armes, a man of mature Wiſdome, and of very great Experience ſhould happen to bee their head. Thus ended the Year 1523.

The Year 1524 followed: In the beginning whereof, the Affairs of *France*, which did already begin to decline, fell into much greater, and irreparable ruine: For the Admiral being brought into great ſtreights, both of Victuals and money, ſo as many ſouldiers left the camp every day, did notwithſtanding ſtill continue obſtinately in his opinion, increaſing rather the diſorders thereby, then ſeeking to remedy them, by ſome new reſolves, till ſuch time, as he was glad to free the State of *Milan* from all danger, rather by his flight, then by his retreat, as

ſhall

ſhall be ſaid hereafter. By the enemies falling further off, the Venetian Army was advanced to joyn with the Viceroy, and with the Marquis of *Mantua*, who leaving a ſufficient Garriſon in *Milan*, were come before to thoſe quarters; ſo as the Imperialiſts being very ſtrong, came too within five miles of the French camp: and did not onely hinder them from making any further proceedings, but did much indammage them; hindering, and diſturbing their victuals: and afterwards, aſſuming more courage, the Venetians and Imperialiſts paſſed over the *Teſſino*, near *Pavia*, to make themſelves maſters of the Country, and to keep the Enemy from thoſe things which it did furniſh them withall. Which the French Commanders not having timely foreſeen, they were likewiſe forced to paſs over the River, to oppoſe the Imperialiſts deſignes: But the Duke of *Urbane* being gotten beyond the *Teſſino*, began to poſſeſs himſelf of the Country, and much to the praiſe of the Venetian ſouldiers, ſtormed the Town of *Garlaſco*, a place eſteemed ſtrong, both by ſituation and Art, and wherein there was a good Garriſon, and did advance ſo gallantly with his Army, as many Towns did of themſelves come in to the Imperialiſts; which harms the Admiral had hoped to prevent, rather by the forces and advice of others then his own; for having heard that *Renzo da Ceri* being already come to the confines of the State of *Veniee* with 8000 *Griſons*, was ready to enter with them into the Territories of *Bergamo*, he thought that the Venetians, moved by this danger, would have recalled their Forces, to defend their own affairs: he hoped likewiſe that the *Switzers*, which were ſent him by the King, would come quickly, whereby he might recrute his Army, which was much diminiſhed: but failing in both theſe hopes; for the Venetians provided ſufficiently againſt the Invaſion of the *Griſons*, who finding that they were likely to meet with oppoſition, and not with help, as was promiſſed them, retreated quickly to their homes: and the *Switzers* being come to the River which they found ſo ſwoln, as they could not paſs over it, were forced to ſtay on the other ſide of the River; ſo as the Admiral marched thetherward, but was ſtill purſued by the Imperialiſts, and infected by them, and throwing a bridg over the *Seſia*, paſs'd his whole Army over it, that he might joyn with the *Switzers*, and put himſelf into better order. But the Imperialiſts, finding in what diſorder the French were in, (for in their March they had left many peices of artillery, and other amunition behinde them,) deſired the Duke of *Urbane*, that he would together with them paſs over the *Leſia*, and ſo make uſe of the occaſion which was offered them, of deſtroying the Enemies Army totally: Which requeſt the Duke did not deny, leſt the enemy might have ſtayed there, if they had not been followed: But howſoever reſolving to go no further, (for the Articles of confederacy were fulfilled on the *Venetians* part, in his having defended the ſtate of *Milan*:) he ordered Commiſſary *Pietro da Peſaro*, that, the very day which was deſtin'd for the paſſing over *Seſia*, he ſhould retreat with the Foot: and the Imperialiſts beginning to paſs over the next day before day break, the Duke paſs'd over likewiſe with all his Horſe: which when the French underſtood, they quitted their

quarters;

quarters, and haſted to return back over the mountains, leſt they might have been faln upon by two Armies. The Duke after he had ridden a little further on with the Imperialiſts, told them the Common-wealth was not bound to do any more then what they had done, nor could he enter into the Duke of *Savoy*'s Country without a new Commiſſion; ſo paſſing back again over the River, he joyned with Commiſſary *Peſaro*: for which the Duke was very much praiſed; who, having ſhewed his wiſdome, valour, and Loyalty, in this, as in all his other actions, the Senate, in acknowledgment of his deſerts, though he had ſerved but ſome few moneths of 5 years which he was to ſerve, honoured him with the Title of Captain General, gave him the command of the Curaſſiers, and added to his ſtipend; and his name grew very famous throughout all *Italy*.

While the *Venetians* were buſied in this War, they were threatned elſewhere with great dangers, and were full of Jealouſie; which put them to many other expences: for they dayly diſcovered more haughty and ambitious thoughts in *Soliman* the Emperour of the Turks, numerous Armies, great preparations of Fleets, and a mighty deſire of Warlike glory. Wherefore their State being to be in continual jealouſie, by reaſon of the power and ambition of ſo formidable an neighbour, the Common-wealth kept all her places by Sea ſtrongly garriſon'd; eſpecially the Iſland of *Cyprus*, which they knew *Soliman* did very much thirſt after. To ſupply ſo many expences, they were forced to take ſeveral extraordinary courſes for the raiſing of monies; particularly, by many Lones of particular Citizens, and Citties; who ſeing the occaſion, did, with much readineſs, offer ſome of them 10000 Duckets, ſome more, according to their ſeveral abilities. The difficulties with the houſe of *Auſtrea* were not at this time fully ended, nor all the Capitulations agreed upon: Wherefore, *Guiddo d'alla Torre* was ſent to *Venice* by the Archduke *Ferdinand*, with whom they treated, and concluded what belong'd to the reſtitution of the places in *Friuli*: But more difficulties ariſing concerning the parts about *Verona*, to put an end thereto, it was reſolved, that Commiſſioners ſhould be ſent, from all parties concerned, to *Riva di Trento*; whether the Arduke's Commiſſioners being come firſt, and not finding thoſe of the *Venetians* there, after a ſhort ſtay, they departed, and left the buſineſs undecided: nay, new diſputes aroſe to hinder the effecting of what was formerly agreed upon with *la Torre*: ſo as to the great diſpleaſure of the *Venetians*, this root of diſcenſion between the Commonwealth, and the houſe of *Auſtrea* remayned yet alive. At this time, the King of *France*, not having given over his thoughts concerning the affairs of *Italy*, for all his Armies unfortunate ſucceſs; nor any whit abated his former fervency; but being the rather more incens'd, for that the Imperialiſts, not content to have defended the State of *Milan*, had endeavoured to trouble him in his own Kingdome, and to provoke the King of *England* againſt him, had been very ſollicitous, and carefull in providing all things neceſſary for his own comming very ſpeedily, and very ſtrong, into *Italy*: which he might the eaſier do, by reaſon that all his men were returned ſafe into *France*. The Venetians were much

much troubled at theſe mighty and important preparations of the French: Not only in relation to the great expences and diſturbances, to which they were obliged by the League which they had made with *Ceſar*, for the defence of the State of *Milan*; but for fear of their own affairs: The King appearing to be very much offended with them, not only for what they had at firſt done againſt him; but for that being afterward deſired to re-aſſume their friendſhip with him, they would not forego *Ceſar*: and for that *Martino Bouclino*, being lately come to *Venice*, in the names of the Lords of the three Leagues, to intreat and exhort the Senate to renew their ancient confederacy with the French, the Senate perſiſting in their opinion, and juſtifying their laſt actions, by the neceſſity of the times, and by the Popes command, ſaid they could not at the preſent ſatisfie their deſires, by reaſon of their new League; which they could not be faulty to, without ſome marks of infamy, and peradventure not without ſome danger. Therefore things continuing in their former condition, and the French Army paſſing notwithſtanding over the Mountains, the Venetians made all their Souldiers which were in the ſeveral Garriſons of the State, be brought to the Territories of *Verona*: and having thereof framed the body of an Army, they commanded the Duke of *Urbin*, and the Commiſſary *Peſaro*, to come ſpeedily thither, and there to expect Orders from them.

But the Pope, being more afraid, and full of jealouſies, did continually ſollicite the Venetians to keep inviolably in good intelligence with him, and in reciprocal good will, and to proceed always with one and the ſame advice and counſel, ſince the reſpects were the ſame in them both, for the defence of their own particular States, and for the common Liberty of Italy. *He commended their keeping faſt to the Imperialiſts, and their minding the defence of the State of* Milan, *if they really thought they could do it; but that if they ſhould ſee they were not able to reſiſt the powerful Forces of* France, *they ſhould begin betimes to reconcile themſelves with the moſt Chriſtian King, not tarrying to make peace upon unreaſonable conditions, when the King ſhould uſe ſuch inſolencies towards them, as do uſually accompany the victories and good fortune of Princes: That they muſt conſider the power of the French was very great, and apt to turn the whole State of* Italy *upſide down: Since to boot with the numerous Army which the King brought with him, his Forces that had defended* Marcelles *(now that that City was freed from danger) were imbarked for* Italy, *and bent againſt the Kingdom of* Naples. *And on the contrary, that all the Emperours deſigns upon the Kingdom of* France *were proved vain, and no leſs then the reſt, their hopes grounded upon the Duke of* Burbones *rebellions. That the King of* England *growing apprehenſive of the Emperours too much greatneſs, gave certain ſigns that he would not keep the capitulations made with him: Wherefore if it ſhould be thought fit for the Church, and the Commonwealth, to think of an accommodation with the Chriſtian King, they muſt not loſe time, which was to their manifeſt danger and prejudice; But that they ſhould rather ſend ſufficient commiſſion to their Embaſſadour* Marco Foſcari, *who was at* Rome, *to intervene and liſten to thoſe Treaties, which were already promiſed by the French.*

Which

Which things though they were propounded by the Pope by the way of advice, yet it was evident that he was inclined to a new confederacy with the French, to secure the State of the Church, and State of *Florence*; which he had the greater care of, becauſe the Duke of *Albany* being to paſs through *Tuſcany*, to the prejudice of *Ceſar*'s affairs, the Florentines were expoſed to more certain and nearer danger. But the Pope, cloaking this particular Intereſt as much as he could, labour'd to prove that his only aim was at univerſal peace, and to free *Italy* from War, for the common good of Chriſtendom; and that he labour'd to break the buſineſs to the King of *France*, to diſpoſe him the eaſilier to an agreement with *Charles* and *Ferdinand* of *Auſtria*. To which purpoſe he ſaid he would ſend (as he did afterwards) his Almner *Matheo Giberto* to entreat the King to make peace with *Ceſar*. But which commiſſion even then, as was afterwards known, to negotiate particular conventions for himſelf, and for the Florentines; the Commonwealths intereſt, being neither wholly left out, nor wholly conſidered. But the Senate were of opinion, that no greater neceſſity appearing, they were not to forego their friendſhip and confederacy with *Ceſar*, as unwilling to ſhew ſo much inconſtancy, as alſo not to make the Emperour their Enemy, before they had more certainty of the King of *France* his good will: And therefore they had reſolved that their men ſhould enter in to the Dukedom of *Milan*, for *Ceſars* ſervice. But the Duke of *Urbin*, not obeying this order ſuddenly, gave them to underſtand that it was very dangerous for the affairs of the Commonwealth, to paſs at that time ſo forward with the Army; for by ſecuring the State of *Milan* ſo early by their forces, they gave the Enemy occaſion to turn elſewhere, and peradventure, upon their Commonwealth; that therefore they might expect till the French Army was paſſed over the River *Siſa*, and then put their reſolution in effect. But the French without any delay, came into the State of *Milan*, before it was thought they would have done; ſo as the whole Army drew near the City, and got into the Suburbs by the Gate *Ticineſe*, before the City, which was but ill provided of Rampiers and victuals, could be ſufficiently ſuccour'd. So as all the Imperial Commanders together with their men, that were within the Town, were glad to retreat ſuddenly: the Duke of *Bourbon*, the Viceroy, and *Sforza*, went to *Soncino*, and the Marquis of *Piſcara* to *Lodi*: But their chief care was, how to Garriſonnize the City of *Pavia* very ſtrongly, which they thought might be better defended then any of the other Cities. They therefore put *Antonio da Leva* thereinto, with three hundred Curaſſiers, and five thouſand Foot, part Spaniſh, part Dutch, all of them being old Souldiers.

Thus did the French eaſily get *Milan*, which was abandoned by the Imperialiſts. But the King would not ſuffer the Souldiers to enter the Town, to preſerve it from ſacking.

At the ſame time, *John Stuart*, Duke of *Albany*, ſent by the King of *France* to aſſault the Kingdom of *Naples*, with two hundred Lanciers, ſeven hundred Light Horſe, and four thouſand Switzers, deſired leave of the Pope to paſs thorow the State of the Church, and

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thorow *Tuscany*, to go to *Naples*; which the French did the rather endeavour, that the Imperial Forces drawing towards those parts, the State of *Milan* might be the weaklier defended, whereof many Towns did daily surrender, without making almost any opposition: But the main point of the War was brought to about *Pavia*, to the taking whereof, the King was come in person with his whole Army, firmly resolving not to rise from before it, till he had taken it; for he thought, that to leave a City of the Enemies behind him, so well munited with men, would be to the danger, and certainly, to the dishonour of that his Army, which was said to consist of above 24000 Foot, 2000 Curassiers, a great Train of Artillery, and wherein were all the famous Warriours of *France*: and on the other side, the Cesarians placed their chiefest hopes of good event, in the preservation of that City; wherefore all mens eyes were turned upon this business, whereupon other important effects were to depend.

The Pope and the Venetians were chiefly solicitous herein; fearing on the one side, that the French forces, who were but badly satisfied with them, might prove victorious; and on the other side, that if the Imperialists should beat the French, they would remain the sole Arbytrators of all Italy: So as it being hard to know which party it was best to take to, in so difficult a business, they spun it out in length, pitching almost upon a Neutrality; therefore neither did their men go to assist the Imperialists, neither did they come to any agreement, with the French; but expecting what the success at *Pavia* would be, which the Town being now besieged, would require some time, they thought to make advantage of time.

Yet the Pope, to the end that if need should be, he might come to better conclusion with the French, he by means of his Almner, who was already sent to the camp, did negotiate divers things tending to agreement. To the which the King of *France* seeming to be very well inclined, the business would have been soon agreed, had not the arival of some new advertizements stop'd it on the Popes behalf; for News being come that 6000 Dutch Foot, which were sent by the Emperour to releive *Milan*, were already come to *Isbruch*, with whom the Arch-Duke *Ferdinand* was to come himself in person into *Italy*; and also that the Spanish Foot which were destin'd for the same purpose, were already imbarked the Pope being somwhat incouraged, and thinking it stood with his honour (since he was not inforced by any greater necessity) to seem that he had realy (according as it was given out) sent his Almner to the French camp to treat of general peace, together with particular agreement; sent *Paolo Vittori* to the Viceroy, to witness unto him his great desire answerable to the place he was in, to make peace between the King of *France* and *Cesar*, so as they might both attend, according to their callings, to repaire the present mischiefs, which were threatned Christendom by *Soliman*, who was already armed in the field. That having therein all fitting respect to *Cesar*'s benefit and satisfaction he would propound very good conditions unto him, if, as he had often affirmed, his mind were inclined to peace.

To wit, that he might freely keep poſſeſſion of the Kingdom of Naples, *wherein he would oblige himſelf to maintain, and defend him: And that the French ſhould poſſeſs the Dukedom of* Milan, *but upon particular promiſe, not to make any other attempt upon* Italy, *without the Popes conſent.*

Which negotiations being held on for a few daies, produced no other fruit, but divers jealouſies, both in the French, and Spaniards; ſo as both parties did continue to ſolicite the Venetians to favour them; *Girolemo de Pij* came to *Venice*, on the behalf of the French, indeavouring that the Common-wealth would renew their Friendſhip with the moſt Chriſtian King, or at leaſt, that ſhe would not be againſt him. And the Vice-roy ſent *Charles* of *Aragon* thither, deſiring the Senate that they would cauſe their men to joyn with the Imperialiſts. The French Embaſſadour was anſwered in general tearmes, ſhewing that they had referred this whole buſineſs to the Pope; but they gave the Vice-roy many reaſons why they had delayed ſending their men. Thus they continued to proceed irreſolutely a good while; till at laſt the Pope having made agreement, though very ſecretly, with the King of *France*, in behalf of himſelf and of the Venetians; reſerving a caution unto themſelves, and entering proteſtation likewiſe, that they did not enter into the League to interrupt the general peace; the Senate was neceſſitated to come to ſome reſolution. Many things, and with much diverſity of opinion were conſulted hereupon. And the Senate being met upon a day appointed, to put a final end to the buſineſs; *Georgio Cornaro*, Procurator, who had ſtill been of the ſame opinion, ſpoke thus.

I was never of their minds, who think that States may be always governed by the ſame Rule; and who are for the continuing in the ſame opinion on which they have once been of, without diſtinguiſhing of times or affairs. I very well know the uncertainty and variety of theſe affairs that we buſie our ſelves about in theſe our diſcuſſions, and therefore I doe little rely upon my ſelf or my own judgment; and I uſe not to be too forward in ſpeaking my ſenſe of things, leſt I may ſay ſomewhat which I may afterwards repent: Which cuſtom of mine I doe now the more willingly follow, for that the buſineſs is dubious and difficult, and ſubject to various and important accidents. We ſpeak of making a new League with the King of France, *and of foregoing that which but ſome moneths ago we made with* Ceſar, *which was publiſhed, and begun to be obſerved. I ſee that the State of the affairs of* Italy *is in a ſhort time altered; and our deſigns, hopes, and fears, altered through new accidents; but I ſee alſo and very well know, that this fluctuation and variety is ſuch, as we cannot ground any counſels we can take, upon aſſured foundations; nor can we preſume that our this days reſults, though now good, will prove ſo to morrow; for the Fortune of War is ſtill in queſtion, and what the ſucceſs ſhall be of the offence, or defence of the State of* Milan, *is uncertaine: The whole condition of the affairs of* Italy *is moſt uncertain, ſhe is ſhaken and diſturb'd by the armes of two of the cheifeſt Princes of Chriſtendom. Wherefore, to know whereupon we may with moſt ſafety repoſe our hopes, and our advices, we muſt accurately conſider the State of affairs; ballancing*

lancing the various, nay rather, contrary reſpects; but chiefly, we muſt lay aſide all affection of love or fear, by which we may be yet more blinded in coming to the knowledge of this truth, which is of it ſelf obſcure, and hard to be found.

The King of France *is come into* Italy *with a moſt powerful Army contrary to the opinion of all men; and therefore finding the State of* Milan *for the moſt part unprovided, he hath ſo happily begun his Enterprize as by marching, not by fighting, by the bare name and reputation of his Forces, he without uſe of weapons, or expoſing himſelf to danger, hath put the Enemy to flight, won a great part of the Country, taken the very City of* Milan *and found all things proſperous and obedient: But it ſeems this his too haſty Fortune is very ſoon at an end; and having now ſate down before* Pavia, *he meets with expence of time, and unexpected difficulties, in compaſſing his end: ſo as the iſſue thereof is not only doubtful, but the whole fortune, and end of the War, depends thereupon. It is above forty days ſince the French ſate down before* Pavia; *yet do we not finde their hopes of getting it, much increaſe, nor the courage and fervency of thoſe that do defend it, diminiſh; nor the Imperial Commanders ſlacken in their diligence to relieve it: It is certainly a very hard buſineſs to foreſee the event of this Siege; but it is eaſie to know, that all other ſucceſſes will for the moſt part depend upon this: for the Imperialiſts having the Cities of* Lodi *and* Cremona, *whereinto they have put great Garriſons, and are very buſie in fortifying them, if they can likewiſe defend* Pavia, *who (as we know) do expect a ſuccour of Spaniſh and Dutch Foot to be brought them by the Archduke* Ferdinand *himſelf, they may eaſily maintain the State of* Milan, *and force the French to paſs back over the mountains; and the more numerous their Army is, and full of all the Nobility of* France, *ſo much the more it may be doubted that it may diſband, both by reaſon of the great expence, and inconveniences, which it will not be long able to undergo; as alſo, out of the natural cuſtom of that Nation, not good at patiently ſupporting any enterpriſe long, as of late years we have had many experiences. If then this ſhould happen, as it eaſily may, and that the French being either driven away by the Enemies Forces, or confuſed by their own diſorders, ſhould forgo the Dukedom of* Milan, *and ſhould return to* France, *and that we ſhall have abandoned* Cæſar's *friendſhip, not have valued our Confederacy, broken our Covenants, and by this our inconſtancy and fickleneſs of faith, ſhall have purchaſed not only the Emperour's diſpleaſure, but ſhall grow hateful to all men, what is it that we may not have reaſon to fear: The Imperialiſts being ſo very ſtrong, ſo ill ſatisfied with us, fit to offend us, and diſpoſed ſo to do? Whereby our own troubles will not be a little increaſed, and our afflictions and dangers will be the leſs compaſſionated by others, ſince it is our ſelves who have been the occaſion of our miſchief, which God grant it may not prove very great; and that (together with our own ruine) we draw not after us, the ruine of all* Italy: *For the Imperialiſts being armed, and ſtrong in* Italy, *as they are, and the counterpoiſe of the French Forces being taken away, who knows not that they will not only poſſeſs the State of* Milan *quietly, but will be Arbitrators of all the affairs of* Italy. *For the prevention whereof, ſince the Forces of all the Italian Princes are not able to make head againſt him, and effectually oppoſe ſo great and formidable a Power,*

There is no other remedy againſt ſo eminent a danger, but to take all occaſion of anger from the Emperour, by ſhowing our ſelves ready and willing, whereby he may be the more induced to eſtabliſh peace. But if we ſhould be otherwiſe minded, it is not theſe reaſons only which perſwades us to continue our confederacy with Ceſar, *but even neceſſity does force us ſo to do. For, for us only to follow this advice, and to unheard our ſelves from the other Potentates of* Italy, *in the defence of common liberty, would be to take too great a weight upon us, with no ſmall danger: For I know not what grounds we can have to rely upon the other Princes of* Italy. *The Pope is immoderately fearful, inconſtant, irreſolute in his Counſels, low in moneys, and ready to repoſe his ſafety rather in the reverence which is born unto his perſon, and in the reſpect which is to be had unto the Church, then in his own forces, or thoſe of his confederates; The Florentines muſt do as he doth: The Duke of* Ferara, *fearing to be bereft of the City of* Modena *by the Pope, and of* Reggio, *is ready to ſide with any body, and come what will come, to cloſe with the moſt powerful, to ſave his owne ſtake: And the other leſſer Potentates, not thinking that they depend upon the Authority of any others; ſo as they may by any means, preſerve themſelves will ſide with the Conquerour. But on the other ſide, if we ſhall continue our League made with* Ceſar, *and that the French get the upper hand in this War; we are not to fear the like dangers, for our Counſels, and Actions, will be much excuſed by the tye of our League with* Ceſar, *which is very well known to the French; and which they know it was neceſſity which forced us to no free will; nor was it without ſome fault of theirs, by reaſon of their ſlowneſs in making neceſſary proviſions for maintaining War againſt* Ceſar. *Moreover, as we being mindful of the friendſhip which for theſe many years we have had with them, thoſe reſpects and dangers being over, ſhall willingly joyn with them; ſo it is to be believed that they will have the like inclination; which clearly ſhewn by their Kings having ſo often and ſo fervently preſs'd us to cloſe again with him, and to renue our ancient friendſhip, and confederacy. But that which may better witneſs his will thereunto, is his owne intereſt, which will alwaies eaſily perſwade him, to indeavour our friendſhip, and to put an eſteem upon it; either to keep what he hath gotten, or to make further acquiſitions in* Italy: *For he ſhall happen to drive the Spaniards out of the State of* Milan, *he will not notwithſtanding, have driven them out of all* Italy: *Nay, as long as the Spaniards poſſeſs the Kingdom of* Naples, *ſo Noble and ſo Principal a place, the French will ſtill have new ſuſpitions of their Forces, and new deſires to poſſeſs themſelves of that Kingdom; to the which they pretend as well as to the State of* Milan: *Wherein our Forces, and our aſſiſtants will be too uſeful for them to make them diſpiſe us or to refuſe our friendſhip. By all theſe reaſons it clearly appears, that come what will come, we may more eaſily make friendſhip with the French, then with the Spaniard. Therefore, my opinion is, that whilſt things are in this doubtfulneſs, and ſuſpention, and the event of War ſo uncertain, we make not too much haſt to have that with danger, which we may ſoon after hope to have with more honour, and ſafety, when there ſhall be a fitter occaſion to treat: For the preſent, we may doe better to temporize, and put our ſelves*

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as little as we can out of our own power; neither to agree with the French, nor totally to ſatisfie the Imperialiſts, but to wait the advantage of time: for a few days will ſhew us what we had beſt to do, for the ſafety of our Commonwealth, and for the Liberty of Italy.

Cornaro was willingly liſtned unto, and his wiſe counſel much commended: But to the contrary of his opinion, *Dominico Triviſan*, Procurator, and a Senator of great authority, ſpoke thus.

Our Commonwealth is at the preſent in ſuch a condition, both in reſpect of the potent Princes, who ſet all their thoughts, and bend all their Forces upon Italy; *and in reſpect of our own low and weak condition, by reaſon of long Wars, ſuch expences, ſo many, and ſo grievous misfortunes, for ſo many years, as we are neceſſitated to accommodate our ſelves to the times, and to change often our opinions, our thoughts, our friends, and our enemies, to be jealous of all Powers, to fear much, to be but little confident, and vigilantly obſerving other mens ways, to govern our ſelves accordingly; having amidſt this Inconſtancy, a conſtant, and firm object in all our actions, to wit, the ſafety of our State, and the flouriſhing of our Commonwealth: By doing thus, we have freed our Commonwealth from many calamities, whereinto ſhe was fallen of late years: By the like we may ſtill preſerve her, and bring her at laſt into a quiet condition. We have for many years paſt followed the friendſhip of the French, and therein made tryal both of proſperous and adverſe fortune; but in theſe laſt days, finding that the King of* France *neglected the affairs of* Italy, *and that the burden of the War whereinto we entred to ſerve him, lay upon us, we were forced to cloſe with* Cæſar, *to provide in time for our own ſafety. When we were joyned with the Imperialiſts, we were not wanting in our duties; but by the aſſiſtance of our forces, and of our Armies, the Admiral was driven out of* Italy, *and the Dukedome of* Milan *ſecured: But if the Imperialiſts have drawn the King of* France *his forces again into* Italy, *by provoking him, and by aſſaulting him in his own Dominions, and that through their negligence, and by their not having provided time enough for the affairs of War, they have left the way open and eaſie for a new Invaſion into the Dukedom of* Milan, *Are we to make good their faults, or to ſupply their Omiſſions? He who ſhall conſider all things aright, will always think, that the French firſt, and now the Spaniard, have rather been wanting both to themſelves and us, then we to any of them: But ſuch conſiderations are more eſteemed of, by reaſon of a certain inſtitution of this State, of preſerving their Word and Honeſty, then out of the ordinary reaſon of State uſed now adays by Princes; who meaſure all things by their own peculiar Intereſts. Let us then conſider according to this true rule, what we are now to do; Whether (as the preſent condition of affairs ſtand, we may hope for greater ſecurity, peace, and quiet, by the King of* France *his friendſhip, or by the Emperors. We have always conſtantly held, that the chief means to preſerve our Commonwealth, and the Liberty of* Italy, *in theſe miſerable times whereinto we are fallen, is to keep theſe two potent Princes powers equally counterpoiſed, that, of the Moſt Chriſtian King,* Francis; *and that, of* Charls *the Emperour. And that to endeavour that both of them may have ſome footing in* Italy, *ſince the power, forces,*

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and intelligence of the Italian Princes is not able to drive them both out, is a good and wholeſome advice: So as that there may be continual emulations, ſuſpitions, and jealouſies between them. This it is that makes them put an high eſteem upon the Friendſhip of the Common-wealth, and indeavour it by all meanes: For he who can joyn with us, gets the better of the other, is more certain to keep what he hath, and confides more in getting what he deſires. If we then ſhall continue in League with Ceſar, *and ſhall by our Forces make his weakneſs good; and when his Armies ſhall be grown ſtronger, and we joyning with them, we ſhall indeavour to drive King* Francis *out of* Italy, *(as lately befell his Commanders, and his Army) are we not aware that we doe hereby draw great miſchief upon our ſelves, and put all* Italy *under the Spaniſh yoake; and by confirming them in the greateſt part thereof, make way for their immoderate ambition to become Maſters of the reſt. The French, if all theſe their ſo great Forces ſhall prove vaine, will diſpaire of ever doing good in* Italy; *they will turne their Weapons, and their thoughts elſewhere, eſpecialy when they ſhall ſee that all Italian Princes grow obdurate againſt them; it will be then too late to have recourſe to them for help againſt ſo emminent ſlavery, or to curbe the Spaniards inſolency; for all that is ſaid by him who is of a contrary opinion, makes much for what I ſay: Since the greater* Ceſar's *power grows, the more need have we to withſtand it betimes, by indeavouring to moderate it, and by not permitting, that, through our idleneſs, or (as ſome would have it) through our aſſiſtance, it grow more formidable. But if it be good for us at the preſent, neither to aſſiſt the Imperialiſts, as we are bound by our League to doe, nor yet to joyne in new confederacy with the French; we muſt conſider on the contrary, that this our ſlowneſs may produce the ſame effect, as our total alienation from the King of France would doe; for by prolonging the War, the end thereof will be alwaies doubtful: Which may the more eaſily happen, for that we are certaine the power of the Imperialiſts will encreaſe very much, who finding themſelves at the preſent inferiour in Forces to the French, we may aſſure our ſelves, that when they ſhall know that our Forces, wherein they do not a little truſt, ſhall be turn'd againſt them, they will come to ſome agreement, and will yeild up the poſſeſſion of the Dukedom of* Milan; *which is already in part loſt, and ſo the War will be ended, and greater dangers for a time ſecured: So as by our ſpeedy reſolution the ſole name and reputation of our friendſhip may be of more advantage to the French, and in my opinion, conſequently to our ſelves, then our whole Forces will be able to doe at another time, if we do not retard our reſolution. And if we ſhall forbear reſolving any thing, to the end that in ſo great a ſuſpenſion and doubt of Affairs, we may be the better adviſed, and ſtay till we ſee an end of the War, or at leaſt which way it is likely to leane, to the end that we may ſerve the time, and accomodate our ſelves to the fortune of the Conquerour; I am confident we ſhall be no leſs deceived therein; nay it may be our neutrallity will be ſo much the more pernicious, for that we are ſecure on neither ſide, and come what will come, we are expos'd to the diſcretion of the Conquerour. For it is not to be hoped that* Ceſar *ſeeing himſelf abandoned by us at his greateſt need, will bear us any reſpect when he ſhall be at the higheſt pitch of his proſperity: Nor that King* Francis, *who hath ſo oft in vain ſought our friendſhip, when his fortune, though*

though favourable, was yet doubtful, will have us for his Friends and Confederates, when he ſhall be totally Victor, and free from the fear of his Enemies: It is then the beſt courſe by much, to ſide early with thoſe, whom we may promiſe our ſelves we may make uſe of, as our trueſt friends and neighbours, who can moſt opportunely aſſiſt us in our affairs, and who we have reaſon to believe, will in this great action bear away the victory; and theſe are doubtleſſy the French, with whom we have been joyn'd in Amity for theſe many years, between whom and us there hath paſt ſo many friendly offices, and reciprocal good will, who have the ſame affections, reſpects, and ends that we have, to allay Ceſar's *immoderate greatneſs. I am of opinion, that we ought to carry our ſelves much otherwiſe in theſe affairs, then he adviſed, who ſpoke laſt; for it is often ſeen, that greateſt hatreds and enmities falls out amongſt thoſe, who have been neareſt joyn'd in affection and love, which uſually happens, becauſe the omiſſions of a friend, who is tyed by many obligations to another, is held to be greater, then thoſe of a ſtranger would be; wherefore if we, who have ſo many ties of obligation to the King of* France, *ſhall defraud his hopes, and interrupt his deſigns, by ſeparating our ſelves from him, I know not how we can hope, if we let ſlip this occaſion, to regain his favour; and though his own Intereſts may perſwade him to embrace our friendſhip, yet we muſt think that Princes are but men, and ſubject to like affections as other men are, nay more then others, becauſe they may the more eaſily ſatisfie their appetite. Anger therefore conceived by the King againſt us, may be of greater force, then any reaſon which ſhould perſwade him to the contrary: But that which more imports our preſent Reſolves, is, we ſee that Fortune favours the French very much, and is ready to ſettle them in full poſſeſſion of the Dukedome of* Milan, *the King himſelf is in* Italy *with a powerful Army, to the very fame whereof, as many Cities have already yeilded, ſo muſt* Pavia *quickly do to its Forces, and whatſoever elſe the Imperialiſts hold in this State. Moreover, the Duke of* Albeny *is ready to paſs with a great many men into the Kingdom of* Naples, *to moleſt the Imperialiſts alſo in thoſe parts, who to ſuccour it, will be forc'd to divide their men, and be the leſs able to defend the State of* Milan: *I ſee not therefore upon what foundation he grounded his judgement, who ſought on the contrary, to ſhew that* Pavia *may be maintained, and that the French Army will ſoon disband. We know by the laſt adviſes, that that City is brought into great ſtraits of all things, and that the Dutch Foot, who were at firſt ſo ready to defend it, being now oppreſs'd by many ſufferings, and not ſatisfied for their want of pay, do daylie raiſe ſuch tumults, as they make their Commanders deſpair of any good ſucceſs; the Vicerey and Duke of* Bourbon *confeſs, that unleſs* Pavia *be relieved within a few days, it muſt be loſt, and then withal, the whole Dukedom of* Milan: *And what hopes can there be of relieving a City inviron'd with ſo great and ſo valiant an Army, there being but few men in it, and failing of its expected ſuccour. I therefore think, that it may be feared with reaſon, that the Imperialiſts deſpairing to be able to defend the State of* Milan, *will make uſe of all their forces in the Kingdom of* Naples, *and the whole burthen of the War will reſt upon us, if we do not early ſtave off this danger: And certainly, it is too ſtrait a precinct wherein he thought to ſave himſelf, and whereinto to reduce our hopes, who diſſwade us from friendſhip with the French, and ſlight this ſafer receptacle, affirming that the*

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Kings Army will diſband of its ſelf, and will be ruin'd by its own diſorders. On the contrary, me-thinks that nothing hath been attempted of many late years by the French Nation in Italy, *which hath a fairer aſpect of conſtant will, and of aſſured ſucceſs, then this preſent buſineſs, wherein the King ſeems to be very fervent, wherein the whole glory, and warlike honour of that Nation is concern'd, there being therein the better ſort of people, and the moſt cryed up Commanders that* France *hath; and it being aſſuredly known, that if their ſo great Forces prove vain this time, the Crown of* France *muſt for ever give over whatſoever it pretends unto in* Italy, *and much to its ſhame, and to its greateſt diſhonour, tolerate* Ceſar's *ſo vaſt greatneſs, and the like of the Spaniſh Nation, which is very odious to them. Whence it may be probably argued, that the French will be very conſtant in their proſecuting this Siege of* Pavia, *and that finally, they muſt have the better of the whole war, the end whereof, as it becomes the wiſdom of this State to foreſee, ſo it becomes us in like wiſdom to provide early againſt thoſe evils into which our State may by ſuch accidents fall, and to make uſe of thoſe means, which God of his Divine grace, hath offered us, by ſuddenly concluding a Confederacy with the moſt Chriſtian King, which hath been offered us by him himſelf, and propounded unto us.*

Theſe words of *Treviſano* wrought very much upon the auditory; and his reaſons, together with the inclination which the Venetians have commonly had to *France*, in memory of their long friendſhip with that Nation, did at laſt prevail; but they were no leſs perſwaded thereunto, by the fear which they had, on the one ſide, of the preſent danger of the French, and on the other ſide, of *Ceſars* future ambition. Peace was then eſtabliſh'd and concluded with the French, by means of Embaſſadours at *Rome*; and was afterwards confirmed in *Venice*, in the beginning of *January*, the year 1525.

It was ſaid in the preamble thereof, *That Pope* Clement, *from the very beginning of his Popedom, had alwaies had peace between Chriſtian Princes, for his principal object, but that he could not effect this his deſire before now, by reaſon of divers impediments and difficulties; that the preſent condition of times would not permit the deferring of laying the groundwork of univerſal Peace, by accomodating the affairs of* Italy; *wherefore his Holineſs, and the Venetian Senate, knowing that the moſt Chriſtian King was well enclined to the quiet and ſafety of* Italy, *long vexed with perpetual war, which drew on alſo other wars, were come to agreement with the ſaid King, not to offend one another, nor to aſſiſt or favour either others enemies; whereby ſome hopes of Peace was commenc'd: and moreover, the Venetians agreed to renew their former interrupted confederacy with the King; but with a particular condition, of not being bound to aſſiſt him in this preſent buſineſs.*

Theſe things being privately concluded, the Senate excuſing themſelves for not making their men advance, anſwered the Emperour's Agents, who ſtill preſt for a reſolution, That they could not diſobey the Pope; the rather, for that it was hoped, Peace would enſue thereupon; whereof the Pope, with *Ceſar*'s conſent, had begun to Treat: they therefore would not interrupt it, by fomenting the War, or occaſioning the prolongation thereof.

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The agreement being thus eſtabliſhed, the King ſent Monſieur *di Ron Cafore*, to congratulate the concluded League, and to teſtifie his continual good will towards the Commonwealth; though through the malignity of times, and through various accidents, their friendſhips had been interrupted. He exhorted the Senate not to truſt the Imperialiſts, and promiſed that he would never forego the Commonwealths friendſhip. He afterwards deſired, that this League which was privately concluded, ſhould be preſently publiſhed: wherein he found the Venetians of the ſame opinion; thinking it would be a means, that when the Imperialiſts ſhould know thoſe Forces were now againſt them, which they hoped would have helped them, to make them quit the poſſeſſion of that Dukedom, which they knew they could not keep, and ſo come to ſome agreement: whereas on the contrary, nouriſhing themſelves with hope of being aſſiſted by the *Venetians*, they would continue making proviſion for war, and growing in time ſtronger, it would be harder to come to any agreement afterwards.

But the Pope adviſed the contrary, alledging, That it was fit this confederacy ſhould be kept ſecret, to the end, of reducing the Imperialiſts to greater neceſſity and danger; which they would be, when the *French* ſhould be paſt over the *Po*, as they ſaid they would do, promiſing that they would paſs back again, whenſoever the Pope ſhould pleaſe; but he was forc'd almoſt to diſcover it, being to grant paſſage to the Duke of *Albenyes* men, who was ſent (as hath been ſaid) by the King of *France*, into the Kingdom of *Naples*. Wherefore the Pope ſeeming as if the Duke had violently uſurped licence to paſs with his men thorow the State of the Church, and *Tuſcany*, and that he was wholly minded to ſtand a Neuter, and to endeavour a general Peace: He began to proceed with proteſtations, admoniſhing both the Princes to lay down Arms, and to put whatſoever either of them was poſſeſſed of in the State of *Milan*, into his hands, that ſo they might come to make a firm Peace; wherefore the Imperialiſts growing jealous that the Pope had agreed ſecretly with the King of *France*, as indeed he had, and might ſeek to bring over the Venetians alſo to the French party, they offered the Senate to refer the inveſting of *Franciſco Sforza* to them, and the pitching upon what ſum of money the Duke ſhould pay unto the Imperialiſts for it: which the Venetians refuſed to do, ſaying, That ſuch a deciſion did not belong unto them, but to the Pope.

There were many things which paſt at the ſame time between the Imperialiſts and the King of *England*, to move him to make War the next year againſt the King of *France*; to the which purpoſe, the Cavalier *Caſſal* was come to the Imperial Camp; which made the Imperialiſts more fervent in their own defence; for that they hoped, the King of *France* being moleſted in his own Kingdoms, might be forced to paſs ſpeedily back again over the mountains, to defend his own affairs; the convention made between him, and the Pope, and the Venetians, being not yet publiſhed. For the news being confirmed of great preparations made by the King of *England*, which was thought would make the French turn their forces elſewhere, the Ver-

netians did not much minde the divulging of it. But the event of the buſineſs of *Lombardy*, and of all thoſe councels, was finally to depend upon the ſucceſs of *Pavia*, the Siege whereof continued longer then was expected, whereat the Pope and the Venetians were exceedingly troubled; not ſo much for that the length thereof did much defacilitate the good end of the buſineſs, as that they feared, the French Commanders, impatient of ſo long delay, might perſwade the King to come to a day of Battel with the Enemy; whereby, together with that Army, the ſafety of their States, and of the Liberty of all *Italy*, would be put to the arbitriment of Fortune; and *Italy* having no other means of making oppoſition, would be left in prey to the Imperialiſts, if they ſhould prove victorious. Whereat the Venetian Senate being troubled, they did very much ſolicite *Ronchfaucora*, laying before him, that the intereſt of the Confederates, and the Kings own ſafety and glory, and victory, did wholly conſiſt, not in hazarding any thing, but in making good uſe of time, and of his enemies diſorders and wants. The like deſires the Pope made likewiſe known to *Alberto da Carpi*, Embaſſadour at *Rome*, and did alſo ſend an expreſs meſſenger with the ſame deſires to the Camp: But all theſe endeavours did but little good, the King ſhewing himſelf every day more and more reſolved not to riſe from before *Pavia*; but rather, if the Enemy ſhould draw nearer, come unto a Battel; whereby he was unneceſſitated to hazard his own fortune, and the like of his confederates, which were all expoſed to danger. Wherefore the Pope, the Venetians, and Florentines, reſolved to joyn in a defenſive League, for the preſervation of their own States; being to this purpoſe to take ten thouſand Switzers into pay, upon the common expence, and each of them to encreaſe their own forces as much as they could: which things whilſt they were ſlowly, and with various reſolutions diſcuſs'd, the rout of the French Army enſued, together with the death of many of the chief Lords of the Kingdom, and the impriſonment of the Kings own perſon. The Cæſarians were come from *Lodi* to relieve *Pavia*, which was reduced to a great ſcarcity of all things, they being gotten to be ſtrong enough, and for Foot, almoſt equal to the French Army, though far inferiour to them in Horſe, and drawing near to the French Camp, they forced the King either to ſuffer them to relieve *Pavia*, or to come to a day of Battel, the thing which they deſired, that they might put their deſperate affairs to the utmoſt tryal; and fortune favouring their forwardneſs, they had the opportunity of aſſaulting the King in the Park, where he, contrary to the opinion of his beſt experienced Commanders, would needs ſtay: So as the French, not being able to come into the field till it was too late, nor to make uſe of their Horſe, wherein they did exceed the enemy, the whole Army was routed and put to flight, and the King taken Priſoner, Monſieur *d'Alanſon* only eſcaping with the Reer.

This ſo great and ſignall Victory gotten by the Imperialiſts againſt the *French*, was cauſe of much trouble to the *Venetians*, knowing that a heavy load lay upon them; for the Counterpoiſe of the *French* failing, and all the other Princes of *Italy* being weak, and full of Terrour, by reaſon of this ſo mighty ſucceſs, they were, almoſt of them-

themſelves alone, to defend the liberty of *Italy*, againſt the power of *Ceſar*, which was increaſed greatly by this, his late good fortune; nor could they hope, that he would contain his Forces within the Confines of the State of *Milan*; it was rather to be believed, that his Army, purſuing the victory, would enter into the neighbouring States; whereunto, their being ſo unprovided to make any ſtout reſiſtance, might very well invite the Imperial commanders. The *Venetian* Forces were onely of ſome conſideration: for they had 1000 Curaſſiers, 600 Light-horſe, and 10000 foot; they therefore reſolved to make uſe of theſe forces, and to increaſe them, and to exhort the reſt of the Princes of *Italy* to do the like, and to arm themſelves ſo ſtrongly as they could. But their chief ſtudy, and care, was to joyn themſelves with the Pope, for they believed, that all the Potentates of *Italy* would finally depend upon his Authority, and that there might be thereby ſome hopes of good. They therefore ſolicited the Pope often; *Shewing him into what great dangers* Italy *was brought; which, if they ſhould not receive ſome ſudden, and powerfull remedy, they would increaſe ſo faſt, as all labour, and induſtry, and expence to prevent eminent ruine would be in vain: That* Ceſar's *actions did clearly ſhew what his thoughts and intentions were; ſince he had not aſſigned over the Dukedome of* Milan *to* Franciſco Sforza, *as by his Confederacy he was bound to do; but, that having defeated the French Army, ſo as there was now no more fear of any enemy; he did notwithſtanding keep his ſouldiers ſtill in that State, placed Garriſons in the Cities, and would have all things done by his authority, and in his name; and that certainly* Ceſar *had ſo fair a way opened unto him, of making himſelf maſter of* Italy (*if the* Italians *would ſtand idle, and leave their affairs to the diſcretion of others*) *as one that were never ſo moderate, having ſo fair an occaſion, could not abſtain from turning his thoughts, and Forces upon the taking of Territories ſo ill defended: and that, in ſuch a caſe the State belonging to the Church would be no freer from offence, then the like of their Commonwealth; but would rather be in more danger, becauſe her weakneſs did the more expoſe her to injuries. Nor did ſuch thoughts and actions as theſe want ſeveral appearances of a fair collour far war; Chiefly by reaſon of the League made by the Pope with the* French; *which being come to the knowledg of the Imperialiſts, they ſeemed to be more troubled thereat; becauſe it was made contrary to their opinion or ſenſe: they put him in mind that it became not a wiſe Prince to think upon giving ſatisfaction, when he was able to take up armes, and to depend upon himſelf, and his own Forces: and that truly the moſt expert men thought it a more eaſie thing, for the* Italian *Princes to joyn together, and being joyned, to defend themſelves againſt the Emperours Forces, if the Pope would declare himſelf to be head and author of ſuch an Union; For the* Florentines *were alwayes at his command, and had now particularly ſignified their will and readineſs to defend themſelves, by* Franceſco Vettori, *whom they had ſent to* Rome, *to that purpoſe, thereby to invite him, to take upon him the common defence: That the Duke of* Ferrara *would be ready to do the like, in conſideration of his own State, and to free himſelf from the contumacy which he was run into with the Church, whereof he had already given ſufficient ſignes, he having ſent an expreſs meſſenger to* Rome, *preſently after the defeat of*

the French, *to offer the Pope* 250 *Curaßiers,* 400 *Light-horſe, and all his other Forces, for the defence of the Apoſtolick Sea; and for the welfare of* Italy: *That the other leſſer Princes could not, nor would not ſever themſelves from the authority, and from joyning with the forenamed; with whoſe joint forces the Duke of* Urbane *did promiſe to defend all their States: That it was to be conſidered, the* Ceſarians *wanted money, and that the ſouldiers, chiefly the* Dutch, *being much behinde hand for pay, were readier to mutinie, and to return home, then to fall upon any other Enterpriſe, without being paid their Arrears: That the State of* Milan *was totally exhauſted, and unpeopled: That the name of a* Spanyard *was now more then ever odious unto them, by reaſon of their many extortions: and ſince they now found themſelves deceived in their hopes, wherein they were a while nouriſhed, of having a natural Prince of their own: That the Emperour's Army was already much diminiſhed: and to conclude, That part of his men were ſent from* Lombardy, *to reſiſt the Duke of* Albany.

Theſe things, though they were very punctually repreſented by the *Venetians*, and diligently liſtned unto by the Pope, yet were they not able to infuſe any hope into him; or to keep him from precipitating into an agreement, and from thinking of ſecuring his affairs, rather unworthily, by receiving any, whatſoever condition, from the Conquerours, then by his own forces, and by the aid of other Princes, and Confederates: ſo as without ſo much as expecting *Ceſar*'s will, or any orders from him, he had begun new Treaties with the Viceroy; being hereunto induced by an immoderate fear, that the Emperours army ſhould be neceſſitated to paſs thorough the ſtate of the Church, or elſe thorough *Tuſcany*, and to bring either the one, or the other, and peradventure both of them into great trouble and danger. The Viceroy liſtned willingly to the Treaty of agreement promoted by the Pope; knowing that peace and union with him did greatly concern confirming the Victory, and freeing the Army of many neceſſities which it then ſuffered under; whoſe Authority being, as he believed, to be followed by the other Princes of *Italy*, the State that was won would be ſecured for the future from the *French* Forces; who could not hope to do any good in *Italy*, without the aſſiſtance of ſome *Italian* Prince: Theſe conſiderations being diſcovered by the *Venetians*, who knew, that ſuch a ſecurity would at laſt cauſe more danger to them, and could not notwithſtanding keep the Pope from making this Agreement; they proceeded ſlowly in their Councels, not making the Imperialiſts diſpair, nor yet joyning in any ſtreighter friendſhip, or confederacy with them: but they perſwaded the Pope, that, to the end he might be provided for all events, in caſe the agreement ſhould not be made good, he ſhould forthwith ſend Monſignor *Verulano*, who was long before deſtin'd thether, into *Switzerland*, to make 4000 *Switzers* come in preſently to the defence of the Liberty of *Italy*, the nation being greatly ambitious of the name of Liberty; and that he ſhould, with the like diligence, diſpatch away a Nuntio to *England*, whether the Common-wealth would at the ſame time, ſend *Lorenzo Orio*, whom they had choſen for their Embaſſadour, to negotiate with the King thereof, who was in great eſteem with all men,

men, and who was then Moderator in the weightieſt affairs of Princes, touching preventing *Italy* from the eminent dangers, threatned her by *Ceſar*'s greatneſs: wherein they hoped to finde that King the readier, becauſe it was very like, that ſuch a Victory would purchaſe *Charles* much envie, and might alienate the minde of *Henry* more from him; who, being haughty and ambitious, would unwillingly ſee him ſo eminent above all others, and to become Lord of *Italy*. Yet the *Venetians*, finding the Pope ſtill inclined to accord with the Imperialiſts; they, as reſolving not to part wholly from his courſes, began to think upon ſome conditions: and therefore, the Viceroy having ſent *Jovian Sermento* to *Venice*, to give them an account of the victory, they treated very civilly with him, ſeeming to bear good will to *Ceſar*'s and ordered *Lorenzo Priuly*, and *Andrea Navagiero* (who being formerly deſtined to be ſent to *Charles*, had by publick directions tarried at *Genua*) to purſue their journey, and go to *Spain*, to congratulate with him, for the Victory which he had wonne, and to excuſe their ſlowneſs in ſending their men to his Camp.

But *Charles*, when he had received the news of his Armies ſo proſperous ſucceſs, though he did inwardly rejoice, being inflamed with a deſire of glory, and Empire, and hoped for better things, yet ſhewing great moderation in his words, and outward appearance, he ſaid, he would) as it became him to do, uſe this ſignal favour, which God had been pleaſed to beſtow upon him, to the ſervice of Chriſtendome, and to univerſall agreement. Wherefore he ſent the Duke of *Seſſa*, not long after, to the Pope, to proffer him peace, and to aſſure him, that he very much deſired the Peace and Tranquillity of *Italy*. He made the like be done to the *Venetian* Senate by his Embaſſadour *Alfonſo Sances*, and by his Secretary *Caracciolo*, who was not as yet gone from *Venice*. But the more the *Ceſareans* ſeemed to deſire Peace and League with the *Italian* Potentates, at a time when they might rather expect to be deſired, then to deſire others, they gave the more ſuſpition, that their ſecret thoughts were pernitious to the Liberty of *Italy*. The *Venetians* did therefore temporize; neither concluding nor excluding theſe Treaties; and this the rather, becauſe Propoſitions made unto them by the *French* cauſed them to ſuſpend their judgements; *Gaſparo Lermano* being come, at the ſame time, to *Venice*, being ſent thither by the King's Mother, who was then Queen Regent of *France*: who ſhewing, "That the "Kingdome feared no offences, that it had forces ſufficient and ready "enough to be imploy'd in the recovery of their King, deſired the "Senate, that they would not abandon ſo glorious a cauſe, and ſo "advantagious for their Commonwealth, but that they would joyn "with the Lords of *France* to ſet her Son at liberty, by force of Arms, "whereby the ſafety and liberty of *Italy* would likewiſe be had.

To which deſires the Senate, ſhewing firſt the great reſentment they had of the Kings misfortune, and that they wiſh'd very well to the honour and welfare of the Crown of *France*, did not as yet give any poſitive anſwer, but reply'd only that the weightineſs of the propoſition, required time and adviſedneſs to ground any ſolid reſolution thereon. But in the mean while, the Pope, who had ſent the

Archbiſhop

Archbiſhop of *Capua* to that purpoſe to *Spain*, ratified the agreement which was formerly made with the Viceroy; including the Senate of *Venice* if they would declare their conſent thereunto within twenty days. Wherefore the Senate was almoſt neceſſitated to diſpatch the treaty by many, though unreſolved endeavours with the Emperours Embaſſadours; and that they might accommodate the moſt important buſineſſes (for ſome others remained undecided) *Pietro Peſaro* was ſent to *Milan* to negotiate with the Viceroy. But the French did not for all this forbear preſſing their deſires, not having altogether quitted their hopes of making the Venetians joyn with them, though the Popes authority and advice had as then drawn them to be of a contrary opinion. They therefore ſent the Biſhop of *Baioſa* to *Venice*, and *Ambrogio da Fiorenza*, who in the name of the Queen Regent, and of the whole Kingdom, did upon more mature advice, make better grounded propoſals then the firſt were touching the League, and freedom of the King; in which reſpect, but much more becauſe every day new and clearer ſigns were diſcovered of *Ceſars* ambition, and of his Counſellours deſigns which were all bent to make him abſolute Maſter of *Milan*, and to put a yoke upon *Italy*, the French Embaſſadours had attentive audience given them in the Colledge, and the buſineſs was taken into new conſideration, and put into a way of Treaty. At this time the Marquis of *Peſcara* was come into *Milan* with 3000 Foot, 200 Curaſſiers, and a good number of light Horſe, and had deſired the Duke that he would cauſe the Caſtle of *Milan*, together with the like of *Cremona*, to be delivered up unto him; publiquely affirming that he was ſent by *Ceſar* to take poſſeſſion of *Milan*, in whoſe name all exactions, expeditions, and the whole adminiſtration of Government was made; and he endeavour'd to make all the Cities ſwear Fealty unto him: Wherein though the Pope did appear very much, in ſtriving to make *Ceſar* keep his articles of confederacy, and aſſign over the State of *Milan* to Duke *Franciſco Sforza*; yet it did no good; ſometimes one reaſon, ſometimes another, being alledged for the delay thereof; and amongſt the reſt, that he had treated of delivering up the Caſtle of *Milan* to the Venetians: A thing which was never ſo much as thought upon, much leſs negotiated by any of the parties.

Theſe things did alienate the minds of the Venetians from the Emperour dayly more and more, and increaſed their jealouſies, and made them not adhibite faith to what *Gaſpero Contarino*, who was their Embaſſadour with *Ceſar*, did inform them of, being made to do ſo by him; that *Ceſars* mind ſtood well affected to the quiet of *Italy*, and to a general peace. Therefore the Venetians ſeeking out an occaſion to break off the treaty of agreement, propoſed divers difficulties, the chief whereof was, that the Duke of *Milan* being one of the principal Contractors, the League could not be well concluded, if it were not firſt known what was to become of him, and of his State. The diſpatch whereof was thought to be cunningly delayed; which made them believe, that theſe calumnies were forged, which were laid upon *Sforza*, thereby to bereave him of his State, with an intention to keep it, though large promiſes were made that

it

it ſhould be given to the Duke of *Bourbone*, or to any other that the Collegues ſhould like of. The Pope likewiſe beginning to diſcovet theſe artificial proceedings of the Imperialiſts, did no longer believe any thing they ſaid: Wherefore to proceed ſpeedily againſt the common danger, he reſolved to joyn in a good and ſtrict intelligence with the Venetians quickly, ſince there would be ſome difficulties in concluding the French in the League, which would cauſe longer delay, a thing very prejudicial to the preſent buſineſs. The agreement was then concluded by the Pope on the one ſide, who ingaged himſelf for the Church, and for the Republique of *Florence*; and on the other ſide by the Duke and Senate of *Venice*. By which agreement it was ſaid,

That theſe Potentates did joyn together to avoid the eminent dangers, as they had been taught by the experience of times paſt, and to lay more ſolid foundations for the quiet and ſafety of Italy; *and for their own particular States: That each Prince ſhould take upon him the protection of the other Princes States and perſons; that all the Confederates ſhould run the ſame fortune; that not any one of them ſhould treat with any other Princes in any thing which might be repugnant hereunto; that they ſhould ſuccour each other with* 4000 *Foot*, 400 *Curaſſiers*, 300 *Light Horſe*, *and with greater numbers alſo, according as their ſeveral needs ſhould require. Hereunto was added, that the Venetians ſhould be bound to protect the greatneſs of the* Medici, *and ſuppreſs ſuch commotions as ſhould be raiſed againſt them by any ſeditious Citizens; and particularly, to favour, and aſſiſt whoſoever the Pope ſhould place in the City of* Florence *as head of that Government.*

Theſe things being thus accommodated, the Pope beginning now to be more ſenſible of that true fear, which he ſlighted before, gave ſtraightways order to the Marquis of *Mantua*, that he ſhould go with the Curaſſiers into the parts about *Parma*, and was very diligent in continuing the Treaty of bringing the Griſone Foot, and the Switzers, which being formerly begun was but ſlowly proſecuted: And on the other ſide, the Venetians reſolved to increaſe their Army, to the number of 10000 Foot, to raiſe 300 light Horſe more in *Greece*, to bring other Commanders, and to provide for their own ſafeties in every thing; being much encouraged in all this by the King of *England*; who growing jealous of *Ceſars* greatneſs, and perhaps envying his glory, diſcover'd himſelf to be very much diſpleaſed with the ſucceſs at *Pavia*, and with the King of *France* his being made Priſoner; affirming that he was ready to do any thing, whereby to free the King, and to keep *Italy* in ſafety.

The Italian Potentates being thus agreed, there was hopes of eaſie coming to an union with *France*; but the Treaty was proceeded in, in a diverſe manner, and in ſomewhat a diverſity of affection; for the Pope thinking that he had put ſome ſtop to the preſent dangers, by the already made confederacy, and that he might enjoy better conditions from *Ceſar*, and have them better obſerved, proceeded coolly in the agreement with the French; the rather for that ſince the coming of the Duke of *Seſſa* to *Rome*; who was ſent thither by *Charles* to atteſt his deſire of peace, and his willingneſs to reſtore the

Dukedom

Dukedom of *Milan* to *Francisco Sforza*, always provided that he should prove innocent, and if he should be found guilty, he would invest his Brother *Maximillian Sforza* thereinto. But on the contrary the Venetians were very fervent in their endeavours, that they might come to a speedy agreement with the French, fearing lest the Spaniards proffers might tend to no other end, then to break the Treaty of the League, and to slacken the provisions for War: And fearing likewise lest the Queen, by reason of these slow and irresolute counsels of the Italian Princes, witnessing either their no very great good will towards that Kingdom, or their weakness in forces; and that being resolved to do all that she could for the release of her Son, she would at last make some conditions with *Cesar*, with whom some Treaties to this purpose were known to be already begun. Therefore the business with the French proceeded on with some diversity, and uncertainty, not coming to any settled conclusion. The quantity and quality of the forces which the Collegues were to put together for the common service of the League was already agreed upon: To wit 30000 Foot, 4000 Curassiers, and 3000 light Horse, to be imploy'd in such service in *Italy*, as might prove more advantagious. The French were moreover bound to make War with *Cesar* upon the Confines of *Spain*; and other articles were in Treaty, when in the beginning of the year 1526. unexpected News came to *Venice*, That an agreement was made between the Emperour and the King of *France*; whereby the King was to be set at liberty, and peace and good intelligence was to be had between these two Princes, which was to be strengthened by the tye of Matrimony; the King being to marry the Lady *Leonora*, *Cesars* Sister, and *Cesar* to marry the King of *Portugals* Sister; and the Dukedom of *Milan* was to be given to the Duke of *Burbone*, who was likewise to marry the Lady *Renea*, the Kings Neece.

A thing which had been formerly feared, but not now so much as before, for that the Queen did constantly affirm, that she had sent her Embassadour *Alberto Carpi*, who was then at *Rome*, sufficient commission to conclude the League. The Pope and the Venetians were sorely troubled at these tidings, but this their trouble was somewhat mitigated, out of a common opinion that King *Francis* would not observe his articles made with *Cesar*. The which was the rather believed, because it was said, that he was departed very ill satisfied with his Treatment, whilst he was a Prisoner; and much worse with the agreement it self, whereby to purchase his liberty, he was forc'd to put *Charles* into the possession of *Burgony*. To know whether he was really disposed to do thus or no, and to increase this desire in him, the Senate sent *Andrea Rosso*, Secretary to the *Pregadi*, immediately away to *France*, to treat upon this important business; and the Pope taking the like course, sent *Paolo Vittori* thither with the same direction. Nor was it hard to draw the King thereunto, for at the very first speech which he had with these, he complain'd very much of *Cesar*, for having dealt severely with him in all things.

"He said, That he would not be wanting to the welfare and safety of

"of *Italy*, if the Italian Princes would not be wanting unto them-
"ſelves. Which he would quickly witneſs, being ready to joyn
"with them, and to make good whatſoever had been formerly nego-
"tiated, and for the moſt part concluded with the Queen his Mother
"and the Kingdom; that therefore they ſhould exhort their Princes
"to ſend them ſufficient authority there; for they ſhould always
"find him ready and conſtant in this point, and in the ſame mind for
"what concern'd the common good. He ſaid he hoped that the
"King of *England* would be of the like intention, and no leſs deſi-
"rous to abate *Ceſars* greatneſs, and to provide for the defence of
"*Italy*. To whom he would ſpeedily ſend his Embaſſadours, and
"could wiſh the Italian Princes would do the like; for it would help
"the buſineſs very much, that the Emperours deſigns might be op-
"poſed by the full conſent and forces of ſo many Potentates joyn'd
"together.

As ſoon as the Venetians heard theſe things, which were conformable to their wiſhes, they were not ſlow in ſending commiſſions to *Roſſo* to conclude the Leagues; the heads whereof (ſome few things being alter'd) were already framed in the former Treaties. They alſo gave order to Secretary *Gaſparo Spinelli*, who did then negotiate the Affair of the Commonwealth with the King of *England*, *Lorenzo Orio* their Embaſſadour being dead a little before, to be very earneſt with *Henry* to make him enter into the League which was in treaty in *France*; much exalting the eſteem that they put upon his authority, as deſirous to have him for the Preſerver and Protector of this agreement, and for the particular Defender of the Liberty of *Italy*.

But the Pope proceeded ſo ſlowly herein, as they were forced to go more hotly to work with him.

The Venetian Embaſſadour did therefore often lay before him the great opportunity that was now offerd, of providing for the common ſafety, by diſpoſing of the King of France *his mind, who was wholly ſet to revenge himſelf for the injuries which he thought he had received from* Charles. *That if this his indignation ſhould in time grow leſs, and that he ſhould reſolve to keep the Conditions which were agreed upon at* Madrid, *there remained no hope of ever freeing* Italy *from the bitter ſlavery of the Spaniards.*

The Pope having heard theſe things, and being ſomewhat moved thereat, reſolved at laſt, to ſend *Don Capino*, a great confident of his into *France*, with Commiſſion to joyn in the League; though *Don Hugo da Moncada* did at the ſame time labour the contrary, who was ſent by *Ceſar* to *Rome*, to confirm the Pope in his firſt reſolution of joining with him, and to exhort him to contemn all other agreements and offers.

'*Don Hugo* laid before him the weakneſs of the confederates,
'with whom he was in Treaty to joyn; the natural fickleneſs of the
'French, the uncertainty of the Venetian Councels: and on the con-
'trary, he magnified *Ceſar*'s power, his preparation for War, his a-

'bundance of Foot already raiſed in *Iſpruch*, his expectation of 'luſty and opportune ſuccors out of *Germany*, from the Arch-Duke; 'and told him that *Ceſar* propounded peace unto him out of his de'ſire of the univerſal good, and out of his particular reſpect 'un to the Church; not that he did any ways doubt his being able 'to reſiſt ſolely of himſelf all thoſe Potentates that conſpired 'againſt him, being likewiſe confident to make them alter their 'purpoſes.

Don Hugo ſignified almoſt the ſame by Letters to the Senate of *Venice*, whom he acquainted with his being come into *Italy* as ſoon as he arrived at *Milan*; and with the reaſon why *Ceſar* had ſent him thither.

But to all theſe preſſures, he received the like anſwers, both from the Pope, and from the Venetians.

'That when *Ceſar* ſhould have a minde diſpoſed to peace, as by 'his words he ſeemed to have, he ſhould find the like diſpoſition, and 'reciprocal will in them: But that they deſired this might be witneſſ'ed by ſome real effects which they would be readier to beleive; and 'to this purpoſe, that he would cauſe the Siege to be raiſed from before 'the Caſtle of *Milan*; that he would reſtore the State thereof to *Fran'ciſco Sforza*, that he would obſerve what by his capitulations he 'was bound to do, and that he ſhould then ſpeak of laying down 'of Armes, and of reſtoring peace and tranquillity to *Italy*.

No anſwer was made to all this but in general tearms, and actions to the contrary did ſtill continue: Whence it might be clearly comprehended that the treaty of Peace was made uſe of to no other end but to keep back the preparations for War, and by theſe jealouſies and tricks to alienate the French from the Italian Princes. And this began to have ſome effect according as was deſired; for the buſineſs of the League began to cool very much in *France*; either for that the King did not much confide in the Pope nor the Venetians, thinking that they might be wrought upon by *Ugo*, all whoſe endeavours were communicated to him; or elſe (as ſome others believed) becauſe being only intent upon the redemption of his Sons whom he had left with *Ceſar* for Hoſtages, and to compoſe the buſineſs of *Burgundy* with ſome other recompence, he might make uſe of the name and of the reputation of the League, to make the more eaſie agreement; and not for that he had really any more mind to meddle with the affairs of *Italy*, which he had ſo often and ſtill ſo unfortunately attempted; or that he did any ways take the Intereſts of the Italian Princes into his conſideration: Inſomuch as his Embaſſadour, the Biſhop of *Bayoſa*, who was ſent by him to *Venice* for that intent, was there a whole moneth without hearing any one word from the King; neither of his reſolution touching the League, nor of any forces which he ſhould prepare to effect the things agreed upon. Others conceived this ſlowneſs of the French proceeded from ſome other deſigns of theirs, to wit, to reduce the Confederates (to whom every little delay ſeemed tedious and troubleſome, by reaſon of the great ſcarcity of victuals that was in the Caſtle of *Milan*) to give them the Dukedom of *Milan*, if it ſhould be recover'd by their common

Forces;

Forces; bereaving *Sforza* of it, to whom, by all that had been yet treated on, it was to be reſtored. Therefore that they might leave never a ſtone unturn'd, but do any thing which might draw the *French* into *Italy*, the Pope and Venetians did conſult of making this offer alſo, to the King; to the end, that he who had been alwayes ambitious of this acquiſition, ſhould more readily, and with greater Forces embrace the buſineſs: thinking, that for what concerned the preſent occaſions, that which was chiefly to be put for, for the ſafety of *Italy*, was to drive the Spaniards out of the State of *Milan*: and this they did the rather, for that, though the King ſhould be bound by agreement to aſſigne it over to *Sforza*, they could not be ſure that he would keep his promiſe better to him, then he had done to the Emperour, which would afford occaſion of new wars, and of parting him from the Italian Princes. But, on the other ſide, conſidering that it would not greatly redound to the honour of the League, to give way unto this, but that it would rather leave a blur upon the Italian Princes, ſince that they had alwayes given out, that their chief object was to reſtore the Dukedome of *Milan* to the Dominion of an Italian Prince, they reſolved not to part from their firſt Propoſitions. But the King of *France* deſiring that the Kingdome of *Naples* and the State of *Milan* might be both of them aſſaulted at one and the ſame time, they endeavoured to give him ſome ſatisfaction in that point, by adding to the other Articles: "That, if it ſhould "appear, that, for the ſafetie and quiet of *Italy*, it were requiſite, the "Government of *Naples* ſhould be altered, the Colleagues ſhould "contribute ſuch Forces as ſhould be requiſite to effect it: and that, "when it ſhould be gotten, the Pope ſhould determine to whom it "ſhould be given, ſo as might make moſt for the quiet of *Italy*, and "ſo as it were done with the ſatisfaction of the Confederates, with-"out whoſe conſent the Pope promiſed he would do nothing in that "point: that the new King, who ere he ſhould be, ſhould pay the "uſual Tribute to the Church, and 70000 Duckets to the King of "*France*, whoſe pretences ſhould remain entire to that Kingdome, "if it were not won now.

This being agreed upon, the League was finally concluded in *France*; *Don Capona* intervening for the Pope, and Secretary *Andrea Reſo* for the State of *Venice*. The end of this Conjunction was ſpecified to be, "The freeing of the State of *Milan* from the oppreſſion "of the Imperialiſts, the Liberty of *Italy*, and the recovery of the "King of *France* his children, adhering for what concerned particu-"larities, and preparations for War, to what had been formerly "treated on, and concluded with the Kingdome, before the King had "his Liberty.

Yet it was not publiſhed, till they might know the King of *England*'s reſolution; who was deſired to be one of the chief Contractours: For it was thought, that his name and authority might adde much to the reputation thereof: It was therefore reſolved, that ſome ſhould be ſent into *England* from the Colleagues, to requeſt *Henry*, that he would quickly declare, in the behalf of the Contederate Princes, againſt *Ceſar*. For the Pope, there went *Jovan Battiſta*

Sanſa, a man of an high ſpirit, and great with the *Datario*: for the King of *France*, *Joan Joachino*; and *Mark Antonio Veniero* for the *Venetians*, who was intended before to be ſent Embaſſadour thether from the Common-wealth. But the king of *England*, though he ſaid he was very well inclined to this League, and not well affected towards *Ceſar*, reſolved notwithſtanding, not to declare himſelf publickly, till he had deſired *Charles*, that, to gratifie the Colleagues, he would ſet the ſon of the moſt Chriſtian King at Liberty, and reſtore the State of *Milan* to *Franciſco Sforza*; which if he would not do, he declared, he was to denounce war againſt him in all their names: which, though it was conſented unto, yet the buſineſs was prolonged, and divers difficulties promoted: So as any longer delay being thought to be unſeaſonable; the League between *France*, and the Princes of *Italy* was publiſhed and proclaimed with great ſolemnity: and it was generally thought, that the Forces of this League would be able to quel the Imperialiſts, and to drive them out of the State of *Milan*; eſpecially, ſince the Caſtles of *Cremona* and *Milan* held ſtill for *Sforza*. There were at this time, in the *Venetian* Army 1000 foot, 900 Curaſiers, 800 Light-horſe, and a great many *Switzers* were ſuddenly expected, taken into pay, partly by the Pope, and partly by the *Venetians*, and partly by the King of *France*; who, when they ſhould be arrived, it was reſolved, that the Colleagues would go to ſuccour the Caſtle of *Milan*, to attempt the taking of that City: and that, on the other ſide the Marquis of *Saluzzo* ſhould fall down into the Dukedome of *Milan* with the *French* Curaſsiers, and 10000 foot, raiſed at the Confederates common expence, and aſſault the Cities of *Novarra*, and *Alexandria*: and that, in the mean while, the Maritime affairs ſhould be prepared to moleſt the Imperialiſts in other places, and to divide their Forces. The *Venetians* gave order to their Captain Generall, and to Commiſſary *Pietro Peſaro*, to bring their Camp, as ſoon as might be, to *Chiari* in the Territories of *Breſcia*, to begin the war: and the Pope ordered all his Commanders, and ſouldiers, to go into the parts about *Parma*; to the end, that being joyned together, they might do what ſhould be thought beſt for the League. But this joyning of forces was unſeaſonably deferr'd, by reaſon of the difficulty in what place the Armies were to meet; for *Franceſco Guicchiardini*, who was Lieutenant General of the Eccleſiaſtical Army, would not give conſent, that the Pope's men ſhould go to *Caſſalle Maggiore*, as it was firſt reſolved: alledging, that the State of the Church was not to be abandoned: though it was urged on the contrary, that, they being maſters of the field, there was no cauſe of fear. This mean while *Malateſta Baglione* came to *Lodi* with a Troup of *Vinetians*, where he had private intelligence with *Lodovico Viſtarlino*, a Citizen thereof, and though there were in it a good Garriſon of 1500 foot, yet he eaſily took it, and held it in the name of *Franciſco Sforza*. After this, the whole Venetian Army paſt over the *Poe*, and two dayes after, the Popes men joyn'd with them, and they went all to *Milan*: the Duke of Urbane had good hopes to get the City at the firſt aſſault, for he was informed by ſome of the *Milaneſes*, that the people were up, and ready to ſide with

with them, as ſoon as their Army ſhould be come to the City: and that the Imperial Commanders, having already ſent away their baggage, would ſoon be gone themſelves, and give over the defence of the Town: This was ſo verily believed, as *Lodoviço Count di Belgiojoſo* had deſired the Duke of *Urbane*, to give him 2000 Foot, with which he offerr'd to relieve the Caſtle of *Milan*. The whole Army of the Confederates being advanced, they quartered in the Monaſtory *del Paradiſo*, toward the *Porta Romana*, with a firm intention to give an aſſault, hoping to win the Suburbe, and to lodg there: and the enemy, being often come forth to skirmiſh, were ſtill valiantly repuls'd by our men: but ſoon after came the Duke of *Burbone*, with a good number of foot, and did not onely make good his ſtation againſt ſuch as skirmiſhed with him, but indammaged them on ſundry parts: ſo as the Duke of *Urbane* failing of his hopes of getting the city by aſſault, and fearing leſt he might fall into ſome greater diſorder, if he ſhould tarry long in thoſe quarters, retreated with the whole camp in good order to *Marignavo*, without receiving any prejudice. But, great hopes having been had by the Armies being drawn near *Milan* of good ſucceſs in the Enterpriſe, and there being great neceſſity of relieving the Caſtle of *Milan*, the Senate, when they heard by their Commiſſary, that the camp was raiſed, were very much amazed and grieved: and the Duke, to juſtifie this his act, ſent *Luigi Gonzaga* to *Venice*, who might by word of mouth give an account of what was done, and of the reaſons which had moved the Duke thereunto: whereupon the Senate were ſatisfied: but the Pope was not ſo eaſily appeaſed; he did not onely complain very much of this action, but likewiſe of the manner of the Dukes proceedings; for not having acquainted thoſe that imployed him with his moſt important counſels; which *Guicchiardini* did aggravate to the Pope, by his bad offices done to the Duke, being diſpleaſed with him, becauſe his Diſcourſes were not well liſtned unto by the Duke, nor had in ſuch conſideration as he thought was due to his reputation and degree; but were rather deſpiſed, as comming from one of another profeſſion, and who (as the Duke had wont to ſay) ought not to meddle in matters which belonged to military men: So, as to give the Pope ſatisfaction, the Senate ordered the Duke, that for the future, he ſhould acquaint *Guicchiardini* with all buſineſſes of importance which were treated of in the Camp.

All things appertaining to the Fleet were this mean while prepared for, that ſome attempt might be thereby made upon *Ceſar*'s Territories. The *Venetians*, to this purpoſe, choſe *Luigi Armero* for their Commiſſary, and ſent him to *Corfu*, where the other Commiſſary *Jovan Moro* was with the Fleet; from which *Armero* was to take 12 Gallies, and come along with them with all ſpeed, to the Sea Coaſts, near *Rome*, to joyn with thoſe of the Pope, and of the King of *France*; and then joyntly fall uppon ſuch Enterpriſes, as might be for the ſervice of the League. Divers things were propounded, touching whether the Maritime Forces were to go. The Pope deſired, that they might go into the rivers of *Puglia*, to break the deſignes of the *Colloneſi*, and to divert their Forces in thoſe parts;

who,

who, having raiſed 7000 foot, and a good number of horſe in *Naples*, began to be very formidable unto the Pope. But the King of *France*, and the *Venetians* thought it would be more advantagious for the League, to have them go againſt *Genua*; as well for the fitneſs of that city for other actions, as for that, if they ſhould ſucceed well therein, it would add much to the reputation of the League. *Pietro Navarro* was declared Captain General of the Confederates Fleet, a man of long experience in war, who though he were propounded by the King of *France*, yet he received ſtipend from the other Confederates, but the Gallies belonging to the Church, and thoſe of the Commonwealth being already in a readineſs, thoſe of *France* were ſlow in comming with the Captain General, which gave them juſt occaſion of diſlike, and of no ſlight ſuſpicion, that the King of *France* his ends aimed onely at his own advantage, diſpiſing the intereſts of the League; of which his mind, there appeared other ſignes: for but little of 40000 Duckets, which he was bound to ſend into *Switzerland*, for the levying of 10000 *Switzers* was as yet ſent thether: whereby the League loſt no little reputation. And, though the *Venetians* had ſent Secretary *Sabbadino* thether, to ſolicite the raiſing of thoſe Foot; yet could he not much encourage them, nor haſten their departure; nor was there any news heard of any preparation made by the King, to make war upon *Ceſar* on the other ſide of the Mountains, as by his Articles he was bound to do. But the King, beſides ſome excuſes which he made, finding how ill the Colleagues were ſatisfied by their preſſing ſollicitations, or elſe being conſcious of his own faultineſs, and fearing, that therefore the Pope and the Venetians, laying aſide his intereſts, as he ſeemed to have little valued theirs, might treat of peace with the Emperour apart by themſelves, ſent *Monſieur di Sange* into *Italy* to excuſe his tardineſs; with directions that he ſhould firſt paſs thorough *Switzerland* to ſollicite the departure of thoſe of that Nation, or at leaſt, to make it be believed, that he had done what he could therein: *He therefore coming firſt to* Venice, *and then to* Rome, *uſed the ſame endeavours in both places, laying the fault of the ſlowneſs of the French mens paſſage into* Italy *upon the Commanders, and other officers; and affirming the Kings very great deſire to proſecute the war, and that he would not onely make good his Articles, but exceed them by increaſing his Forces; for, beſides the forenamed Fleet, he was rigging up many tall Ships in* Britannie, *that he might come forth the ſtronger, and ſuppreſs all the Forces that the enemy could make by Sea: and that he was no leſs carefull of levying the* Switzers; *and, that by his procurement the general Dyets were ſummoned, wherein all things ſhould be reſolved in favour to the League. But he chiefly aſſured them, that the King would not treat of any agreement, ſave ſuch as ſhould tend to a generall peace, and ſo as the other Colleagues ſhould be content with.* The King did likewiſe atteſt this his reſolution to *Jovan Battiſta Sanga*, who, being ſent, as aforeſaid, by the Pope, to the King of *England*, ſtayed ſome dayes in the Court of *France*, for ſame buſineſs.

The *Venetian* Senate, taking theſe aſſurances very thankfully, and ſeeming fully to believe them, antwered,

That

That they never doubted the King's good intentions towards the League, and particularly, towards their Commonwealth, as knowing both his wisdom, and his ancient affection to the Venetians; they therefore promised, That not only in this cause, wherein their common interests were concerned; but in all other things, and at all other times, their Will, and Forces, should be inseparably joyn'd to his: And as for any Treaty of Peace, they never were averse from it; nor had they taken up Arms to any other end, but that they might come to a safe peace: Therefore, as far as it might stand with the Dignity of the League, and the Confederates safety, they should be very glad of it.

Yet knowing that such a peace was rather to be desired then hoped for at this time, the Pope and the Venetians endeavouring to incite the King's mind the more to War, resolved to let him know, that if they should get the Kingdom of *Naples*, his Son should be King thereof; the Commonwealth retaining such a part thereof, as should be answerable to their deserts, labour, and expence: To correspond whereunto, the King made a new offer of other three hundred Lanciers, and twenty thousand Ducats more monethly, for the service of the League, if the enterprize of *Naples* should be undertaken. The Commissary *Armero* was come from *Corfu* to *Terracina* with thirteen Gallies, where meeting with *Andrea Doria*, who was come thither with eight Gallies for the Pope's service, they went in company together to *Cevita Vecchia*, and from thence to *Ligorn*, where they met with *Pietro Navarra* with sixteen of the King of *France* his Gallies; and being resolved to reduce *Genua* to the King of *France* his devotion, to the great advantage of the Colleagues, they made *Frederick Fregose*, who was Archbishop of *Salerno*, head of that Government, and came with their Fleet first to *Porto Venera*; which Town, together with that of *Spetia*, and with all that part of the River, till you come to *Monaco*, yeilded soon to the Colleagues. Then dividing the Fleet, *Doria*, and the Venetian Commissary, went to *Porto Fino*, twenty miles from *Genua*; and *Navarro*, with the French Gallies, to *Savona*, which City willingly yeilded unto him.

The first and chief designe of the Leagues Commanders, was, to keep *Genua* from being victualled by Sea; and the City being but badly provided of victuals, and not knowing well how to come by any, they hoped to reduce it by way of siege to such a scarcity, as it must fall into their hands. To this purpose, there was six Gallies deputed, two for every Colleague, which being to keep the Guard, took some Ships, and divers other lesser Vessels, which were bound with victuals for *Genua*, so as the City began soon to be incommodated: but it was supplied by those of the River, who brought them corn, which under divers pretences was permitted to be carried to neighbouring places, though not without some complaint against *Doria*; who, as either envying *Navarro*'s glory, by whom his Country was won and subdued, or out of some other designe, was suspected to have proceeded with but little sincerity, and misbecoming means, to bring the enterprize to a speedy conclusion: But the *Genueses* by way of defence, had been very careful in securing the Haven, placing some great Vessels in the mouth thereof, loaded with Artillery, and moreover,

over, six small Gallies, commanded by *Gobbo Justiniano*, which came forth sometimes to skirmish with those of the Enemy, putting so far into the Sea, and no further, then they might be safe under the shelter of the greater Vessels, which lay in the mouth of the Haven, and under the like shelter of *Castello della Lanterna*, all which were furnished and fraught with Cannon: So all the hopes of gaining the City, lay in the Siege, which was still continued, the Popes and the Venetian Commanders having by certain Trenches secured themselves from being invaded by those of the City, if it should so happen, that by fortune of the Sea, the Fleet should not be able to get out of *Porto Fino*, where it lay. But the Genueses seeing themselves daylie more and more straitned, resolved to sally out, and by assaulting the Rampires, endeavour to endamage the Enemies Fleet; whereof the Captains of the Fleet being soon aware, they landed *Philippino Doria*, and *Jovan Baptista Grimaldi*, with eight hundred Foot, and two pieces of Artillery; and setting the poops of their Gallies towards land, when the Souldiers of the City came, they did not only stand their assault, but repulsed and worsted them.

At the same time, the Duke of *Urbine*, being much prest thereunto by the Venetians, and spurr'd on by his own desire to recover the reputation of the Army, which it might seem to have suffered in, by its retreat from before *Milan*; as soon as part of the Switzers, to the number of five thousand were come to the Camp, resolved to return to before *Milan*, to relieve the Castle, which as yet held out for *Sforza*, from which six thousand persons were gone out under the conduct of Captain *Pasqualino*, and had luckily past the Enemies Trenches, without any harm or impediment, whereby the scarcity of the besieged was somwhat alleviated. The Army being come within a mile of *Milan*, two thousand men were sent out to take *Moncia*, and to possess themselves of *il Monte di Brianza*, very convenient places for the bringing of victuals from the parts thereabouts to the Camp. When the Army had taken up its quarters, the Commanders began to consult what course they were to take to relieve the Castle, which being begirt about by the Enemy with double Trenches, and with Bastions, the difficulty of relief was much encreased; but whilst they vainly consulted about succour, news came to the Camp, that *Sforza* failing of his hopes of being relieved, by reason of the Enemies new works, had surrendred himself to the Imperialists, and delivered up the Castle, upon condition of being set at liberty, and suffered to go to *Como*, till such time as his cause should be taken notice of by Justice: And not long after, the same *Sforza* came into the Confederates camp, accompanied by Count *Galliazzo*, with two hundred light Horse; but he stayed there but a while, being resolved to go to *Como*, and in the first place, to take possession of that City, which was to be delivered up unto him by the Imperialists, though the Confederates Commanders laboured much to diffwade him from so doing, acquainting him with how dangerous a thing it was to commit himself again unto the uncertain word of his Enemies, when he might repose surer hopes of his welfare and dignity upon that Army, which was raised only for his particular service, and to repossess him of his paternal

ternal State; and at laſt, when they told him, that if he neglected ſuch offers, they would fetch his brother *Maximilian Sforza* from *France*, he promiſed, that when he ſhould be come to *Como*, he would ſend Embaſſadors to *Rome*, and adhere unto the Pope's counſels.

But it was not hard afterwards to draw Duke *Sforza* to ſide with the Confederates, who ſoon had occaſion to know how the Imperialiſts were minded towards him; for they denyed to take away the Spaniſh Garriſon from *Como*, though upon agreement the City was to have been delivered up free unto him. So as ratifying the League with the Pope and the Venetians, he went to *Lodi*, which City was freely given him by the League. Though the loſs of the Caſtle was very grievous, and of great concern, yet were they not quite out of hopes of getting the City of *Milan*, wherein was a great ſcarcity of all things, and the number of the Defendants not anſwerable to the greatneſs of the City, nor to the Forces that were before it, more Switzers being come unto the Camp, and 4000 of the ſame Nation being quickly after expected, who were raiſed by the King; and who were ſaid to be already come to *Biſanſo*. So as it was thought the City would ſoon fall into the hands of the Collegues, either by force, or by Siege. Whilſt theſe aids were expected, the Duke of *Urbin* intended to ſend ſome of his men to attempt the taking of *Cremona*, a buſineſs much deſired by the Collegues, and chiefly by the Pope; but it behoved them to put off the effecting of this, for fear leſt the Imperialiſts might ſally out of the City (as it was given out they intended to do) and might aſſault the Confederates Army. At laſt *Malateſta Bagliene* went thither, but with fewer men, out of the ſame reaſon, then were requiſite to bring the buſineſs to a ſpeedy and good end: For finding the City fortified with double Rampiers, and well provided of Defendants, he aſſaulted it ſeveral times in vain; then finding it very hard to ſtorm the Town with ſo few men, and that to forego it before the buſineſs was finiſhed, would redound but little to the honour of the Leagues Forces; it was reſolved that Commiſſary *Peſaro*, *Camillo Orſino*, and *Antonio da Caſtello* ſhould go with a good many Foot to the Camp before *Cremona*, and ſoon after an other thouſand Italian Foot were ſent to ſuccour them, and 1000 Switzers. But neither theſe, nor thoſe doing any good, the Duke of *Urbin* reſolved to go thither himſelf, though it were much to the prejudice of the buſineſs of *Milan*. And taking a great many Pyoners along with him, he cut Trenches, and by little and little won ground upon them; ſo as the City being brought into great ſtraits, was forced to yield. The Duke diſpatch'd away a Gentleman of his with this good News to the Senate at *Venice*, to whom it was very welcome; not only for the good ſucceſs of taking the Town; but alſo for that they hoped the Confederates would by this good beginning be incouraged to undertake greater Affairs. The City was immediately delivered over to *Franciſco Sforza*, who made his reſidence there, and the Senate ſent Secretary *Luigi Sabbadino* thither, that he might be preſent with him, as a Servant of the Commonwealths to aſſiſt him. But this mean while a ſtrange and ſad accident hapned, which did much diſorder the affairs of the League, retard-

ing and interrupting all their deſigns: for the Coloneſi having got together about 600 Horſe, and 5000 Foot, entred *Rome* at unawares, plunder'd many of the Prelates houſes, the Church and Palace of St. *Peter*; the Pope himſelf hardly eſcaping their fury (who intended to have made him Priſoner) by retiring into the Caſtle of St. *Angelo*. So as not tarrying any longer in the City, Cardinal *Colonna* having in vain labour'd to make the people take up Arms in his behalf, they went out loaded with Booty, and carrying away goods to the value of more then 300000 Duckets.

This accident forc'd the Pope for his liberty, and ſecurity to make Truce with *Don Hugo* for four moneths; by which he promiſed to make his Forces paſs back again over the *Poe*, and to make his Gallies withdraw into the Churches Dominions. But afterwards thinking more maturely upon theſe affairs, and knowing to how many dangers in the future he was incurr'd, to free himſelf from the preſent danger, though in obſervation of his late capitulation, he recall'd his forces from thoſe of the League, yet he by his Nuntio's ask'd counſel of the King of *France*, and of the Venetian Senate, whether he ſhould continue to obſerve thoſe things which neceſſity had compell'd him to promiſe to *Don Hugo*; or elſe not doing ſo, to pitch upon ſome other reſolve. And ſoon after he ſent Monſieur *di Lige* who was come then to *Rome*, back again into *France* about the ſame buſineſs. *Clement* being a witty man, and of a mature judgment, knew, that to obſerve the Truce, was no better then to afford *Ceſar* means of making more bitter War, and of overcoming thoſe difficulties by this delay, which he found himſelf at preſent oppreſt with, and in fine, of ſettling himſelf in *Italy*, and of indangering all their liberties. But his immoderate fear perverted his judgment, and ſuffer'd him not to diſcern this truth. Wherefore the General of *San Franciſco* being ſent by the Emperour to *Rome* to treat of peace, he liſtned attentively to him, and exhorted the Venetians not to deſcent from it;

"For ſaid he, Arms muſt one day be laid down, and that ſince "it was now offer'd, the occaſion was not to be let ſlip. The Senate "anſwered they did never deſire War, but that they had ſought by "War to ſecure peace. And that they would not be averſe unto it, "ſo as it might be treated of and concluded, by the knowledg and "conſent of the King of *France*: For if they ſhould do otherwiſe, they "ſhould much to their prejudice, alienate him for ever from minding "the affairs of *Italy*; and loſe a ſafe refuge, in caſe of any adverſe "fortune. They therefore indeavour'd to confirm the Pope, ſhew-"ing him that there was no reaſon to come now to ſo precipitous a "reſolution, nor with ſo much indignity to receive the propoſals "made by *Charles*, without expecting an anſwer from *France*, eſpe-"cially upon ſo diſhonourable conditions, as to pay a great ſum of "money to *Charles*, and moreover to deliver up into his hands, as "pledges of his fidelity, places of ſo great importance in the Eccleſi-"aſtical State as were *Parma*, *Piacenza*, and *Civita Vecchia*. And "alſo that it did appear by many ſigns, that *Ceſar* was very weak in "Forces; eſpecially ſince the ſo many rumours of ſuccours, termi-"nated only in the aſſiſtance of *Georgio Frondiſper*. Whoſe Army

"being

"being to be maintain'd at his own private charge, and by ſome pil-
"lage, it was to be hoped that it would very ſhortly diſſolve: That
"the people of *Milan* wanting pay, refuſed all obedience to their
"Commanders. And on the contrary, that *Renzo da Ceri* was ex-
"pected from *France* with monies, and that there was hopes that the
"King himſelf, who was already come as far as *Lyons*, would paſs
"over in perſon into *Italy*; that the greateſt danger of the Dutch was
"ſecured, the buſineſs of *Genua* ſucceſsfully begun, that all things
"promis'd fair.

The Pope being moved by theſe perſwaſions, and it may be much more by the remembrance of his ſo grievous and ſo reſcent injuries, and for fear of not being preyed upon by the Spaniards, when he ſhould be abandoned by the Confederates, he reſolved to ſuſpend the Treaty of this new Truce, and the obſervance of what as yet had not any effect, agreeing only to Treat of the Univerſal Peace, and this by the advice and conſent of the moſt Chriſtian King. The coming of Maſter *Ruſſel* did not a little further this reſolution, who being ſent by the King of *England* to preſent the Pope with thirty thouſand crowns, for the occaſions of the War, came juſt in this nick of time to *Rome*, and laboured much to confirm the Pope in the continuance of the League, or at leaſt, that he would ſet his mind upon the introducing of a true Peace amongſt all Chriſtian Princes; which the Venetian Senate did not diſſent from, but gave order to their Embaſſadour *Andrea Navagiero*, who was then in *Spain*, to intervene at this Treaty, which was to be negotiated upon, and concluded in *France*, but for the honour of *Ceſar*, it was to be ratified at his Court, and in his preſence. The ſum of the Treaty was,

"That the King of *France* his ſons ſhould be ſet at Liberty. That
"*Lombardy* ſhould be left in a peaceful condition. *Franceſco Sforza's*
"State reſtored, And the debt paid which the King of *England* pre-
"tended was due to him by *Charls*.

Difficulties daylie encreaſed in the concluding, and in the obſervance of theſe Articles, ſo as for all theſe endeavours, the proviſions for War were no ways ſlackned: But the buſineſs of Truce being ſuſpended, the Pope ſent his men, whom he had recalled from the League camp, preſently away, to recover thoſe Lands which the *Coloneſi* had uſurped from the Church. The worſer the Imperialiſts condition was, who were reduced to great ſtraits, and the greater the Confederates hopes were of good ſucceſs, the more did the former endeavour to relieve their affli&ted affairs, and the others to keep out all relief, whereupon it was that all good and bad ſucceſs did depend, and the whole fortune of the War. Therefore *Charls* made a Fleet be prepared in *Carthagena*, to relieve *Genua*; he ſolicited his brother, the Archduke *Ferdinand*, to raiſe men in his Territories, and to ſend them from the neareſt parts into *Italy*, and he had ordered the Prince of *Orange* to enter into the State of *Milan*, thorow the Duke of *Savoy's* country, with a good number of *Landsknights*; but on the other ſide, the Confederates being wholly bent to keep off all relief, made ſeveral proviſions, many ſhips were preparing in *Britany*, and at *Marcelles*, by the King of *France*, and ſome Ships that were taken, as it was ſaid,

about *Genoua*, were armed at the common expence, intending to put to Sea with a great Fleet, and to hinder the paſſage of the Spaniſh Fleet: Divers endeavours were had likewiſe with the Duke of *Savoy*, that he might not permit the Imperialiſts to paſs thorow his State. But the greateſt, and moſt apprehended dangers, came from *Germany*; for it was ſaid, that *Georgio Sfonſpera*, an old Commander, and one very affectionate to the Houſe of *Auſtria*, was raiſing great ſtore of foot in *Styria*, and allured men by the hopes of prey; and that the Dutch Foot which were in the Garriſon of *Cremona*, being come to him, he had got together above ten thouſand Dutch Foot about *Bolzano*: Divers things were therefore put in practice at the ſame time, to hinder the paſſage of theſe men: The practice formerly held with the Governour of the Caſtle of *Mus* was agreed upon, not only the diſburſement of five thouſand Ducats, the one half whereof was to be paid him by the Pope, the other half by the Senate, for the freeing of the Venetian Embaſſadors, who were detained by him whilſt they were paſſing into *France*; but alſo, that he himſelf ſhould come in perſon with four hundred Foot to the ſervice of the League, wherewith he was to Guard the Lake of *Como*. The Venetians ſent likewiſe Secretary *Nicolo Sangontino*, upon the ſame occaſion, to the Marquis of *Mantua*, to deſire him, that though theſe men ſhould be advanced, he ſhould not ſuffer them to enter into his State: and becauſe Artillery and Munition were preparing in *Trent*, which made it be feared that *Georgio Sfonſpera* would fall with his numerous men into the Territories of *Verona*, the Senate raiſed therefore four thouſand Foot more, and made ſome Troops of Curaſſiers, and of light Horſe, come from the camp: they made *Agoſtino da Mula* Commiſſary General on this ſide *Menzo*, and diſpoſed of all things, in order to fight, and beat back the Enemy.

But the Dutch Foot came by the Valley of *Lagni*, from whence they paſt quickly after to *Poldrone*; which when our Commanders knew, who were in the parts about *Verona*, *Camillo Orſino* went immediately with the light Horſe, and ſome of the readieſt Foot companies to *Salo*, leaving the reſt of the Army behind, with orders, that paſſing over the Lake of *Garda*, they ſhould come into the ſame place: which not being to be done, for it fortun'd that that Lake proved then, as it ſomtimes is, unnavigable; *Orſino* could not march, till it was too late to encounter the Enemy, who were already well advanced. Yet having poſſeſs'd himſelf of the paſſage *della Corona*, a ſtrait place, and naturally ſtrong, he forc'd the Dutch, who had already taken that way, to go by the tops of the Mountains; ſo as by very craggy and difficult ways, they came to *Gardo*, and from thence to *Caſtilione*, and ſoon after they entred into the Marquis of *Mantua*'s Territories, thereby cozening the Commanders of the League, who thought that the Dutch would have made towards *Milan*, thorow the Territories of *Bergamo*, but paſſing over the River *Olio* at *Rivalta*, and afterwards over the *Menzo*, it was thought that they would take their way either towards *Piacenza*, or *Pavia*: Wherein to hinder them, the Commanders of the League thought it fit to divide the Camp into two parts, with the one whereof the Marquis of *Saluzzo* taking with him the

Switzer

Switzer and Griſon Foot, to the number of ten thouſand, went to beyond the River *Ada*, and quartered at *Vauri*, near the ſtrongly ſeated *Caſſano*; and the Duke of *Urbin*, who conducted the reſt of the Army, conſiſting of as many Foot, went to *Sanſino*.

But *George Fonſpra* being already got beyond them with his Foot, and the Duke not able for want of victuals, to follow him preſently with his whole Army, he made his light Horſe and ſome Foot companies follow them in the Reer, by whom the Enemy were much annoy'd, and chiefly by *Giovan di Medici*, who although the reſt of the Popes Captains were gone, ſtay'd in the Camp, and took pay of the King of *France*; but yet they advanced ſtill, and paſs'd over the *Po*, and the Duke of *Urbin* taking the ſame way with his Army came to *Borgo forte* from whence the Dutch were gone but a little before, and cauſed a Bridg to be made, to the end that if occaſion ſhould be, he might paſs his men over. But *Fonſpere* not knowing what way to go, when he was got over the *Po*, was cauſe of much ſuſpention with the Colleagues, and the Pope was chiefly much affraid, beleiving that the Enemy would bend towards *Bologna*, and peradventure paſs into *Tuſcanie*, wherefore he preſſed the Venetians very much, to paſs their men as ſoon as might be over the *Po*, for the better ſafety of the Churches, and the Florentines State; but their own Common-wealth was not free from the like danger, wherefore the Senate to ſatisfie the Pope as far as ſtood with their owne ſafety, ordered *Luigi Piſari*, who was in the Camp with the Marquis of *Saluzzo*, that if any number of Foot ſhould be demanded of him, to encreaſe the Garriſons of the Towns belonging to the Church, he ſhould readily releive them. Which *Guicciardine* demanding, *Babone di Naldo* was ſent thither with 1000 Foot. They writ likewiſe to their Captain-General, that if the danger of the confederates ſhould encreaſe, and theirs ſhould leſſen, he ſhould paſs over the *Po*, either with the whole Army, or but with part of it, according as occaſion ſhould require, and as he ſhould think beſt: Which being by ſeveral accidents delayed, this advice was altered, and it was thought more expedient for the common ſervice, that for the preſent the Marquis of *Saluzzo* ſhould paſs over only with his men, taking along with him 300 of the Venetian light Horſe, and ſome pieces of Artillery, to be taken from their Camp. The Popes danger and his fear alſo did much increaſe, by the Enemies approaching near *Florence*, for the Dutch having paſſed the River *Nura*, and then that of *Trebbia*, not being any ways diſturbed by our men, ſtay'd at *Firenzvole* where they expected to meet with the men of *Milan*. But the Imperial Commanders finding it hard to make the reſt march, the Italian Foot and ſome light Horſe, went only thither at that time: But the Senate being deſirous to give the Pope all ſatisfaction, ſent new Orders to their Commiſſary, to draw out ſome more men from their Army, and to ſend them over the *Po*, that they might joyn with thoſe that were formerly paſſed over with the Marquis of *Saluzzo*, Therefore Commiſſary *Vetury* went thither preſently with 5000 Foot and ſome Troops of light Horſe, the Duke of *Urbin* being at this time (not without much trouble to the Venetians) gone about ſome particular

Affairs

Affairs of his own to *Mantua*. These proceedings of the Enemy, made the Colleagues suspect the Florentines; fearing least they apprehending the danger that drew near them, might come to some agreement with the Enemy, which would be much to the prejudice of their friends; wherefore the Venetians sent their Embassadour *Marco Foscary* forthwith to *Florence*, to entreat them in the name of the Common-wealth to keep their faith, and not to desert the confederates by reason of this accident.

He laid before them on the one side, the scarcity of all necessaries which was in the Dutch Camp, the weakness and difficulties of the Imperialists: And on the other side, the confederates great Forces, their readiness to use them for their great service, and to run one and the same fortune with them; the hopes of better success for the Affairs of Italy *by the assistance that was expected from* France, *and many other preparations which were a making to make War upon the Imperialists to some purpose, in several parts. He wisht them to remember their ancient generosity, and particularly the many prosperous successes which they had had when they joyned with the Venetians; told them they might hope for the like now, if they would keep the like constancy, and generosity. That as their continuing well inclined to the League, would certainly much increase their reputation, and confirm the mindes of the Confederates; so would it be as prejudicial to them if they should desert them: And that through fear of an immaginary danger, they would fall upon great and greivous mischeifs; for they would ruine themselves, and therewithal draw on the ruine, or much declination of others, and hazard the liberty of* Italy. *He therefore desired them, That in respect of the love which the Commonwealth bore them, and for the great and common concerns, they would not be wanting in their duties.*

The Florentines seemed to take this very well, and sent their Embassadour *Andrea de Pazzi* to *Venice*, to thank the Senate; promising to continue in the League, and particularly in their good intelligence with the Common-wealth, desiring that 6000 more Foot might be raised, at the common cost to resist yet greater Forces, if it was true as it was said to be, that the Duke of *Burbone* had drawn men out of *Milan*, to march towards *Tuscanie*.

Whilst these things went thus, the Colleagues Fleet continued still the Siege before *Genua*, which was now reduced to great straits; many things were propounded to hinder the relief by the Spanish Fleet which was said to be preparing in *Carthagena*, to the number of 40 Ships. *Navarro* was for going into the Spanish Rivers, and for fireing the Spanish Fleet, as it lay in the open Haven, before it should put forth; which advice was approved of by the Venetian Commissary. But *Doria* though he seemed to like this motion well, considered notwithstanding the season of the year, and the danger by Sea made much against it, since they were not like to find Havens, whereinto to put upon any bad weather; he likewise raised many other difficulties, wherewith the rest being staggered, and he himself being resolved not to go to *Carthagena*, it was decreed that they should go to

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to the Iſland of *Corſica*, or to that of *Sardinia*, and to keep about thoſe Rivers, and to wait for the coming forth of the Imperial Fleet, and to fight it as it ſhould paſs by; to which purpoſe ſome great Veſſels were made to come from *Marcelles*, and the Ships which were formerly taken before *Genua*, were armed.

Whilſt theſe things were a preparing, the Imperial Fleet, which conſiſted of thirty and ſix armed Ships, making more haſte from *Spain* then was expected, came ſayling with a proſperous South-Eaſt wind towards *Genua*, fifteen miles from land, wherein was Don *Carlo di Lanoia*, Viceroy of *Naples*, Captain *Albercona*, and Don *Ferrante Gonſaga*; which as ſoon as the Venetian Commiſſary underſtood, who was then in *Porto Venere* with ſixteen Gallies, to ſolicite the arming of the Ships, he put preſently to Sea, to purſue the Enemy; but meeting with contrary winds, he was forc'd to put back again into the Haven, whilſt the Spaniſh Ships purſuing their courſe, drew ſtill neareſt land, that they might get into the Haven of *Genua*. But as they paſt by *Monte Si Frettoſo*, they were diſcovered by *Novarra*, from *Codemonte*, who lay underneath the point of land with ſeventeen of the Leagues Gallies; wherewith lanching forthwith into the Sea, he went boldly and courageouſly to fight the Imperial Fleet; and it ſo fell out, as one ſhot which was made from *Novarra*'s Gally, whilſt it was hoiſed up by the waves, ſtruck off the Banner from off the Standard or Maſt of the Gally wherein the Viceroy was; at the ſame time *Giacopo di Mezzo*, and *Paolo Juſtiniano*, two Captains of two of the Venetian Gallies, putting in with the forwardeſt, and neareſt the Enemy, did with their firſt volly, ſhoot two of the Enemies Ship thorow and thorow, the one of which ſunk almoſt preſently; and the other lying on one ſide, had time to ſtop the hole, and ſave her ſelf: Captain *Albercona*, who was in her, got quickly out, and got into a Pinnace that was hard at hand: Many ſhot were made afterward on both ſides, but not much hurt done; with much diſorder and fear to the enemy, their Ships being more expoſed to danger then our Gallies, which ſhooting nearer the ſuperficies of the water, did more certainly hit the great Ships, and miſt ſeldomer. Whereupon *Navorro*, who in this action ſhewed youth-like gallantry, though he were ſeventy years old, began to cry aloud, Victory, Victory; and thereby encouraging the reſt to fight vigorouſly, they purſued the enemies Fleet, which began already to fly, hoping to make themſelves maſters thereof. But the Tempeſt at Sea did encreaſe ſo much, hourly, as they ſaw clearly, that to paſs any further, was to expoſe their Gallies to manifeſt danger, and to the diſcretion of Fortune, and of the winds. Wherefore leaving further purſuit of the Enemy, they reſolved to put back into the Haven: Commiſſary *Armero* being by the ſame occaſion hindred from aſſiſting his companion in the fight, who put ſeveral times to Sea to that purpoſe, but was ſtill beaten back. The Viceroy after having run much hazard, got ſafe with ſome of his Ships into the Haven of *Santo Stefano* in the Seneſes juriſdiction; the reſt of the Ships paſſing by *Sicily* and *Corſica*, landed their men ſafely at *Gaeta*, having in vain purſued and ſought after the Leagues Fleet, when the Sea was calm.

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This ſuccour which was landed by the Spaniards, began to break the deſigns and hopes of the Confederates: Wherefore enquiring diligently (as is uſual when things proceed not proſperouſly) into the occaſion of theſe diſorders, the Venetians grew jealous, by what was ſaid by ſome who were but ill ſatisfied, that Commiſſary *Armero* might be in ſome fault, who was therefore ſent for to *Venice* by the Council of *Ten*, that he might give an account of his actions, and particularly, of the Corn which he had ſuffered to be brought into *Genua*, and why he went not with his Fleet to *Carthagena*, and *Auguſtino de Mala* was choſen to be put in his place, who was then Commiſſary in *Friuli*, and who had formerly exerciſed the like charge at Sea. But *Armero* did ſo fully clear himſelf of all the faults that were laid to his charge, as he was abſolutely acquitted thereof: And it was known to be true, that the not ſending of ſome men from the camp in *Lombardy*, who might have ſtraitned that City by Land, as had been ſo oft deſired by the Commanders at Sea, was the cauſe why the Fleet miſſed of the fruit of the hoped for victory. But the Pope was more troubled at the Viceroys being come into *Italy*, then the reſt were, and grew more jealous and fearful; for it was ſaid, that theſe men that were landed by the Fleet, were to joyn with *Fronſpera's* Forces. Wherefore the Archbiſhop of *Capua* was ſent to *Gaetta* to treat of agreement with the Viceroy, and to propound a ſuſpenſion of Arms till it was concluded. But the Viceroy ſtanding upon hard conditions, requiring a great ſum of money, and the aſſignation of ſome Cities, the Treaty broke off for that time: The Pope being ſomwhat enheartned, for that his Army was much encreaſed in reputation and Forces, by the coming of *Renzo da Ceri*, who being ſent by the King of *France* into *Italy*, and having brought the Fleet to *Savona*, was already come into the Eccleſiaſtical Camp, which kept about *Rome*, to ſuppreſs the *Colloneſi*: But on the other ſide, the Viceroy was the more ſolicitous in endeavouring to get into the Eccleſiaſtical State, to defend the affairs of the *Colloneſi*, to enforce the Pope to quit the League, and to contribute ſome monies to the Army: Therefore making forward, he went with the Camp to *Furſolone*, hoping to get the Town either by ſiege or ſtorm, having already twelve thouſand Foot in his Army. But *Renzo da Ceri*, and *Aleſſandro Vitello* being come thither with the Churches Forces, which were much encreaſed in number by the Popes diligence in raiſing new Foot to relieve the Town, after ſome days battery, and ſome ſlight skirmiſhes made with them within, who ſallied boldly out to diſturb the Enemy, the Imperial camp riſe from the Town, not having done any thing remarkable, and retreated to *Ceſſano*, and afterwards to *Ceperano*.

The Pope being ſomewhat encouraged by theſe good ſucceſſes, and beginning to hope well, ſuffered himſelf eaſily to be perſwaded, to enter immediately, (though it were now in the depth of winter, and *January* being begun, and therewith the year 1527) upon the buſineſs of *Naples*, as had been formerly propoſed, and councelled by the Confederates. Wherefore the *Venetians* ordered *Agoſtino da Mula*, their Commiſſary by Sea, to go to *Cevita Vecchia*, and that joyning there his Gallies with thoſe of the Popes, they ſhould both

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of them fall upon the enterprise of *Naples*. But the *French* Fleet being slow in coming, the *Venetians* went to *Terracina*, to take in 3000 Foot, brought thither by *Horatio Baglione*, who was set at Liberty by *Clement*, having been formerly imprisoned by *Leo*; in favour of this undertaking, *Monsieur di Valdamonte* was come to *Rome* from *France*; to whom, as being descended from King *Renato*, the ancient pretences of the house of *Anjou*, to the kingdome of *Naples* did appertain; it being hoped, that, out of a certain affection which remained yet in the memory of many towards those Princes, and towards the French party, the presence of *Valdamonte* might be of some availment; whom the League profest they would make King of those States, he being to marry the Popes Neece, who was daughter to *Lorenzo de Medici*, and was commonly called *La Dutchessina d'Urbino*. *Valdemonte* being got aboard this Fleet, which consisted of 22 gallies, with these designes, and these hopes, they all made towards the Rivers of *Naples*; *Renzo* being to go by land with 10000 Foot, and to enter into *Abruzzo*. *Doria* went before with his Gallies, and assaulted *Pozzuolo*, a very opportune place for the Confederates, if they should get it, by reason of the conveniency of the Haven of *Baia*: but, being beat back by the Artillery at his first accost, he gave over any further attempt; and when the rest of the Leagues Gallies were come up, they resolved to batter *Castello a mare*, that they might have a safe receptacle for their Gallies: and after having thrown down some parts of the wall, the Forces of the Gallies were landed, that they might assault it both by land and Sea: and *Paolo Giustiniano*, master of one of the Venetian Gallies, was the first that entred the Town, with his men, through a breach, made by the Cannon of the Gallies, who being followed by the rest, the town was taken, and sack'd, and the Castle yielded not long after. After which success, almost all the Maritime towns, whithersoever the Leagues Fleet came, surrendred; and if any made resistance, it was presently storm'd, as was that of *Lorento*, and of *Torre del Cervo*: so as they were, in a short time masters of almost all the Rivers, and were got very near *Naples*. *Renzo* was this mean while entred the Kingdome by land, having happily pass'd over the river of *Tronto*, and rendred all the Viceroy's endeavours vain, who sought to hinder him: and beginning prosperously, he had reduced into his power, the Town of *Aquila* in *Abruzzi*, and the Counties of *Tagliacozzo*, *Alva*, and *Celano*. Wherefore the Captains of the Fleet, being now near *Naples*, and being thereunto invited by these prosperous successes, consulted, whether they should draw near *Naples*, or no, and put for a period to the War. *They considered, That if this city should be won, the war might be said to be ended; the chief means of raising monies for the maintaining of the war, being thereby taken from the enemies: and they being thereby driven out of their nest, and of their chiefest receptacle; by keeping wherein, their chiefest hopes of defending that State did consist: whereof when they should be deprived, their courage would soon fail them, so as they might be easily driven out of the whole Kingdome; nor was the enterprise so hard, but that they might have reason to expect the effecting of it. The City was but weakly garrison'd, nor was it apt to expose it self to danger,*

nor to undergo the troubles of war, or inconveniences of a siege, to preserve the insolent Dominion of the Spaniards, *which was most troublesome to them; nor were the Nobles otherwise minded, though for fear of their goods they were forced to appear well pleased with that condition. They considered further, that the disposition of the Neapolitans might easily be increased, and that they might be incited to some insurrection, by promising the city to forgive the so many debts which it owed unto the chamber, and to free them for the future from many grievances, if they would be willing to yield: threatning, on the other side, that they would put them and their houses to fire and sword, if they would obstinately persist, to defend themselves. They considered, that, at the present, the Viceroy was far off, and that they could not hope to receive any speedy succour from the* Spaniards: *and that, when they should have gotten the city, they need not distrust the rendring of the Castles likewise into their power; which, not being succour'd, must likewise suddenly yield. Yet others were of opinion, that they were to expect, till* Renzo *was further advanced, and that they might strengthen that City with greater Forces; upon the getting whereof, they knew all other good success did depend, and the end of the war; wherefore they were to proceed therein with more mature advice, and well grounded hopes, since, if the enterprise did not succeed well, the whole enterprise would be much prejudiced; that a short time might mightily facilitate good success; for they knew, the city was in great scarcity of Corne; which, after the late taking of some ships laded with wheat, which went to relieve it, must needs grow greater, and almost insupportable; whereupon, the people tumultuating, would by their disorders facilitate the Victory. That therefore in expectance of such an occasion, they were to dream unexpectedly near to the walls of the City, and not give the* Spaniards *leisure to order their affairs, and to provide for better defence, that it was to be considered, that a little withstanding would be sufficient to resist the forces of that Fleet, which were so weak and so few, as they could not attempt the taking of the Town, but with more danger then hope. That therefore they were to expect some more recruits of men, either by shipping from* France, *or from the Army by land: and that the mean while they might go to* Salerno, *and reduce that, and the other neighbouring Towns, to the devotion of the League, before they should be better garrison'd: and so the city of* Naples *would at last fall into their hands.*

But these reasons not prevailing, it was resolved, that a Herauld should be sent into the City, who should require the delivery thereof up into the hands of the League, upon such promises and threats, as were mentioned in the Consultation. But *Don Hugo de Moncada*, who was within the City, curbing the people, and resolving to stand upon defence, when hee understood, that the Fleet was within four miles, march'd out of the City with 2500 foot, and 300 horse, to disturb the designes of the captains of the League; who had already landed many souldiers, under the conduct of *Monsieur de Valdemonte*, and of *Horatio Baglione*; who being got very near the City, to discover the situation, met with *Don Hugo* and his men, fought them, and made them run; which was not done so much by the souldiers valour, as by shot from the Gallies, which playing upon the Enemy, who were upon the shore, prejudiced them much, but

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frighted them more; ſo as, being diſordered and in confuſion, th inking, how ſooneſt to withdraw themſelves from the danger, they fled towards the City, and turn'd their backs upon our men, who purſued them ſo faſt, as they would have left ſome pieces of Artillery behind them, had not *Don Hugo*, by making ſome Spaniſh Souldiers make a halt, recovered them. But being hereby neceſſitated to retreat the flower, he had not leaſure at his entrance into the City, to cauſe the Bridg be pull'd up, nor to ſhut the Gate, which *Baglione*, who purſued him, made himſelf ſuddenly Maſter of. But having but a few Souldiers with him, and fearing that if he ſhould enter the Town with them, he ſhould not be able to keep them from plundering, ſo as being diſordered and confuſed, they might be cut in pieces, he retreated to the Gallies, which were but a mile off.

This ſucceſs infuſed ſuch terrour into the Neapolitans, as they ſent to intreat the Captains of the Fleet, that they would not play upon the Town with their Cannon, nor ruine the Country, for for their parts they were ready to yield. But this ſo fortunate opportunity could not be made uſe of; for *Don Hugo*, knowing that there were but few forces in the Fleet, appear'd willing to defend the Town, and to undergo any whatſoever inconvenience; and by this time it was clearly known, that they could not ſtorm the City, for that the Souldiers of the Fleet were reduced to a ſmall number, by reaſon of the Garriſons which it behooved them to leave in the Towns that they had taken; until the great Fleet, which was promis'd by the King, ſhould be come from *France*. Which not coming, the Captains of the League were neceſſitated to lye idle, and to let the victory eſcape out of their hands. And though they had often very earneſtly deſired that they might have a thouſand Foot at leaſt ſent them from the land Army, offering to ſend their Gallies to take them up at *Terracine*, they could not get it effected. For great diſorders were hapned in the Eccleſiaſtical Army: Little diſcipline, no obedience to Commanders, great want of monies, and of victuals; ſo as when it was expected that the Army, anſwerable to the firſt proſperous ſucceſs, ſhould advance, and gather more force and reputation, it grew every day leſs and leſs through its own inconveniences. Which miſchiefs proved the harder to be remedied, for that a ſuſpenſion of Arms being in agitation, and the Pope being according to his cuſtom, irreſolute, and ſparing in laying out of monies, he was now more ſlow and ſparing therein: And this Treaty being known in the Camp, the Commanders and Souldiers began to deſpiſe the Orders of the Popes Legate, and all intereſts of the League. Inſomuch as ſome of the Captains, who had been moſt honour'd and beſt rewarded by the Pope, went over to the Imperialiſts, and took pay of them.

Theſe proceedings confirm'd *Clement* the more in his former purpoſe, and in buckling cloſe to the treaty of agreement, inſomuch as he would ſay, that ſince he muſt ſerve, he would rather ſerve the Emperour, then always depend upon the immoderate wills of Captains, and of every baſe Souldier. But the reſolution taken by *Burbone*, was above all things elſe cauſe of great diſturbance to the deſigns of the Confederates, and of particular trouble to the Pope; for

Burbone having at laſt overcome all difficulties, and drawn the Souldiers out of *Milan*, was on his way to joyn with the Dutch, who expected him beyond the *Trebbia*, not knowing particularly what enterprize they were to fall upon; only it was publiquely given out, that *Bourbone* to get the Souldiers out of *Milan*, had promiſed them the ſacking of *Florence*, and of *Rome*, which was the only means to make them move. The Pope growing apprehenſive of himſelf, as alſo of the affairs of *Florence*, not out of any charity towards his Country (as was afterwards ſeen) but fearing leaſt ſome alteration might happen in the Government of the City, together with the ſuppreſſion of his family, which were then almoſt the ſole Governours thereof, renewed other Treaties of Agreement with the Viceroy, though he had formerly promiſed not to conclude any thing without the knowledge and conſent of the King of *France*, and of the Venetians, who had declared themſelves, ſince *Ceſar* perſiſted in ſo hard conditions, to be otherwiſe minded.

But beſides the aforeſaid conſiderations, the exhortations made by the *Generale di Santo Franciſco*, were of great force with the Pope; who being lately return'd (as hath been ſaid) from the Emperours Court, did very much witneſs *Ceſars* well wiſhes, and good inclination to peace. So as making uſe of the ſame general in this treaty with the Viceroy, he continued it in ſuch a manner, as he ſeemed to place all his hopes of defence therein: Becoming himſelf, and making the reſt likewiſe become more ſlow and negligent in their providing for War: And conſequently, through too much fear, making the danger more eminent. Which was the more wondred at by all men, for that whereas *Clement* ought to have remembered the recent troubles and injuries which he had received from the Coloneſi, and the wrongs which he had afterwards done them, and the Imperialiſts; he ought therefore to have adhibited the leſs belief to words, nor have committed his ſafety and liberty into the power of others; but having broken conventions agreed upon with them, he ought ſo much the more to fear that the like might be done to him, by a deſperate people, having neither religion nor faith; and who ſerved a Prince, whoſe friendſhip he had not till then indeavoured, unleſs it was upon great neceſſity. The Pope ſeeking to cloak the effects of this his immoderate fear, he ſaid in generous words, that not to be wanting to his office of univerſal Father and Paſtor, having diſcovered a great inclination to peace in *Ceſar*, and in his Agents, he could not, nor ought not, appear to be averſe thereunto, nor neglect ſo bleſt an occaſion, as was offer'd him, of cauſing all Arms to be laid down, with hopes to reduce all Chriſtendom to a deſired peace and tranquillity. *Bourbone* was this mean while got to *Bullonia*, it not being yet well known what way he meant to take, whether for *Tuſcany* or *Romania*; for the Souldiers did alike aſpire to the ſacking of *Florence* and *Rome*; but it was thought he would rather take the way of *Romania*, to enter on that ſide into *Rome*; whereof there were many tokens, eſpecially the levelling of the ways, made by the Duke of *Ferrara*'s order about the Town of *Cento*; with whom *Barbone*, being come to *Finale*, had had many private diſcourſes, and had received

ceived ſome pieces of Artillery from him, and ſome monies, and was, as it was then believed, adviſed by him to march towards *Rome*, which would make much for his deſigns of poſſeſſing himſelf of *Modena* and *Regio*, whilſt the Pope was otherwiſe buſied. *Burbone* had ranſack'd the Bullonian Territories, and waſted much by fire, not out of any hatred that he had to the Bullonieſes, or to offend the Pope; but to make the Florentines thereby cloſe with him, and contribute ſome monies to the Army, to free their Country, which was full of noble Pallaces, from the like ruine. Theſe proceedings made the Pope the more haſten the agreement; ſo as *Monſieur di Lange* being come from *France* to *Rome*, to diſſwade the Pope from thinking of any agreement, and bringing for his better incouragement 20000 Duckets, with promiſes of a far greater ſum; and *Ceſare Ferramoſca* coming thither likewiſe on the ſame day from the Viceroys Camp, to let the Pope know that the Viceroy was content to accept of the Truce for eight moneths propounded by the Pope; he not liſtning to the promiſes and incouragements of the moſt Chriſtian King, clapp'd up preſently with the Viceroy, affirming that by delay his condition would be worſe, when the Viceroy ſhould be better informed of the diſorders that were in the Leaguers Army, and that the danger of the Kingdom of *Naples*, did not counterpoiſe that of *Tuſcany* and *Rome*; which was the only means to make them agree together. The Pope being wholly ſet upon this, that the things agreed upon might be ſure to be the better effected, uſed means to bring the Viceroy in perſon to *Rome*, and Cardinal *Trivulcio*, who was Legate in the Camp, was to go the mean while to *Naples*, for the Viceroys better ſecurity: who conſented afterwards to come without this condition. And being come to *Rome*, where he was very honourably received, though the day proved very tempeſtuous for thunder and wind; which was by ſome interpreted as an ill augury to the buſineſs; he without any difficulty confirm'd the ſuſpenſion of Arms for 8 moneths, upon the ſame terms that it was firſt agreed upon by *Ferramoſca*, and with a particular promiſe that *Burbone* ſhould retreat with his forces, and ſhould not moleſt the Churches State, nor *Tuſcany*: Which if he ſhould not be able otherwiſe to effect, he would take the Spaniſh Souldiers out of the Camp, over whom he had the chiefeſt authority, and which were the Nerves of the Army. Wherefore the Pope, who was apt to believe that which he did ſo much deſire, was perſwaded that he had now put his Affairs into a good condition; and promiſ'd to pay the Army 70000 Duckets, to pardon the Coloneſi, and particularly to reſtore *Pompeio Colonna* to his former Dignity of Cardinalſhip, whereof he had a little before deprived him; and as concerning their Towns; that the Pope and they ſhould retain ſuch as were at this preſent in their poſſeſſion. But his greateſt errour was, that he made his Army preſently retreat to the Confines of the Kingdom, and caus'd the Fleet to come to *Civita Vecchia*, and commanded the Captains both by Sea and Land, by replicated Orders, that they ſhould immediately reſtore unto the Imperialiſts all the Towns and places that they had taken in the Kingdom; falling ſo headlong to diſarming (as if he had been guided by ſome hidden power to

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his perdition) as he diſ-banded ſome of the Souldiers that were in *Rome*, though the Coloneſi, who kept ſtill in Arms, uſed many inſolencies: Nor did he keep any more for his Guard, then 100 Light Horſe, and ſome companies of the black Troops, who did belong to *Jovan de Medici*, which was come to *Rome* to accompany the Viceroy: And as if he ſhould never have any more need of Souldiers, he withdrew ſome pay from the Captains and Souldiers of his Army, leaving them ſo ill ſatisfied, as many of them went over to *Burbons* Camp. The Senate of *Venice* was not wanting at this time in giving the Pope good counſel. They told him he might do well not to truſt too much in the Viceroys promiſes; for though he ſhould proceed ſincerely, it was much to be doubted that *Burbone*, who pretended to be equally intruſted in authority by *Ceſar*, as was the Viceroy, might not obey his Orders, nor ratifie what he had agreed upon, without his conſent. They minded him alſo of the many diſorders which might ariſe, by diſarming; and particularly that when the Seneſi and Colloneſi (whoſe hatred and ambition was not laid aſide by this agreement) ſhould ſee his Arms thus laid down, they would take an occaſion to invite the Ceſarean Army to advance, who when they ſhould have this occaſion offer'd them, it might be that even *Burbone* himſelf would not be able to detain Souldiers who were ill paid, and diſobedient to their Commanders. But the Pope deſpiſing theſe reaſons, and ſeeming to be ſtill more reſolute in his determination, made that ſaying true; that, *Good and faithful counſel, given by an intereſted and ſuſpected perſon, cauſeth the ſooner precipitation.*

Clement believed that the Venetians made theſe dangers to appear the greater, out of their own Intereſts, as deſiring that he would not ſever himſelf from the confederacy; wherefore not believing their words, he ran the more haſtily upon his own ruine. And continuing ſtill in the ſame perſwaſion, that the agreement was ſo ſettled, as no doubt nor danger could ariſe therein, though *Burbone* himſelf had written to *Rome*, that he could not rule nor detain the Souldiers, who were not well ſatisfied with the few monies which they had as yet received; the Pope ſaid *Burbone* did this, not that he was really averſe unto the Truce, but to draw more money from him by this fear, or to ſhew ſome Military oſtentation: Though after all this, alledging ſome more rational cauſe for this his credulity, he had wont to ſay, that though he might have doubted of ſome ſiniſter accident, yet he ſhould not have thought it fit to do otherwiſe then he did, for he would rather that his ruine, and the cauſe of ſo much miſchief to Chriſtendom, ſhould be attributed to the falſifying of the faith of others, then to his own obſtinacy. But not being able then to believe that any thing ſhould happen otherwiſe then he conceived, he had already deſtined to ſend his Almner, *Matheo Giberto*, Biſhop of *Verona* (through whoſe hands all buſineſſes of greateſt importance did then paſs) Legate into *Spain*, to treat with *Ceſar* upon the particular conditions of peace. But the Venetians, when they were aſſured that the Truce was concluded, they ordered the Duke of *Urbin*, that he ſhould aſſemble all his men together, who lay then between *Mode-*

na and *Regio*, and joyn them with the Marquis of *Saluzzo*'s forces, who were in the parts about *Bullonia*; to the end that they might oppose the Imperialists designs, it being suspected, that now, that the agreement was made, they would fall upon the Commonwealths Territories. They also commanded *Sebastian Giustiniano* who was Embassadour with the King of *France*, to assure the King, that though the Pope had quitted the League, yet they would not forego his friendship, and that they hoped they might be able by their joynt forces to beat the Imperialists, and effect those things which they had proposed unto themselves as the end of their confederacy. But that if the King should judge it fit to accept of the Truce, they were ready to be govern'd therein by his Majesty. The Pope in his agreement made with the Viceroy, had reserved a place for the Venetians, who of themselves were not much averse from accepting the Truce: they thought it not amiss to take time, that they might prepare themselves the better for defence; the rather, for that they hoped, that the marriage being the mean while concluded between the King of *England*'s daughter, and the most Christian King, whereby he might declare himself for the League, it might increase in force and reputation. It made moreover much for their advantage, to keep the Pope at this time in suspence, that he might not be their Enemy, but rather hoping that when his fear of the present dangers should be over, they might draw him once more to joyn with them. Besides, by this suspention of Armes, occasion was offered of negotiating the universal peace, with safety and satisfaction to all; that being the true object, which their taking up of Armes aimed at. But in the first place, they pitched upon friendship with *France*, wherefore finding that the King did not listen to these proposals, they thought no more thereof. But the King propounding the renewing of War, and the reassuming the enterprize of *Naples* with their Armies, and their Fleets; the Senate were for Arming, but shewed that they could reap no good by turning their Forces upon those parts, at this time; because their honour, and the peoples favour was lost, by the Popes having withdrawn himself from the League, and by the restitution of the Towns which they had gotten. They therefore proposed, as the safest and most advantageous course which could then be taken, to defend the States of *Lumbardy*, if the agreement should go on; and if not, that they should not abandon the defence of the Churches Territories, and the Florentines, because their oppression would redound much to the prejudice of the League.

But the Imperial Army, after the agreement made in *Rome*, though *Cesare Feramosca* had sent them orders to keep where they were, were it either that *Burbone* would not, or could not detain them, marched towards *Romagna*, and sitting down before *Gottignuola*, they took it by agreement, and then went towards *Furli*. But keeping the way to *Meldola*, they seemed as if they would passe over the *Alpes* by the Valley of *Argoe*, and so enter into *Tuscanie*; hoping to be able to repair themselves by the conveniencies which were offered them by the Senesi, and to supply the great need they stood in of victuals. Wherefore the Venetian Senate, according to their former

resolution

reſolution ordered the Duke of *Urbin*, that leaving ſo many men as he ſhould think fitting for the defence of their Country, he ſhould advance with the reſt, to aſſiſt the occaſions of the Church, and of the Florentines, and to oppoſe the Imperialiſts in all their deſignes; whereupon the Duke, carrying part of the Army along with him neer to *Bullognia*, the Marquis of *Saluzzo* went with the reſt by ſeveral waies, and in ſeveral Quarters, to *Imola*, and fix'd his Camp between *Ravenna*, and *Faenza*, before the Enemy were gone from *Cottignuola*. The manner how to govern the War, was long argued by the Captains of the League; and by a joynt conſent it was agreed, that the Forces of the League ſhould be divided into two ſeveral bodies, to incloſe the Enemy in the midſt, to hinder them the more from victuals, and to impede their deſignes whitherſoever they turned. Yet the Pope blaming *poſt factum*, the counſel which was formerly praiſed by *Renzo*, and by *Camillo Urſino*, and by all his men, ſought to excuſe his precipitous agreement, by having as he ſaid, argued much coolneſs by theſe proceedings in the Colleagues, as concerning the defence of his Affairs, and that therefore he was forced to think upon ſome other courſe for his own ſafety.

But then the Pope, who before not crediting the dangers which were apprehended by all the reſt, thought himſelf ſecure; being mightily aſtoniſhed at theſe new advertiſements, ſent for the Embaſſadours of all the confederate Princes, and ſhewing on the one ſide, his deſire of the common good, nay, the neceſſity which had inforced him to accept of the Truce; and on the other ſide, how abuſively he was uſed by the Imperialiſts; deſired them to intercede earneſtly with their Princes, that upon occaſion of ſo much danger, they would not, to the common prejudice, abandon him and the Florentines: And he entreated *Dominico Veniero*, the Common-wealths Embaſſadour, particularly, that he would be a means to the Senate, that they would give order to the Duke of *Urbin*, to carry his Army beyond the *Alpes*, promiſing that he would renew the League, and inviolably obſerve it. And the Senate, though the ſending of thoſe men ſo far from their own State, and the hazarding of them amidſt the Mountains, bore with it no ſmall difficulties, and though the Pope, following his own counſels, and ſeveral from theirs, had given them occaſion enough to lay aſide all thought of his Intereſt, yet continuing their firſt intention, they gave order to the Duke of *Urbin*, and to *Luigi Piſani* (who when *Contarini* was left Commiſſary in *Lumbardie*, was gone unto the Camp) that they ſhould, if occaſion ſhould ſo require, paſs over the *Alpes*. Whereupon the Imperialiſts being paſt, they were quickly purſued by the French and by the Venetian Camps; ſo as almoſt at the ſame time, all the Armies were brought into *Tuſcanie* *Burbone* quartered near *Arezzo*, and the Leagues Army at *Barbarino*; the City of *Florence* being as it were in the midſt between theſe two Armies; which occaſioned great tumults in the City, wherein the mindes of the Citizens being variouſly contaminated by the humour of factions, ſome deſiring a popular Government, others the powers but of a few, and the exaltation of the houſe of *Medici*, they fell eaſily to civil contentions, and the popular faction began

began already to prevail; the prehemineney of Government being taken out of the hands of the *Medici*, and of their dependants, and *Hipolito*, and *Aleſsandro* (both of them being the Popes Nephews) were particularly declared to be Enemies to the Country. But the Duke of *Urbin* coming opportunely to *Florence*, in the time of theſe commotions; who as ſoon as he ſaw *Burbone* bend towards *Tuſcany*, taking only 80 Gentlemen along with him, haſted with the Commiſſary *Piſani*, and with *Frederick Bozzuole*, to *Florence*, to keep the Florentines in loyalty to the League, put a ſtop to the audacity of the young men, through fear of his army, which was not far off, and reduced Affairs to their former condition, without any blood-ſhed or prejudice by civil diſſention: And got thereby thus much good to the Colleagues, as that the Florentines being received into protection, promiſed adherance to the League; and to maintaine in the camp, at their own expences, 250 Curaſſiers, and 5000 Foot, or whatſoever other numbers the Pope ſhould pleaſe.

Whilſt theſe things were in treaty with the Florentines, the confederacy was renued in *Rome* by the other confederates; whereby the Venetians were bound in a great ſum of Money not to remove their men out of *Tuſcanie*, or out of the Eccleſiaſtical State without the Popes leave, and to be the firſt that ſhould ſend their Fleet againſt the Kingdome of *Naples*. Which conditions being thought by the Senate to be too hard, as indeed they were, were not accepted of, but their Embaſſadour, *Dominico Veniero*, having exceeded his Commiſſion, was ſent for back to *Venice*, and committed *all' Vfficio dell' Augaria*, and *Franciſco Peſaro* was choſen Embaſſadour in his place; before whom, many had been choſen, who would not accept of the imployment: Alledging that they had other places of Magiſtracy; wherefore a Law was made, that during the War, it might be lawful for any one to be choſen, and taken out of whatſoever place or imployment. But leſt the Pope might think they had any thought averſe to the confederacy, or common good, they ſent immediately Secretary *Andrea Roſſo*, to *Rome*, to aſcertain the Pope of their good will to the League; provided, that too heavy, and almoſt inſupportable conditions were not to be laid upon them, as had been, eſpecially at this time, when they were to re-inforce their Army in *Lumbardie*; *Antonio da Leva* being marched into the Field, and the Invaſion of the Landsknechts being expected. But *Burbone*, were it either that he did deſpair of doing any good at *Florence*, to the defence whereof all the Confederates Forces were brought; or that he did alwaies intend the other, reſolved to make towards *Rome*, being thereunto invited, by *Romes* not being provided againſt theſe dangers; for the Pope vainly confiding in the Citizens, and Country people, great ſtore whereof were entred into the City, and Armes were given to above 5000 of them, had been careleſs in raiſing new Foot, or in making uſe of thoſe which he had; inſomuch, as having given Commiſſion to *Philippo Doria*, to raiſe 3000 Foot, whereof he had already raiſed a third part, and brought them to *Civita Vecchia*, he took no order for their coming to *Rome*: And he made his Almnor write to *Guido Rangone*, who was come with a good number of Foot

to *Otricoli*, commanding him not to come towards *Rome* without expreſs Order: Wherefore though the Duke of *Urbine* had given Count *Guido* notice of *Burbone's* March, to the end that he might go time enough to *Rome*; yet would he not ſtir, having been commanded the contrary by the Pope. But he did not eſcape being blamed for this by many, who ſaid that in ſuch a caſe he ought to have obeyed the Duke of *Urbine*, as being the Captain General of the League. But *Burbone* having now with great reſolution overcome many difficulties, whereinto the Army was reduced for want of monies, march'd towards *Rome*, wherein he uſed ſuch diſpatch, as he advanced fourty miles a day, making but one only Quarter between *Viterbo* and *Rome*; the great rains which in many parts had overflown the Country not making him ſlack his pace. Before he came to *Rome*, he ſent to ask leave of the Pope, to go (as he ſaid) to the Kingdom of *Naples*; being thereunto moved, either by the ſcarcity of victuals, or for fear of being ſurprized by the Army of the League which followed him, if he ſhould have made too long abode any where, or (as ſome thought) that he might pick an occaſion to do that which he had already determined.

But the Pope was not pleaſed to liſten to ſuch propoſals, or to give way thereunto; were it either that he did now know the Enemies moſt intrinſecal thoughts, or that he did ſufficiently confide in the aſſiſtance of the people, and in the Leagues Fleet, which was now at *Cevita Vecchia* with ſome ſtore of Foot. But howſoever it was, *Burbone* having ſomewhat refreſh'd his men with victuals, which the men of *Aquapendente*, of S^t *Lorenzo*, and of ſome other Towns which he had taken, furniſh'd him with, he reſolved on the ſixth of *May* to accoſt the Walls of *Rome*, and to give an aſſault. *Renzo da Ceri*, to whom the Pope had committed the charge thereof, had made but weak defences for the Suburbs, and provided but ſlightly for all other defences: So as the want of diligence to ſecure dangers, made the Souldiers fool-hardineſs more ſucceſsful; ſo as clapping the Ladders to the Walls of the Suburbs, and not being diſcover'd till it was too late, by the Defendants, by reaſon of a very thick miſt which fell that day, after ſome few hours diſpute they won the Walls, and entred the Suburb. *Antonio di Montefalco*, who had the cuſtody of that part where the firſt aſſault was given, and had 100 Foot with him, repuls'd the firſt Aſſalliants, and being afterwards relieved by many of the armed people, he for a while withſtood the violence of the Enemy. But *Burbones* Souldiers continuing to fight ſtoutly, thoſe new and unexperienced people, when they ſaw the danger increaſe, aud growing very apprehenſive of themſelves, and of their own particular Affairs, gave over the defence of the Wall, and began to run, leaving free entrance to the Enemy; *Burbone* was one of the firſt that mounted the Walls, who receiving a Muſket ſhot through his ſide and right thigh, fell preſently down, and dyed. Yet did not the Souldiers forbear going on, egg'd on by the fury of Battle, and deſire of prey. Then the Pope, teaching by a notable example, that when the height of danger is in queſtion, 'tis wiſely done to think all things poſſible, and to ſeek all opportune remedies againſt them, as

if

if they were ſure to happen; being deceived in his truſt, and in his hopes, which were more grounded upon the Enemies diſorder, then on his own Forces, being poorly adviſed, and full of fear, after he had tarried a good while in his Palace, expecting what the event of the Battle would be, reſolved at laſt to ſave himſelf, together with many of his Prelates, in the Caſtle of S^t *Angelo*.

Renzo, who had been long born away with the ſame errour, and ſeeking too late to amend it, ran up and down the City, calling upon the people, and ſolliciting them to take up Arms; and to ſtand upon their defence. But they were ſo poſſeſs'd with fear, by reaſon of this unexpected and bitter accident, as his words were not heard; nor was there any thing to be found in them but confuſion and terror. So as the Enemy making themſelves ſoon, and without much ado, Maſters of the Suburbs, and of the *Tranſtevere*, they entred into the City between the Gates *Aurelia* and *Settimiana*, which were not defended either by Walls (for they were quite ruin'd by age) nor yet by armed men.

Thus a great and noble City, in a few hours ſpace, and without almoſt any defence, fell into the power of cruel Enemies: Much time, many men, and great labour having been often formerly ſpent in the ſame War, in taking the meaneſt and leaſt Caſtles. *Philippo Doria*, and County *Guido*, when they ſaw *Burbone* approach near *Rome*, were, without receiving any Orders, march'd away with their men, the one out of *Orvieto*, the other out of *Cevita Vecchia*, to aſſiſt the Pope: But being prevented by *Burbone*, who had block'd up the Avenues to the City, they ſoon return'd to from whence they were come. And the Duke of *Urbine*, following the Enemy, though ſomewhat the ſlower by reaſon of the hinderances his Army met with, came therewith to *Viterbo*, where, finding the Country waſted by the Enemy, he was forc'd to ſtay for want of victuals; not having above ſeventeen thouſand Foot in his Army, of the thirty thouſand which by obligation of the Confederates it ought to have conſiſted on, ſo much was it diminiſhed by various accidents: The Light Horſe and the Foot going often out of theſe Quarters, got many Booties, which they took from the Imperial Souldiers, as they came loaded with prey from *Rome*. There is nothing ſo calamitous, ſo bitter, wicked, nor cruel, which *Rome* did not at this time undergo: Falling from the height of all proſperity, to the very bottom of all miſery; which affords a notable example of the change of fortune, and of the frailty of humane Affairs; for in the times laſt before theſe, to wit, in the Popedome of *Leo*; the Court of *Rome* was gotten to a great height, and to ſuch a magnificency, and ſplendor of living, as there was nothing of worldly felicity more to be deſired in her. Great ſtore of Courtiers, men excellent in all arts, Pallaces princely adorned, abundance of all things. So as the people of *Rome* being inriched by the concourſe of ſo many Nations, and by the profuſeneſs of their expences, lived merrily and luxurioufly; and though *Clement*, as well by nature, as by accidents of War, was ſomevvhat more ſparing and modeſt, yet this courſe being once begun, the ſame manner of life vvas ſtill continued both in the Court and City. The Dutch

and Spaniſh Foot being entred the City, as hath been ſaid, they became barbarous, with much rage and fierceneſs, to all things; not diſtinguiſhing between what was ſacred, and what was profane, without any bounds to their avarice or luſt: ſacking, rapine, and other miſeries which attend the conquered, and which uſe to end in a few days, continued in this City for many moneths; the ſouldiers grew furious againſt the popularity, killing as well ſuch as were unarmed, as ſuch as were armed, ſparing neither Age, Nation, nor Profeſſion: having aſſaulted the houſes, they made the Maſters thereof Priſoners, taking away what they had of moſt precious, nay, uſing torments to make them diſcover what they had hid, and ſhewing no more reſpect towards churches; they with their wicked and ſacrilegious hands robbed Altars, took away holy Reliques from the Shrines, and the piouſly conſecrated vows of many devout perſons of all Nations, and violating even the holieſt Pixes, th.y threw the moſt bleſſed Sacraments to the ground, and that they might leave nothing uncontaminated, or free from their wickedneſs, they dragg'd noble Matrons out of their houſes, and ſacred Virgins out of their Monaſteries, and ſtripping them ſtark naked, led them through the publike ſtreets, and moſt libidinouſly ſatisfied their diſhoneſt wills. Nor were the greateſt and nobleſt Prelates of the Court more ſecure then others, to whom the Dutch Foot principally, uſing all ſorts of ſcorn and infamy, ſhewed the immenſe hatred they bore to the Church of *Rome*.

This miſerable Fortune, and ſo many grievous calamities, made all men confeſs, that the ancient ruines brought by the Northern Barbarians to the City of *Rome*, were renewed; nay, that the cruelties of the Goths, and other barbarous Nations, was ſo far out-done by theſe moſt cruel and wicked men, as their deteſted memory would laſt longer then that of any others: But the ſcourge of this miſerable people did not determine in the power of men; for thorow the naſtineſs of theſe baſe people, and by their diſſolute way of life, or were it thorow the maligne influence of the heavens, great ſickneſſes enſued ſoon after; which growing contagious, ſlew men ſuddenly, ſo as the infected fell down dead as they walked and talked in the ſtreets. This mortality was followed with ſuch a ſterility of the earth, and with ſuch a ſcarcity of corn for humane life, proceeding either for want of manuring the fields, or for that heavens anger was not as yet appeaſed, as not only people of mean condition, but even thoſe that had wont to abound in wealth, being reduced to great poverty, and feeding upon the vileſt of meats, went begging their bread; in ſuch ſort, as this moſt noble country being made a receptacle of Souldiers, and ſuch as were her moſt capital enemies, was abandoned by Citizens, and by the Court, and became a horrid and lothſome ſpectacle; ſo as it might be truly affirmed of her, Behold a City reduced to ſolitude, and enſlaved, which had wont to command all Nations.

The End of the Fifth Book.

THE HISTORY OF VENICE,

Written by PAULO PARUTA.

BOOK VI.

THE CONTENTS.

THE Venetians are much troubled at the taking of Rome, *and therefore reſolve to relieve the Pope. The Cardinals that are at liberty chuſe* Bullognia *for their reſidence.* Charls *his Manifeſto, to clear himſelf from what had befallen* Rome, *and his actions to the contrary. The Venetians aſſiſt* Franciſco Sforza, *and the Cities of* Romagnia. *The Duke of* Urbin *reſolves to fight the Imperialiſts before* Rome, *and is hindred by Commiſſary* Vetturi, *who had Proceſs made againſt him for it, and was at laſt abſolved, and the diſtaſtes between him and the Duke of* Urbin *agreed, who ſends his wife and ſon to* Venice. *The Imperialiſts of* Rome *ſack* Terni, *and* Narni. *The Florentines ratifie the League. The Venetians ſend two thouſand Foot to guard* Bullognia. *The Pope enclines to the Agreement, and concludes it upon diſhonourable terms. The Venetians provide for their State, and adviſe upon the way of making war.* Lautrech's *actions conſtrued ill by the Senate, who ſend an Ambaſſadour to* France. Pavia *is taken, and ſackt,* Doria's *actions with the* Genueſes, *and* Fregoſa's *againſt the* Adorni. *The unhappy ſucceſs of the Venetian Fleet at* Sardinia, *for which* Antonio Marcello *is puniſhed. The Venetians growing jealous of* Lautrech, *bring their men into* Lombardy. *Treaties of Peace with* Ceſar *ſucceed not, and war is intimated by the Colleagues. The Pope being freed by* Ceſar, *ſeems neutral, and deſires the reſtitution of ſome Towns from the Venetians, who conſult upon an anſwer, and therefore ſend* Gaſpero Contarini *Embaſſadour to* Rome. *The Imperialiſts and the French Armies in the Kingdom of* Naples. *The proſperous ſucceſs of the French.*

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THe Senate of *Venice* was greatly troubled to hear of the taking and ſacking of *Rome*, and of the Pope's impriſonment. Others were moved to compaſſionate the miſerable misfortune of that noble and flouriſhing City; the ſad condition of ſo many Court Prelates, and chiefly that of the Pope; being brought from the moſt ſupream degree of reverence and authority, into much lowneſs and danger, and was ſtill expoſed to the fury of Arms, and to many injuries: others were ſorely grieved at theſe proceedings of the Spaniards, who they imagined would now neither want boldneſs nor fortune to attempt any thing to the prejudice of the Liberty of *Italy*; eſpecially, ſince there was no ſlight occaſion of jealouſie, that they would carry the Pope priſoner into *Spain*, to the end, that they might afterwards by their accuſtomed cunning, and vain pretences, poſſeſs themſelves of the Churches dominion, and make the way eaſier for themſelves to be lords of Italy. Wherefore the Venetians moved partly out of compaſſion and diſdain, for the injuries done unto the Pope; and alſo out of State policy, not to ſuffer *Charles* his fortune to increaſe further, to their yet greater prejudice, they reſolved, to concurre with all their forces to the freeing of the Pope, and to ſpare neither coſt nor danger therein: Wherefore they gave ſtrict order to the Duke of *Urbine*, their captain General, and to their Commiſſaries *Piſani* and *Vetturi*, to advance with their Army, and ſetting all other things aſide, to attend the relief of the Caſtle, where the Pope was

ſhut

ſhut up, and to uſe all poſſible means to ſet him at Liberty, and to free him from danger; and, that they might not be diſturb'd in this enterpriſe, they fell forthwith to the raiſing of new foot, whereby to add unto their army which was given them in *Lombardy* 10000 men more, that they might therewithall encounter, *Antonio da Leva*, who being march'd into the field, and meeting with no obſtacle, was likely to grow daily ſtronger by the ſuccour which he expected from *Germany*. The *Venetians* were much encouraged in this their intention; and their hopes of good ſucceſs was encreaſed by the great preparations which the Kings of *France* and *England* made, to fall upon (as they conſtantly gave out) the Provinces of *Flanders* with their Armies and Fleet, whereby to force the Emperour to reduce all his forces into thoſe parts, and to abandon the affairs of *Italy*. Theſe things did very much reſcent what had happened to *Rome*, for which reſpect, the King of *England* haſtned away the Cardinal of York, who was ſent to the court of *France*, to take ſome order for the intervene and meeting of the two Kings; wherein the chief thing to be treated of was, the Popes freedome, and the ſecuring of the Eccleſiaſtical-State, nor did the King of *France* ſhew himſelf leſs forward herein; who had immediately ſent orders to his Commanders in *Italy*, to attend the freeing of the Pope with all their might; and the ſecuring of the Churches dominions: for the better effecting whereof, he adviſed the Cardinals, which were yet at Liberty, to meet all of them at *Avignon*, whether the Cardinal of *York* promiſed alſo to come, this place being made choice of, as ſafe and commodious for the Tranſactions which were to paſs between them and the Court of *Spain*: and the Cardinals, accepting of the advice of meeting, choſe *Bullognia* for the place of their convention. But *Ceſar*, hearing of what had befallen at *Rome*, and of the Popes captivity, appeared to be no leſs diſpleaſed at it, then were the reſt: affirming publickly, that he had rather his Commanders had not been Victors, then to have uſed the Victory ſo: and going about to juſtifie himſelf, as of a thing not onely done without his conſent, but even againſt his directions: "He alleadged his long indeavours for Peace, out of a "deſire whereof, he had paſs'd by ſo many injuries received from the "Princes of the League; and had in many things condeſcended to "their deſires; eſpecially in ſuch things as concerned the Territories "and honour of the Church, and the exaltation of the Apoſtolical "Sea; which was alwayes of ſuch force with him, as he had alwayes "preferr'd it before his own intereſts, and before the ſatisfaction "of many of the States of the Empire, which ſought to withdraw "themſelves from the obedience of the Popes of *Rome*; the knowledg "whereof had made *Leo*, and *Adrian* the 6th his friends, and had made "them favour his deſires and enterpriſes, as juſt and honeſt: That he "was now the more troubled at it, becauſe his diſlike was not able to "undo what was done; but that as for himſelf, he was ready to remedy "it as much as he could, and to imbrace all fair conditions of agree-"ment, touching which he himſelf had written to the King of *En-*"*gland*, and had treated thereof with divers Cardinals of the "Court.

Yet

yet his actions answered not to these his words; for he neither gave any positive answer touching the Pope's freedom, nor was he less diligent in providing for War; and in his discourse, he would often excuse *Bourbone*, and his Army; he would aggravate offences received from the Pope, mention his inconstancy, and breach of faith in past agreements, and shew into what dangers the Colleagues had endeavoured to bring him; whence it might be comprehended, that his intentions did not correspond with his speeches, and that nothing but necessity, and force of Arms, would make him consent to the setting of the Pope, and the King of *France* his Sons at liberty. Wherefore the King having formerly resolved to take ten thousand Switzers into pay, for the affairs of *Lombardy*, and being till now somwhat slow in effecting that his resolution, and growing more jealous and apprehensive of the Imperialists fortune and designs, after the taking of *Rome*, he forthwith sent monies for that purpose to *Lyons*, and earnestly solicited their departure.

The Venetians were not wanting in encreasing the King's desire herein, by their fervent and frequent endeavours, minding him of the necessity of strongly prosecuting this War, since Religion and State policy did concur, in not suffering the Apostolique See, and the Liberty of *Italy* to be suppress'd; and that they might invite him thereunto no less by actions then by words, they resolved to rig up their Fleet with all speed, which had suffered much by bad Weather at *Civita Vecchia*, and by other misfortunes; and moreover, to Arm four other Bastard Gallies, whereof *Antonio Marcello* was made Commander, that their Fleet might be the readier, and more able to assault the Marishes of *Puglia*: They propounded likewise to the King, that ten thousand other Foot, besides the Switzers, might be raised at the common expence; and the mean while, they took many Commanders into their pay, such as were then esteemed most experienced in Military affairs; and amongst the rest, Count *Gaiazzo*, and the Marquis *Pallavicino*; and to enhearten *Francisco Sforza* (whose friendship and ready will was thought necessary above all things else, for the good success of the affairs in the State of *Milan*) they lent him ten thousand Ducats, wherewith he promised to encrease the number of his men, which were already above two thousand Foot, and to come with them in person to *Lodi*, and joyn with the Venetian Army. And because the Towns in *Romagna* were exposed to much danger, not having any one who did assist or succour them in times of such misery and disorder, the Senate being much prest thereunto, sent monies to the Governour of *Ravenna*, to raise Foot, and to Garrison that City, encouraging him to hold out, and promising him greater supplies if need should require; which they soon after made good, by sending three hundred Foot, and an hundred light Horse into the City, under the command of *Ivon di Naldo*, charging him to hold that City in the name of the Apostolique See, and of the League; but some disorders arising between the Citizens and the Souldiers, the City sent *Ivon Donato*, one of their citizens, to *Venice*, to desire they would send one of their Nobles, to be as Commissary in *Ravenna*; to which purpose, *Bartholomeo Contarini* was chosen. The like also did those

of

of *Cervia* ſoon after, the *Guelfs* having driven out thoſe of the *Ghebeline* faction, and received in a Venetian Garriſon and Magiſtrate, not only giving way unto, but requiring an Apoſtolique Legate, for the quiet and preſervation of thoſe Cities.

But the Duke of *Urbine* having received Orders from the Senate, and ordering all things in reference thereunto, having firſt made ſure of the City of *Perugia*, which was then governed by *Gentile Baglione*, who was ſuſpected to have held intelligence with the enemy; and having put a good Garriſon thereinto, he went with his Army to *Todi*, and from thence to *Orvietto*; near unto which place, the French and Eccleſiaſtiques being joyned to the Venetians, as was formerly agreed upon, the Duke calling a councel of the chief Commanders, and cauſing the Senates Letters to be read, affirmed reſolutely, that he would march towards *Rome*, and according to his Commiſſion, endeavour by all means poſſible, to get the Pope out of the Caſtle; and not refuſe, if the Enemy ſhould come forth, to come to a day of Battel with them, wherein he himſelf would be in the firſt rank, and put himſelf upon the greateſt dangers. Which reſolution being approved of by Commiſſary *Piſani*, was likewiſe aſſented unto by all the reſt; only Commiſſary *Vetturi* oppoſed it, and entred his proteſtation againſt it in writing, as being a precipitous advice, full of certain danger, and uncertain ſucceſs; ſaying, that our men were far inferiour both in number and worth to thoſe of the Enemies Army, wherein there were many men, and moſt of them well diſciplin'd, accuſtomed to fight, and to overcome, and therefore grown bold, and ready to with-ſtand a much greater force. This did ſomwhat allay the Duke's former ardour, yet ſtill he continued his reſolution of carrying his Army nearer *Rome*, intending to take up his quarters in ſome ſtrongly ſituated place, where he might be ready for whatſoever event ſhould happen. He therefore betook himſelf to new councels; which was, to endeavour with leſs danger to bring the Pope out of the Caſtle; to which purpoſe, he in great haſte ſent *Frederico da Bozzole* with a Troop of Curaſſiers, good ſtore of light Horſe, and ſome companies of Dragoons towards the City, hoping, that by his unexpected coming, the Pope might find ſome way of getting out; and having ſo ſure a guide, might come to the Leagues Army. Which courſe, through ſeveral accidents, proved but vain. But the Army advancing ſtill the mean while, they heard that new Trenches were made about the Caſtle, and ſo ſecure, as the enterprize grew more difficult; and moreover, that ſome Spaniſh Foot were expected to come to *Rome* from *Naples*, from whence Captain *Alcone* was already come with ſome companies. Wherefore the Duke, with the conſent of the reſt of the Commanders, thought it not fit that the Army ſhould advance any further, whereof he gave the Senate ſpeedy notice, acquainting them with the cauſe of his ſtay, and requiring much greater forces, that he might more ſafely, and with better hopes, attempt the freeing of the Pope; to effect the which, he ſaid it was requiſite to have fifteen thouſand Switzers in the Army, a great number of Pioners, and a greater Train of Artillery.

The Venetians were much troubled to hear this, that the Pope

ſhould continue ſo long, in ſo ſore troubles; and the rather for that ſome Letters were at this time read in the Senate, written by the Pope himſelf to *Guicchardine*, the Eccleſiaſtical Commiſſary, and by him ſent to *Venice*: Wherein deploring his adverſity, and ſad condition, he entreated, ſolicited, and conjured the Confederates to procure his freedom. Nor was the loſs of the Leagues reputation by reaſon of this ſlowneſs leſs grievous; whereby the credit of the Enemy was the more encreaſed, and the fear dayly increaſed, that the Pope out of meer deſperation would agree upon any tearms with the Imperialiſts: So as they knew not now whereupon to ground their hopes, or how to lay their deſigns of War: For the things that were required were difficult, and asked length of time, whereby things would grow worſe and almoſt impoſſible to be repaired. Wherefore the Senate, underſtanding the hindrance which Commiſſary *Veturi* put in the Armies approaching near *Rome*, took the place from him, and committed him to the Office of the *Avogaria*, that he might give an accompt of his action; but his tryal being delay'd, and the anger which was conceived againſt him being with time allay'd, and it being found that his advice was not without ſome reaſon, he was abſolved in Court.

But the Senate perſiſting ſtill in their firſt opinion, did with greater efficacie then before, renew their orders to their Captain General, and to their Commiſſaries, that uſing all poſſible diligence, they ſhould reſume their former reſolution, of drawing with their Army near *Rome* and of indeavouring to free the Pope; whereat all of them were ſo highly diſtaſted, as the Duke of *Urbine* was ready to quit the Common-wealths ſervice: But afterwards diſlikes being on all ſides tempered, his place was confirm'd upon him for two years longer, the Senate taking him and his State into their protection. But to give better ſecurity, and as it were, a pledg of his fidelity, he ſent his Wife, and the Prince his Son, to live at *Venice*, which the Senate took extreamly well, and by Letters full of thanks and affection, deſired to confirm this good opinion in him, ſhewing how great expectation every one was in of his worth upon this occaſion; and particularly the eſteem which they themſelves had not only of his valour, but of his loyaltie and love towards the Common-wealth. And becauſe in this commotion of Affairs, it much imported them to keep the Florentines faithful to the League, the Venetians labour'd to increaſe the diſpoſition which they found in them to ſtand to the confederacy to which the Pope had formerly agreed in their name: Though after what had hapned at *Rome*, they had driven the *Medici* out of the City, and reduced the Government into the former popular condition.

The Popes Impriſonment, and the Spaniards proſperous ſucceſs, proving dayly more grievous, and vexatious to the French, they betook themſelves to make diligent proviſion for War; the King ſaid he would come himſelf in perſon to *Lions*, that he might be nearer at hand to provide for what was requiſite for the Army; and that he had given order for the levying of more Foot, which amounted to the number of 15000 Switzers, and 10000 Italians: He likewiſe man'd out *Andrea Doria*, at his own expences, with eight Gallies,

that

that he might be therewithal ſerviceable to what ſhould be done by Sea: and agreement being opportunely made at this time between him and the King of *England*, he exhorted him, ſince there were divers accidents which deterr'd the waging of War with *Ceſar* beyond the mountains, to contribute monies for the payment of ten thouſand Dutch foot, to the end, that they might make war with him the more forceably in *Italy*: And that there might not want a Chieftain of authority in the buſineſs, he reſolved to ſend *Lautrech* into *Italy*, to be General of the League, who might command in chief over all the Armies: and the Venetians to honour him, choſe *Pietro Piſaro*, Procurator of S. *Mark*, for their Embaſſadour, who was to meet him as ſoon as he ſhould be come into *Italy*, and to be continually aſſiſtant with him.

Whilſt affairs were ordering thus, the Imperialiſts which were in *Rome*, although their numbers were much encreaſed by the Spaniſh Foot, which were lately come from *Naples* by Sea to that City, ſo as there was about four and twenty thouſand foot in the Imperial Army, yet did they employ their time idely, in making uſe of the booty which they had got, not making any further progreſs; the Commanders authority not being ſufficient to make them go out of the City, nor to curb their licentiouſneſs, only ſome few Dutch Foot went out of *Rome* (by whoſe going, it was thought that all the Army would riſe) and ſacked *Terni*, and *Narni*, without paſſing any further, though the Leagues Army were retreated; for that deſpairing of the buſineſs of *Rome*, the Venetians had cauſed their Army, which was followed by the Marquis of *Saluzzo* with the French, to retreat to the confines of the *Seneſi*, to ſecure the Florentine affairs, according to the ratification of the League; upon the obligation of the Florentines maintaining five thouſand foot in the Camp at their own coſt: in which they ſhewed themſelves the more ready, for that they were the moſt expoſed to danger; for the Imperial Commanders threatned to turn their forces upon them, being incenſed, for that having in the beginning of the Pope's adverſity, given them ſome intimation that they would adhere unto the Emperour, they did afterwards cloſe with his enemies. The Venetians were then ſix thouſand Italian foot, two thouſand Lansknechts, thirteen hundred Light Horſe, and two thouſand Curaſſiers. The French foot exceeded not ſeven thouſand, though the King payed for a great many more. And this counſel proved very lucky, for it kept the War far from the Commonwealth, it hindred the further proceedings of the enemy, it preſerved the City of *Bulogna*, by the reputation of the neighbouring Forces, which was in the more danger, by reaſon of the Intelligence held between the Imperialiſts and *Bentevoglii*; whoſe faction was grown the greater, by the addition of the *Malvezzi*; wherefore the Venetians, at the requeſt of Cardinal *Cibo*, who had the Government of that City, ſent two thouſand Foot to guard it. But the ſcarcity of victuals, and the many ſore ſickneſſes, by which the Army was much diminiſhed, hindred them from making any attempt.

Out of theſe reaſons, the enemies forces being much increaſed, and thoſe of the Confederates diminiſhed, the Pope, deſpairing of being

ſoon relieved, applyed himſelf wholly to Treaties of agreement. Wherefore he very much deſired the Duke of *Urbin*, that he would ſuffer the Viceroy to come ſafely to *Rome*, hoping by his means to obtain better conditions, then were then offered him by the other Imperial Commanders: which ſucceeded otherwiſe, either, for that the Viceroy had not authority enough to do it, or elſe, for that minding himſelf more then the Pope, he agreed rather to thoſe conditions which might pleaſe the ſouldiers, that he might win their favour, and be made their commander, then to thoſe which made for the Pope's advantage; who ſtill continuing earneſtly to deſire an agreement, for he had been often deluded by thoſe of the League, they came preſently to an agreement, but upon hard and diſhonorable Conditions, and which were often afterwards refuſed by him,

He being thereby bound to pay 400000 *Duckets to the Army, and to put into the Imperialiſts hands the Caſtle of* Angelo, *the Forts of* Hoſtia, Cevita Vecchia, *and* Cevita Caſtellana, *and moreover to cauſe the cities of* Parma *and* Piacenza *to be delivered up unto them; for all which, he was notwithſtanding not to be then ſet at liberty, but to be carried to* Gaetta, *and there to expect* Ceſar's *reſolution, touching what was to be done about the ratification of the Agreement, and concerning his perſon, and the like of many Cardinals, and Prelates which were in the Caſtle.*

The *Venetians* were much diſpleaſed at this, ſince by theſe Articles *Ceſar*'s Forces, and reputation were greatly increaſed; having lately incenſed *Ceſar* yet more againſt them, by having given Commiſſion to their Embaſſadour, That, together with the King of *France*'s and the King of *England*'s Embaſſadour, he ſhould require *Ceſar* to ſet the Pope at Liberty, and in caſe of denial, they were all of them to denounce war againſt him. But, it being known, that it was great neceſſity, the fear of his own perſon, and chiefly, the hatred which the *Colloneſi*, and the *Dutch* Foot bore unto his name and perſon, which made him accept of ſo prejudicial tearms; believing that he might eaſily change his minde, and that time might make way for better fortune; they reſolved to hinder ſuch things, which, *poſt factum*, would be hard, and perhaps impoſſible to do: therefore, for the preſervation of *Cremona*, they cauſed their Army in *Lombardy*, which quartered in the Territories of *Crema*, to paſs over the river *Ada*, that it might garriſon thoſe Cities, hinder the delivery of them up, diſturb the buſineſs agreed upon, and to keep the Imperialiſts in work, and to weaken them by laying waſte the Country about *Milan*, and *Pavia*. Theſe forces of the *Venetians* were then about 10000 foot, 500 Curaſſiers, 700 Light-horſe, under the command of the Duke of *Urbine*, and of Commiſſary *Dominico Contarini*; to boot, with 3500 foot, which the Duke of *Milan*, (who was come according to his promiſe to the Army,) had brought with him. Yet they did not purpoſe as yet to fall upon any important Action, for they expected, *Lautrech*'s comming, who, being gone from *France*, with part of the Forces which were deſtin'd for the enterpriſe of *Italy*, was already come to *Piemont*.

The Commanders differed in their opinion, touching the way of managing the war: ſome thought, that it was beſt, that the *French* ſhould

ſhould joyn with the Leagues Army; which, being again advanced, were quartered near *Narni*; theſe alledged for their advice, that fit occaſion might be taken from the diſorders, and inconveniences of the Enemy, of obtaining their chief end, which was, the Pope's Liberty, by drawing to the walls of *Rome*; ſince that the *Ceſarean* Army, by reaſon of the Plague which was in that City, and thorough the licentiouſneſs wherein the ſouldiers had lived for many moneths paſt, was much diminiſhed both in numbers and Vallour; the Foot lying, ſome within, ſome without the Town, without either order, or military Diſcipline, and many of them going dayly in threaves from the Camp; ſo as by the addition of the *French* they might hope to prevail over the enemy, and to drive them quickly out of *Rome*. Yet others thought, that the ſafer way to atchieve this, was, to force the Imperial Commanders to draw their men out of *Rome*, to relieve the State of *Milan*, wherein the war being ſtill hotteſt, it was thought, the Enemy would not be able to make their party good, no, though they ſhould recall their army from *Rome*; and that the relief would either come too late, or not be ſufficient to ſtop the courſe of Victory: ſo as, many good effects might be wrought at one and the ſame time, and peradventure a final end might be put to the war. This being generally approved by the greateſt party, *Lautrech* entred the State of *Milan*, with powerfull forces: 8000 *Switzers*, 3000 *Gaſcones*, and 10000 foot, which were led on by *Peter* of *Navar*; and being come into the country of *Alexandria*, he did not think it fit to advance any further, without attempting ſomewhat with his Forces; he therefore ſate down before the Town of *Boſco*, which was guarded by ten Thouſand *Dutch* Foot, which, after ſome dayes battery, yielded. He with the like ſucceſs got the Town of *Alexandria* ſoon after, and put thereinto a garriſon of five hundred of his men, that he might be ſure to have (as he alledged) a ſafe place for his men to have recourſe unto, in caſe of adverſe fortune; and likewiſe to receive thoſe that were to come from *France*. But, both the Duke of *Milan*, and the *Venetians* were much troubled thereat: and it proved afterwards a great hindrance to the affairs of the League, through ſome diffidence which grew among the Colleagues, who grew jealous of the proceeding of the *French*, for their having detained the City, and through no ſmall ſcandal that *Lautrech* took on the other ſide, at this their jealouſie. The *Venetians* complained hereof by their Embaſſadours, both to *Lautrech*, and to the King himſelf; placing the occaſion of their diſlike notwithſtanding rather upon what judgment the enemy would make thereof, then in any ſelf intereſt, or doubt of theirs. And *Monſieur di Taberna*, who was reſident in the Court of *France* on the Duke of *Milan*'s behalf, by not rejoycing, nor holding any diſcourſe with the King about this acquiſition, did, by ſaying nothing, witneſs as much his maſters diſpleaſure: Which, becauſe it might produce many bad effects, the *Venetians* laboured to free him of this ſuſpition, and to appeaſe his diſpleaſure, witneſſing the Kings good will, and excuſing *Lautrech*: And, that theſe their endeavours might be the more efficacious, and to maintain the Dukes reputation as much as they could, they ſent *Gabriel Veniero* Embaſſadour to him, to remain

Reſident

Resident with him, *Luigi Sabadino* the States Secretary having been there till then.

Alexandria being taken, *Lantrech* gave out that he would march with his Army towards *Rome*, to free the Pope, who though he had accorded with the Spaniards, as hath been said, was still kept Prisoner by them, many difficulties being met withal as well in the payment of the monies promised to the Souldiers, as in the assignation of the Strong-holds; nor did *Cesar* seem to be well resolved therein, though by his Speeches he sought to make the contrary be believed. But the Venetians did openly oppose this course; not but that they did equally with the King desire the Popes freedom, but because they thought it little useful for the common affairs; the same reasons and respects concurring then, and being made more considerable by other new accidents, which upon narrow examination before, were by common consent thought sufficient to perswade, that *Lantrech* when he past first over the Mountains, was rather to come into *Lombardy* then into the Territories of *Rome*; it being known that all the remainder of the War, would depend upon the success thereof. That there was great hopes at this time of getting the Cities of *Pavia* and *Milan*, each of them being but slightly garrisoned; and *Antonio da Leva*, by whose diligence and discipline that State was more maintained, then by his Forces, being very sick and altogether disabled for action: That if this occasion should be lost, the condition of all things would grow dayly worse for the League; for a great many Landsknechts were ready to fall down presently from the Country of *Tirol* into *Lombardy*: By whose coming the Enemy would become much stronger, and it would be but in vain for the Confederates to attempt any thing: But that if these men should find no safe receptacle in *Milan*, they neither having Horse nor victuals, they would be forced to alter their minds, and to return home. Time and opportunity would this mean while be gotten for the coming of the ten thousand Dutch Foot to the Camp, which were raised with the King of *Englands* monies; by which the Army being much increased both in reputation and Forces, might with assured hopes of victory, proceed on to the Enterprize of *Rome*, and the Enemies would be soon driven from thence, and the Ecclesiastical State and Liberty of *Italy* secured. *Lantrech* being overcome by these reasons, was content to march with his Army towards *Pavia*, which not being timely succour'd by the Forces which *Antonio da Leva* sent thither from *Milan*, fell easily into the Leagues hands, and was sack'd by the Army, the Souldiers using all sorts of cruelty to the Inhabitants, because it was said that they boasted themselves to have quell'd the King of *France*; by the imprisonment of King *Francis*, which hapned whilst he besieged that City. This News was very welcome to *France*, the French men thinking that by this victory, they had cancell'd the infamy of the Battle fought by that Nation in that place some few years before.

At the same time *Andrea Doria* was come to *Savona* with his Gallies, and some others belonging unto the French, where the Venetian Gallies were to have joyned with him to attempt the business of

Genua;

Genua; it being thought that great advantage might have been made by that City, if it ſhould be reduced to the Kings obedience. But after a whiles ſtay, and before the Venetian Fleet came unto them, a very fair occaſion was offer'd of ſuddenly diſpatching the buſineſs: For the Genoueſe ſhips being come loaded with corn to the Waſhes near *Porto Fino*, the Genoueſe being very deſirous to have them come ſafe unto the City, were gone out to meet them with 8 Gallies, part Genoueſe, part Spaniſh, and put therewith into the ſame Haven. Moreover, underſtanding that *Doria* had landed ſome men, and that making ſome Trenches, he indeavoured to make himſelf Maſter of the Haven, and to hinder any relief from coming to thoſe Ships, and ſo get poſſeſſion of them, they had ſent *Agoſtino Spinola* thitherward with a company of ſelect Foot, to diſturbe the Enemies works, and to ſecure the Haven, and the Ships. Wherein they had good ſucceſs; for *Spinola* falling at unawares upon *Doria's* Souldiers, whilſt they were confuſed and in diſorder, put them quickly to flight, though they were more in number, and took *Phillippo Doria* Priſoner. But News coming not long after to *Genua*, that *Ceſare*, Son to *Janus Frigoſo*, was come into the Valley of *Pozzevera*, and incamped in a Town called *San Pietra de l'arena*, with two thouſand Foot, and ſome Troops of Venetian Horſe, with which *Lautrech* had ſent him to favour the buſineſs of *Genua*, and that being gone from thence he was marching towards that City, they were all of them on a ſudden mightily afraid, for that their beſt Souldiers were gone out of the City, to *Porto Fino*; and for fear of ſome riſing in the City, by reaſon of the ſeveral factions that were therein. Wherefore the *Adorni*, who had then the chief Government of the City, apprehending theſe commotions, ſent to *Spinola*, commanding him to come ſpeedily with all the men he had with him, and to relieve the City: So as being inforc'd to abandon the Fleet, he left it a prey for *Doria*, into whoſe hands eight Gallies, & ſix of the Enemies Ships fell without any diſpute or danger. The mean while the *Adorni* joyning many others of the people to the Souldiers which *Spinola* brought along with him, & believing that by falling at unawares upon the few that *Fregoſo* brought along with him, he might overcome them, and keep the City ſafe and quiet; they went forth, and drew near the Enemies Quarters: Who being advantagiouſly ſeated, fought more confidently, and did not only make their party good, but began to diſorder them, & afterwards to make them run, killing many of them, and taking many of them priſoners, amongſt which chief Commanders *Spinola* was one. Wherefore *Fregoſo* purſuing his victory, and not being retarded by a company of Spaniſh foot, of the Garriſon, who were march'd out to relieve their fellows, he routed them eaſily, and march'd towards the City of *Genua*; which being bereft of almoſt all defence, and having many in her, who were formerly reſolved to ſurrender by reaſon of the love they bore to the family of *Fregoſi*, and to the French, did receive in *Ceſare Fregoſo*, and his Souldiers into the Town, not making any oppoſition: And the Government being taken from the *Adorni*, the City was reduced into the power of the King of *France*, in whoſe behalf *Theodore Trivulcio* was left Governour there.

And

And the Venetians, that they might not leave the valour of their Captains unrewarded, added 30 more Curaſſiers to *Fregoſa*'s conduct, and doubled his pay. They likewiſe ſhewed ſome teſtimony of honour to *Guido Naldo*, to *Agoſtino Cluſone*, *Hannibal Fregoſo*, *Ceſare Martinengo*, and to others who had behaved themſelves worthily in this action.

The buſineſs of *Genua* being ended, and *Giovan Moro*, Commiſſary of the Venetian Fleet, being come with 16 Gallies to *Legorne*, where *Doria* waited for him; they reſolved to go with all the Army to the Iſland of *Sardignia*, which they thought would be eaſily gotten, and would make very much for the enterprize of *Sicily*. But the counſel proved unfortunate; for the Fleet being come near the City of *Sardo*, and having got ſome maritime Towns, it ſo fell out, as there aroſe a great Tempeſt at Sea, which ſcattered the Gallies, and made them go ſeveral waies: Some that belonged to *Venice*, after being long beaten by the Tempeſt, they got ſafe into *Legorne*; others, after having run much hazard, got into *Corſica*, whither alſo all the French Gallies were firſt come, ſave two which were ſplit upon the *Sardignian* ſhore. And nothing being then to be attempted more at Sea, the Winter drawing on, and the Fleet ſorely rent, Commiſſary *Moro* came with his Gallies to *Corfu*. At this time *Pietro Laudo*, was made General at Sea by the Venetians. He was commanded to coaſt along the neighbouring Seas of the Iſlands, and Dominions of *Venice*, to ſecure and conſolate the Subjects; but chiefly, that paſſing into *Sicily*, he ſhould bring away as many Ships as he ſhould find loaden with corn in thoſe parts, and ſend them to *Venice*, to ſupply the great ſcarcity of corn that the City was then in.

But the General having in this interim, ſent Commiſſary *Agoſtino da Mula* with two nimble Gallies, and *Antonio Marcello* with four baſtard Gallies, to ſecure the Eaſtern Seas, it hapned that *Marcello* being in the Haven of *Suda*, in the Iſland of *Candia*, and being told that a Turkiſh Gally was paſſing by the Iſland, he believing that it was the famous Pirate *Cortugoli*, who at that very time, and about thoſe Seas, had rifled and burnt a Ship of *Venice*, and cruelly ſlain all the Mariners and Paſſengers, he put forth to Sea, with a great deſire to vindicate this injurie; and without any farther knowledg, having met with her, aſſaulted her, took her, and brought her and her conſorts into *Bicorne*, where he might afterwards ken 7 Turkiſh Gallies, paſſing by one after another; whereof the Moor of *Aleſſandria* was Captain, to whom likewiſe the Gally that was taken belonged; but *Marcello* keeping his ſtation, and apprehending nothing, eſpecialy ſince he ſaw the Gallies diſperſed, afforded the Moor opportunity to aſſault him (as he had deſigned to doe) at unawares; who having gotten all his conſorts ſpeedily together, aſſaulted our Gallies on the flanck; *Marcello* being affrighted at the unexpected aſſault, ſought to eſcape the danger by flying, as did his conſorts; but not being able to be gone ſo ſoon, one only Gally eſcaped, and the Moor took the other two, who carried them into *Aleſſandria*: Which action the Captain being to give an accompt of, he was committed to the Magiſtrate of the *Avogadori*, and was ſent for priſoner from the Fleet, but he dyed

for

for very grief by the way. And *Soliman*, finding the Captains imprudency, and the Senates reſpect, in a civility not at all uſual with barbarous Princes, did not only ſend back to the Venetians the Gallies which were taken, but alſo great ſtore of Salt-peter along with them; which was a very ſeaſonable preſent at this time, they having ſpent all the Salt-peter they could get out of the neighbouring places, by reaſon of their continual Wars. *Soliman* at the ſame time had given many other ſigns of his love and good will to the Commonwealth giving them free liberty to carry corn from *Alleſſandria* and from other of his Countries, and uſing great civilities and expreſſions of love unto them in their greateſt adverſities. Wherefore the Senate thought fit, in correſpondency to the effects of ſo great a Princes love, whoſe friendſhip was very behooveful for the Common-wealth, to ſend an expreſs Embaſſadour to him, who in the names of them all, was to thank him for his ſo many teſtimonies of love to the Commonwealth, and to deſire the continuance thereof. To this purpoſe *Tomaſo Contarino* was made choice of, who had many rich veſtments, and other noble ornaments given him, to preſent unto the Court *Baſhaws*, and chiefly to *Ibrahim*, who was then in great eſteem by reaſon of the extraordinary favour he was in with *Soliman*.

Whilſt theſe things were a doing, *Lautrech* returning to his former deſigns, when it was thought that purſuing his victory, he would have carried his Camp to before *Milan*, paſt with all his men over the *Poe*, and marched towards *Piacenza*; with a reſolution (as he ſaid) ſetting all other things aſide, to endeavour the Popes freedom. This cauſed much wonder in all men, that abandoning the fortune and occaſion which was offer'd him, of putting a ſpeedy end to the Wars of *Lombardy*, he would leave ſuch reliques thereof behind him, as in time would be harder to be ſuppreſt; nay which might much indanger what he had gotten, ſince none but the Venetians ſtaid there, and the Enemies expected great and ſudden ſuccours: Which made many men doubt, that *Lautrech* did this, rather out of his own particular affection, or out of ſome of his Kings intereſt, then by any care he had of the Popes freedom. It was very certain that he was very highly offended at the complaints that the Venetians and *Francisco Sforza* had made, touching the affairs of *Alexandria*; and likewiſe that at this time the treaty of agreement with *Ceſar* was cloſely followed, for which it made much for the King, that the whole ſtate of affairs ſhould remain as yet uncertain, and doubtful. And this jealouſie ſeemed to be the better grounded, ſince *Lautrech*, who went ſo haſtily, and ſo unopportunely from the ſtate of *Milan*, proceeded afterwards very ſlowly in his march; and that after the arrival of the Dutch foot, the expectation whereof he alledged in excuſe formerly for his delay, he ſtayed ſtill loytering at *Parma*. Nor did the Army of the League make any greater progreſs, which being brought to *Monte Falco*, ſpent their time idlely, though the weakneſs of the Enemies Army afforded them occaſion of making ſome attempt. Whence the Venetians began to ſuſpect, that the Duke of *Urbine*, out of ſome particular reſpects of his own, did not proceed with ſuch ſincerity as he ought to have done; wherefore they ſet a Guard upon his

Wife and Son, who were then in *Murano*. But the Duke having ſent a Gentleman of his, one *Horatio Florido*, to *Venice*, that he might get leave to come himſelf to *Venice*, to juſtifie his actions, the Senate, either being better informed, or that they might the better accomodate themſelves to the time and affairs, would not ſuffer him to leave the Army; but removing away the Guard from his Wife and Son, ſeemed to be ſatisfied with him: But the Venetians, ſince they could not make *Lautrech* alter his reſolution, made their men come into *Lombardy*, which were then about fifteen thouſand foot, having left three thouſand five hundred Light Horſe with *Lautrech*, for the enterprize of *Rome*; being thereunto moved, out of the preſſing care which they had of retaining the Towns which they had recovered in the Dukedom of *Milan*, the weight whereof lay only upon the Commonwealth. *Franciſco Sforza* being ſo exhauſted of money, as he was hardly of himſelf able to maintain the ordinary Garriſons of the City, much leſs to bring men into the Field, as he was bound to do by his Articles, and as was neceſſary to reſiſt the Forces which were prepared by *Antonio da Leva*. Moreover, the reſpect of their own affairs did not a little move them, and the fear of bringing the danger home unto themſelves, bereaving their Country of defence, by ſending their Forces ſo far off, and eſpecially becauſe they heard that many armed people were gathered together in the parts about *Tirol*, and that great proviſion of victuals and munition was made in the City of *Trent*, to be ſent into *Italy*: And this fear made the greater impreſſion in them, becauſe now *Ferdinando* of *Auſtria*, who had quieted the affairs of *Hungary*, by the victory he had gotten over *Giovan*, the Vayvod of *Tranſilvania*, had better conveniency to attend the affairs of *Italy*, as he had oft times ſeemed very deſirous to do. Wherefore thinking it neceſſary to encreaſe their Army to the number of twenty thouſand foot, and to make greater proviſions to maintain another great War, the Senate entreated the King of *England*, that he would be aſſiſtant to the Commonwealth, and to the cauſe of *Italy*, by contributing part of the expence in ſo great a need to the payment of that Army, which was to maintain the Liberty of *Italy*, which he had ſo often promiſed to defend. But the King affirming ſtill that he would make War upon *Ceſar* in *Flanders*, and free *Italy* from any ſuch danger, by diverting his Forces, ſhewed that it was good for the common ſervice, to leſſen the proviſions which were deſtined for ſuch enterprizes; ſo as the Commonwealth being to be alone at ſo great expences, and the publique Treaſury being already much exhauſted by the ſo long War, was forc'd to have recourſe to many extraordinary ways for the raiſing of monies.

Amidſt all theſe preparations for War, the buſineſs of Peace was not notwithſtanding quite laid aſide; but the Emperour ſeeming to deſire it, had ſeveral Treaties with the King of *France*, and with the Venetians; ſometimes apart, for particular agreement; and ſometimes joyntly, for a general peace.

The demands which were made on the King of *France* his part, and on the Venetians, were:

That

That Ceſar *ſhould ſet the King of* France *his Sons at liberty. That he ſhould free the Pope, and forgo whatſoever he held that belonged unto the Church. That he ſhould reſtore* Franciſco Sforza, *Duke of* Milan, *unto his State, and that he ſhould remove all his forces out of* Lombardy, *and out of* Rome.

Which *Ceſar* neither wholly accepting of, nor yet altogether denying, he ſought by various difficulties to hold on the more certain reſolution, chiefly by demanding a great ſum of money of the Venetians; whereby holding the buſineſs on foot, but full of doubts, he deſired to take the advantage of time; and to ſteer his courſe according to the event of the affairs of *Italy*, and according to the preparations made by his Brother, hoping the mean while to conclude the particular agreement with the King of *France*, more to his own advantage, to whom (as the King acquainted the Venetians afterward) he did at laſt propound,

The excluding of all the other Colleagues, and the appropriating of the State of Milan *to himſelf.*

Whereby, and by his firſt reſolution in all his Treaties, of having *Sforza*'s cauſe decided by Judges, and that in the mean while he ſhould keep the City of *Milan* in his own name, and with his Garriſons, it might eaſily be conceived; that all his Treaties tended only to this; that the Confederates Armies being disbanded, he might put himſelf in ſafe poſſeſſion of the State of *Milan*; ſo as all thoughts of Peace being laid aſide, War was again denounced by the Confederates, to *Ceſar*, wherein thinking that it might make much for their advantage, if they could draw the Duke of *Ferara*, and the Marquis of *Mantua* into the League, and having tryed them both, they concluded with the Duke of *Ferara*, to receive him into their League, upon condition that he ſhould maintain two hundred Curaſſiers at his own charges, in the Colleagues Army, and that he ſhould contribute ten thouſand Ducats monethly, for the ſpace of ſix moneths, towards the payment of the Foot: For which the Confederates were to take him and his State into their protection.

After which agreement, a large and ſtately Palace, which did formerly belong to him in *Venice*, was reſtored unto him. But the Treaty was ſomwhat more difficult with the Marquis of *Mantua*; for he deſired to be declared Captain General of the League, in *Lautrech*'s abſence: To which the Venetians would not conſent, in reſpect of the Duke of *Urbine*. But at laſt, *Girallimo Zane*, *Podeſta* of *Verona*, being gone to *Mantua*, in the publique name, to treat of this buſineſs, he concluded it without that condition, taking the perſon, and the State of the Marquis, into the Confederates protection.

But *Ceſar* ſeeing he was to make his party good againſt ſo many enemies, and deſiring to make his cauſe appear leſs diſhoneſt, and by ſo doing, to ſever the King of *England* perhaps from the reſt of the Confederates, he reſolved at laſt, to give the Pope his Liberty. To which purpoſe, he ſent ſufficient commiſſions to the Viceroy, and to Don *Hugo di Moncada*; who being dead, the Viceroy concluded the Agreement.

The Pope being to leave, according to former Articles, Oſtia, Civita Vecchia, *and* Civita Caſtellana *in the Emperour's poſſeſſion, and paying the ſame ſum of money, though with ſome further reſpite of time: And paſſing his word, above all things elſe, that he would not oppoſe* Ceſar *in the affairs of* Naples, *nor of* Milan.

The Colleagues in the beginning of the year one thouſand five hundred twenty eight, prepared to make War with moſt powerful forces both by Land and Sea, and chiefly to fall upon the Kingdom of *Naples*, as the King of *France* had long before deſired and intended: Wherefore he preſt the Venetians that they would encreaſe their Gallies to the number of twenty four, according to the firſt capitulations. But they ſaid, they had fully made good their promiſe with the former ſixteen; becauſe, of theſe there were eight Baſtard Gallies, every one of which went for two Gallies, and that this made very much for the enterprize; for theſe might keep and live at Sea in the Winter, and might counterpoiſe thoſe kind of Veſſels whereof the Imperial Fleet conſiſted; they excuſed themſelves likewiſe by the neceſſity they were in to keep many men of War at Sea, to ſecure the Navigation of their Gallies of Traffique, from ſo many Pyrats, with whom the Seas were feſter'd; and yet, that they might not be wanting to the proſperous ſucceſs of the undertaking, they promiſed the King, if (as the commanders adviſed) more men were to be raiſed, they would contribute readily to that expence, which was thought to be very uſeful, nay requiſite; every one believing for certain, that when the Imperial Army ſhould part from *Rome*, it would go for *Naples*. But above all things, it was thought to be of very great concernment, to draw the Pope into their confederacy, which they had the better hopes to do, for that he in his giving an account to the King of *France*, and to the Venetians, of his agreement made with the Emperour, did very much excuſe himſelf, as of a thing done out of great neceſſity, confeſſing himſelf to be very much obliged to the Princes of the League, and that he had been ſeverely treated with in all things by the Imperialiſts.

Wherefore the Venetians, after he was out of the Caſtle, and was come to *Orvietto*, ſent Commiſſary *Luigi Piſani* preſently thither, who was in the common name, *to condole with him for his paſt ſufferings: to teſtifie how greatly diſpleaſed they were at it, and how endeavourſome and diligent they had been to procure his Liberty, and how great their joy was to ſee their deſire effected. That the Commonwealth had willingly employd their forces therein, and had been at the expence of maintaining ſo great an Army, at a time, when they were enforced to keep another Army on foot in* Lombardy; *nor had they refuſed to undergo any whatſoever danger, for the preſervation of the dignity of the Apoſtolique Sea, and for the particular conveniency and ſafety of the Popes perſon; and that they did ſtill continue in the ſame readines, and in a great deſire to revenge the ſo haimous injuries done unto him, and to the dignity he repreſented; and not to ſuffer, that the Majeſty of Popedom, and the Eccleſiaſtical State, ſhould for the future be expoſed to ſuch danger and indignity, as they ſaw by experience might eaſily happen, when the Imperialiſts had Territories, and powerful Forces in* Italy: *that it became his great wiſdom to foreſee, and to provide againſt*

ſo great dangers, and to endeavour by all means poſſible to keep himſelf and his ſucceſſours from falling into ſuch eminent evils, and not to ſuffer, that the time of his Popedome ſhould be contaminated with the perpetual memory of miſery and calamity: That the King of France, *the King of* England, *the* Florentines, *and the Duke of* Milan, *were in this, of the ſame opinion with the* Venetian *Senate: That a great deſire might be ſeen in them all, not to ſuffer ſo great an inſolency paſs unpuniſhed. That theſe wicked ones had provoked the anger of man and God againſt them: That it was not to be doubted, but that juſtice and innocency would at laſt prevail; and that he ſhould glorioufly be reſtored to more then his former greatneſs: That therefore all the Confederates did deſire, and expect with aſſured hope, that his Holineſs, aſſiſting their pious intention by his authority, would, as the head thereof confirm their confederacy, and ratifie once more the things wherein he did formerly joyn with them; for that, That firſt agreement ought to be prefer'd before this laſt, ſince the firſt was made by him as Pope, and willingly; and that he had conſented to the laſt, being compell'd thereunto as a priſoner deſirous of Liberty.*

The King of *France* made the like Interceſſion, having ſent *Monſieur de Longeveille* to *Rome*, to witneſs unto the Pope his conſtant will to compell the Emperour *Charles* by force of Arms to grant thoſe things, which they had propounded unto themſelves, as the end of their Confederacy. Theſe addreſſes were graciouſly liſtened unto by the Pope, who returned many thanks unto the King, and to the Senate, ſeeming to wiſh much good to theſe Princes; but being notwithſtanding very irreſolute, and doubtfull, or (as he ſaid) conſidering his office, and the condition of the times and troubles, he inclined to neutrallity, and would not ſo ſoon commit himſelf again to the uncertain events of war; ſuffering himſelf peradventure to be prevailed with by *Ceſar*'s ſpeeches, who had written very civilly with his own hand, ſeeming willing to adhere to his counſels, and to put the Treaty of Peace into his hand: Or, it may be more likely, that beginning then to think upon thoſe things, which were afterwards diſcovered, being overcome with an ardent deſire to revenge the injuries done to himſelf and the houſe of *Medici*, he had forgotten all other offences, that he might the better reſent thoſe; but he endeavoured by various excuſes and delayes to conceal it: For, ſhould he have diſcovered it, he might have cauſed ſuch miſtruſt in *Lautrech*, as he might likely enough have altered his reſolution of advancing to aſſault the Kingdome of *Naples*; which appeared to be onely means of drawing the ſouldiers out of *Rome*. But, this his will not being yet revealed, *Lautrech*, who expected aſſiſtance and favour from him, did with more fervency purſue the deſign againſt *Naples*. Therefore, after having tarried long at *Bullogna*, whither he was come after the agreement made with the Pope, and the *Switzers*, *Dutch*, and *Gaſcone* Foot, which he expected to reinforce his Army, being come unto him; he reſolved, though it were in the midſt of winter, to march with all his men towards *Naples*; not being to be diſſwaded by the many intercedings of the *Venetians*, who for the ſecurity of their own affairs, for the new ſtirrings of the *Dutch* Foot, and for the ſervice of the *Florentines*, and Duke of *Milan*'s Confederates, deſired, that the

Army

Army might not be carried into parts ſo far off, as it might not be ready upon any occaſion to aſſiſt all the reſt: but *Lautrech*, being conſtant to his reſolution, went by the way of *Romaga*, and *La Marca*, thinking it better for the conveniency of Victuals, and intending to paſs by the way of *Tronto* into the Kingdome of *Naples*, whether the *Venetian* Forces were ſent before; being divided into two parts, the one of which was led on by *Valerio Orſino*, and Commiſſary *Piſani*, and *Camillo Orſino*, and *Pietro Peſaro* followed with the other; and in their march they took *Civitella*, *Sulmona*, and many other Towns, of *l'Abruzzo*, which yielded of their own good will. There were in the *Venetian* Army ſome Troups of *Albaneſi* Horſe, to the number of 500, who were commanded by *Andrea Ciurano*, a noble *Venetian*, who amongſt the reſt won great praiſe in all actions, were very ſerviceable to our Army, and as much the contrary to our enemy, and a terrour to all the country.

When all the ſouldiers were aſſembled, and the whole Army muſtered, near the Town *San Termo*, it was found to conſiſt of about thirty Thouſand Foot, of a good number of Horſe, and of all other things requiſite for whatſoever enterpriſe. Therefore the Prince of *Orange*, and the Marquis *Guaſto*, much troubled at the danger which they ſaw their affairs were in, in the Kingdome of *Naples*, did at laſt, though not without much adoe, draw all their men out of *Rome*, which was much furthered by twenty Thouſand Duckets which the Pope gave to the Imperial Commanders, (though under ſome other pretence) whereby they were inabled to give ſome pay to the Dutch Foot, who were more unwilling then the reſt to depart. But the whole Army was not above fourteen Thouſand Foot, their numbers being much leſſened by the Plague that was in *Rome*, and by the going away of many ſouldiers loaded with prey. So as the Pope, being partly free of that oppreſſion (which made him proceed with ſome more reſervedneſs towards the Confederates) began to treat more freely with them, and to diſcover part of his thoughts. He ſent the Archbiſhop *Sepontino* to *Venice*, to demand the immediate delivery up unto him of the Cities of *Cervia*, and *Ravenna*; and the Biſhop of *Piſtoia* to *France*, to the King (whom he had held in hand till then, with hopes of renewing the League) to excuſe himſelf for not being able to ſatisfie his deſire in declaring himſelf; not being able by reaſon of his weakneſs to think of any thing but Peace; to which purpoſe he ſent the ſame Biſhop as his *Nuntio* into *Spain*, to treat thereof with *Ceſar*, in which meſſage he mingled ſome complaints againſt the *Venetians*, for having taken, and ſtill detained ſome Towns belonging to the Church. The *Venetian* Senate were very much troubled at this the Pope's requeſt, not ſo much for the thing it ſelf, as that they knew, being made at ſuch a time, and after ſo importunate a manner, it ſhewed clearly, that the Pope ſought an occaſion to alienate himſelf wholly from them: for, it ſtood not with reaſon, that while all things were in ſuch diſorder, and that many of the Eccleſiaſtick Towns were yet in the Imperialiſts hand, they ſhould raſhly quit thoſe Towns. Yet ſome were ſo fully reſolved, not to looſe the Pope upon any whatſoever conditions, as they maintained, that howſoever, the Pope

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was to be gratified; and for the reſt, to rely upon his word; hoping that he would never abandone the Commonwealths Intereſt. This buſineſs being diſcuſs'd in the Senate, *Dominico Treviſano*, a man of great authority, as well for the dignity of being one of St. *Mark's* Procurators, as for his long experience, ſpoke, as is ſaid, to this effect.

Our proceedings in theſe laſt wars have hetherto been ſuch, as, if we do not go aſtray, and do not contaminate the ſincerity and generoſity, which hath accompanied them, they will remain, of perpetual glorious memory to poſterity. For we have wiſely, conſtantly, and religiouſly defended, and maintained the Liberty of Italy, *and the* Grandezza *and reputation of the Church of* Rome: *not abandoning our own intereſts, nor having done any thing in reſpect thereof, which was not juſt and laudable. We are deſired by the Pope, to deliver up unto him the cities of* Cervia *and* Ravenna, *whereinto we put our men at ſuch time as he was in greateſt danger and trouble, that the Imperialiſts might not poſſeſs themſelves thereof, to which purpoſe we put our Garriſons into them, to preſerve them from the common enemy. Whether to give the Pope ſatisfaction herein, be juſt, advantagious for the State, and for our affairs, and ſuting with the preſent condition of the times, or no, may eaſily be diſcerned by any one, who delights not in deceiving himſelf, and who will meaſure the preſent reſults with reaſon, not with paſſion. I will not inlarge my ſelf now upon the right, and pretentions wee have to theſe Cities; I believe they be true and good. But I will ſay, we muſt conſider things in the condition they are in, not in that they ought to be: Therefore it will be ſufficient to ſay, that when we ſent our men, and our Commanders into theſe Cities, they were in the Churches poſſeſſion; and they were guarded and defended by us, with an intention of preſerving them, not of poſſeſſing them. It will therefore agree very well with that untainted fidelity, wherewith this Commonwealth hath always proceeded, to reſtore that which we would take, it is true, thinking it belonged to another, though it were, or ought to have been ours. But ſet this reſpect aſide, (though it be of no ſmall eſteem in ſo religious and ſo well inſtituted a Common-wealth as this of ours) let us conſider, I beſeech you, whether it be a uſefull advice or no; whether it be a reſolution well ſquared out to theſe times, to detain theſe cities now any longer. The war is hotter then ever, and the event thereof very doubtfull: wherein, if (to the misfortune of the* Italians) *the* Imperialiſts *prevail, who know's not, in how many dangers, and troubles we muſt be continually; having many potent enemies at hand, and but few friends. Therefore all our thoughts, all our endeavours ſhould now aim at our confirming the forces of the League, by driving the Emperours forces out of* Italy, *at the eſtabliſhing* Franciſco Sforza *in the Dukedome of* Milan, *at giving a particular King to the Neapolitans; upon which things the true ſafety and eſtabliſhment of our State on terra ferma doth depend, which hath been ſo long floating, and is ſtill expoſed to great danger.*

And what is of more moment to attain unto theſe advantagious ends, then the Popes favour? what can be more prejudicial then to have him againſt us? Why do you think it is, that Ceſar *doth with ſuch earneſtneſs, and ſuch humanity endeavour his friendſhip, unleſs it be that he finds clearly it is his ſureſt foundation for greatneſs in* Italy? *And ſhall we be aiding*

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and assisting to this desire of our Enemies, whereas we ought to labour all that we can to break their designs? And yet it is most certain, that if we adde this ill satisfaction to the inclination which the Pope begins to have to Cesars *proceedings, we shall make him to fall upon some prejudicial Agreement unto the League, and particularly prejudicial unto our Commonwealth, which is most concern'd therein: When on the contrary, by gratifying the Pope in this his desire, we may hope, nay rather be assured, to sever him from the Emperour, and win him to side with us. And say this succeed not, we shall assuredly settle him in that neutrality, wherein he acquainted us he would continue, unless he were compell'd to the contrary by some urgent necessity. We ought to endeavour that he be thrust upon this necessity by some bad behaviour of the Imperialists, as it may very well fall out he may be; but shun, by all means, giving him occasion to do so; which will redound to our prejudice. Which we may assure our selves of, if we will reflect upon the many calamities, whereinto we were led not many years ago by the like accident, and through the too great desire of preserving these Cities; the names whereof I wish may not prove fatal, and as it were, the original of many troubles to our Commonwealth. The memory hereof is so fresh, and so unfortunate, as such an acquisition ought at all times to be abhorr'd by us. Is this the first time that occasion hath been offer'd us, amidst the so great revolution of the Affairs of* Italy, *to possess our selves of these Cities? Have we not been often invited thereunto of late years by the French? And if we will remember well, we shall find, we have formerly had both better opportunity and juster occasion to do it; both when the Pope hath had bad success, and in the vacancy of the Popedom; and when he shew'd himself to be an Enemy to the State: Yet this very Senate hath always wisely dispised such invitations, esteeming the loss certain, and the benefit of such an acquisition but seeming. And we ought now to continue the rather in the same opinion, for that this small addition to our State, if we were sure to keep in free and peaceable possession of these Cities, it doth either block up the way of advancing to greater and more noble acquisitions, or doth make it more difficult; for if we succeed well in the businesse of* Naples, *(as we may hope to do) if the Pope declare himself for the League, or at least appear not an Enemy to it, we shall recover many Towns in the parts about* Puglia, *which belong unto us by articles; which both by the condition of the Country, by the conveniency of Havens, and for the affection of those people towards our Commonwealth, do in themselves, and in hopes of greater matters, deserve to be esteemed by us equal with whatsoever other acquisition the Commonwealth can make. But I beseech you, how do you think the King of* France, *or the King of* England *will interpret our refusal, or prolonging the delivery of* Cervia *and* Ravenna *to the Pope, they being required by him? Doth not the King of* England *profess that he engageth himself in this War, only in regard of the Church and Pope, as being desirous to preserve the name which he hath gotten of being Defender of the Faith? And the King of* France, *to whom (as we have lately understood from our Embassadour) the Pope hath intimated that he will enter into the League if he have these Towns restored, what will he think of us, if he shall see that we do neglect the so important Interests of the common Confederacy? and yet it is in the friendship and assistance of these Princes that we must place our hopes. We shall assured-*

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ly be drawn by their entreaty, and by neceſſity, to do that which now we ſhall deny to do; and yet ſhall we loſe all our thanks for this action from the Pope? from whom we may expect ſo many favours, and ſo much advantage, and loſe the praiſe of having defended the Dignity, and State of the Church, to which our Commonwealth hath always aſpired? And to ſay nothing of what hath been done by our Fore-fathers, famous and worthy actions, have not we our ſelves even now been at very great expence, and hazarded our men to ſo many dangers, to free the Pope out of priſon, and to drive the Imperialiſts out of the Churches Dominions? Who will certainly have a fair pretence to keep thoſe Towns which are in their hands, when they ſhall ſee the ſame done by us; ſince by our example they may cloak their deſigns with ſome excuſe and ſeeming honeſty. But ſince I have heard thoſe that are of a contrary opinion object more againſt the unſeaſonableneſs of the time, then againſt the thing it ſelf; let us conſider I beſeech you, whether being to do it, it be not better for us to do it now, then to defer it to another time, and to another occaſion. Really I cannot ſee what more advantage can be hoped for from the reſignation of thoſe Towns then that which is now propounded, ſince the Popes friendſhip can never make more for our advantage, then at the preſent, when it lies in his power either to further or obſtruct our good ſucceſs in the Kingdom of Naples, *according as he ſhall ſhew himſelf favourable, or an Enemy to the League. But if the affairs of War ſhall prove amiſs, as the worſt is always to be feared; (for the end of War doth often differ from the beginning) nay I will ſay more, let what will happen, if* Ceſar *and the King of* France *ſhall agree, (as we very well know what* Ceſar *hath often ſaid, that though he ſhould loſe the Kingdom of* Naples *intirely, it will be in his power to re-have it, whilſt he hath ſo good a pawn in his hands as the Kings Sons) What will be our condition, when we ſhall be abandon'd by the King of* France, *have the King of* Spain *our Enemy, the Pope ſo far from befriending us, that he will not be well ſatisfied with us, and perhaps neceſſitated by contracts made with other Princes (as it fell out in the times of* Julio *and of* Leo) *to proſecute, and offend us? The fortune of the Commonwealth is not yet ſo well ſettled after ſo many ſtorms, as that we ought to launch forth into the ſame Sea, without fear of more dangers. We by the good advice of temporizing have even in our greateſt adverſities, not only ſaved, but recovered our Commonwealth, and her ancient Dignity, more then we could have done by force of Arms. We may alſo hope for more proſperous ſucceſs in the future, if we walk in the ſame way. But howſoever we ought always to endeavour to carry our ſelves ſo in all our actions, as though better fortune may peradventure be wiſh'd for to our Commonwealth, yet it may not be wiſh'd that this Senate had been wiſer.*

Theſe words wrought much upon the Senators, though moſt of them were formerly of another opinion. Wherefore *Luigi Mocenico*, who was one of the chief of the Colledg, who had adviſed the Senate to diſmiſs the Popes Nuntio, with an expreſs negative, ſtanding up, ſpoke thus.

If we ſhall regulate our thoughts and our opinions, according to the various interpretations that may be given them, and not according to reaſon,

we ſhall proceed ſo diverſly, and with ſuch uncertainty in all our affairs, as we ſhall make chance the guide of our counſels: But certainly, our actions have been ſuch, and ſuch our intentions towards the common good, and particularly towards the Apoſtolique See, as there is no cauſe to doubt our faith and ſincerity: Have we ſeized upon the Cities of Cervia *and* Ravenna *by force, or reft them from the obedience of the Church, to bring them under our Dominion? Is it not well known, that being ſought unto for help by the Governour of* Ravenna, *and knowing what danger that City was in, of falling into the Imperialiſts hands, at a time when we had ſo many other expences upon our hands, we did reſolve firſt to aſſiſt it with monies, and then with men? And at laſt, to the end that things might be better governed within, and that the inward diſorders might not encreaſe the dangers without, the City it ſelf deſiring it by an expreſs Embaſſadour, and the Apoſtolical Legate being therewith content, ſent a magiſtrate of our own thither, that he might be of more authority, and might better attend the Cities preſervation. The ſame manner was uſed at* Cervia: *If we ſhall be blamed for theſe things, which deſerve praiſe, what is to be ſaid more, but that innocence cannot be alwaies ſafe from the malice of men? If any one ſhall think, that to avoid calumny, we ſhould haſten the delivery of theſe Towns, which would not only be dangerous to us, but prejudicial to the Apoſtolique See: certainly ſuch do more value appearances then the real eſſence of affairs. The Pope deſires that we may preſently reſigne up theſe Cities: It is not very hard to know, but very troubleſome to conſider, with what intention, and with what juſtice this requeſt is made: The Imperialiſts are maſters of the principal ſtrong Holds in the Eccleſiaſtical State, which they have forced the Pope to aſſigne over unto them, as a reward for their perfidiouſneſs, and for the ruine of miſerable* Rome: *The Pope being yet out of his Throne, with very weak forces, experience ſhews us what reſpect theſe barbarous people bear to his perſon, and to his affairs: The War is hotter then ever in* Italy, *the whole eſtate of buſineſſe various, uncertain, ſubject to many accidents and alterations; and in ſo great confuſion of all things, only we ſhall be a rule unto them, in what redounds to our manifeſt prejudice. Theſe conſiderations may make us believe, that rumours are not ſpread abroad in vain, of new practiſes of agreement held in hand between the Pope and the Emperour; not to procure peace, but to kindle new Wars, and raiſe more troubles in* Italy. *To find ſome appearing reaſons to do this, the Pope being deſirous (not to ſay reſolved) to forgo the King of* France, *and us, though he may have known us in his greateſt calamity to have been his trueſt and moſt affectionate friends, and lovers of the dignity of that holy See; propounds new things now, at ſuch a time, and in ſuch a manner, as he knows cannot be granted, that he may thereby pick an occaſion to effect his deſires, which are bent, as may be ſeen, to ſatisfie his own particular affections, and to vindicate the private injuries which he thinks he hath received from the Florentines; and not upon the common good, not upon the liberty of* Italy, *not upon the exaltation of the Church: In which caſe, our condition will be too hard, who have undergone ſo much labour, been at ſo great expence, and run ſo many hazards, not having received any good at all thereby: But to be, as it were, reprehended for it, and by ſevere command enforced to forgo that which ought to be ours, and which, if we ſhould now deliver up, ought either to be*

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acknowledged from our liberality, or with our rights thereunto preſerved; or at leaſt, we ought to be ſecured, that to our loſs and ſcorn, it ſhould not be uſurped by others, who have no claim at all thereunto, but think all things lawful, which is poſſible to be effected by force: It is moſt certain, that if the Pope, whom we do not find to be ſo careful of our good, as we have been of his ſafety, ſhall now receive theſe Cities from us, before we come to a good and firm univerſal peace; laying aſide any thought of our Intereſts, and meaſuring things only according to his own particular ends, he will, when we ſhall hereafter come to lay down Arms, make all Articles of Agreement, either the harder, or the more diſadvantagious for us. I might with juſtice and hõneſty propound, but much more according to the reaſon of State, that we, who have been in peaceable and lawful poſſeſſion of theſe Cities, for the ſpace of a hundred years, and who have new built one of them at our own expence, ſtould make uſe of the Popes troubles, as others have done, and in our own right, rather then by doing injury to any other, retain what is become, and what ought to be ours, with an intention of never reſtoring it: and this ſo much the rather, for that we poſſeſs'd theſe Cities when the Pope was parted from the League; whereby we have new pretences added to our old ones: and for that (as it is very true) Pope Adrian, *this man's predeceſſor, a man of pious and upright intentions, did promiſe to reſtore the poſſeſſion of theſe Cities to us, knowing that they did of right belong unto our Commonwealth, which came thereby not by fraud, nor by taking them from the Church, but by juſt right, and by the diſpoſal of thoſe who were Lords thereof.*

Moreover, it may be ſaid, that this very Pope's example may ſeem to invite us to eſteem all things as null, which were agreed upon with Julio *the ſecond, in times of our greateſt neceſſity: ſince he denies that to be of any validity, which was formerly agreed upon by the Colledge of Cardinals, and by his conſent, with the Duke of* Ferrara, *concerning the Cities of* Modena *and* Regio; *ſaying,* That he is not bound to make that good now, when he may uſe his free Will, which he then confirmed, being forced by neceſſity. *But I am far from counſelling, or from going about to perſwade this Senate, to do any thing, which may even in the leaſt appearance, ſeem to differ from its ancient, and laudable Cuſtom and Inſtitution, of proceeding with great ſincerity, faith, and religion: I ſay only, that in a buſineſs of ſuch importance, we ought to proceed with much temper, and with mature advice; for otherwiſe, goodneſs will become folly. Are theſe Cities to be reſtored unto the Church? Let it be done; but at ſuch a time, and in ſuch a manner, as we may have ſome better ſecurity, that our pious intentions towards the Apoſtolique See may have its true effect, and that others may not hope to uſurp it; ſo as we may not encreaſe their ſtrength, who will uſe it againſt us; and ſo as we may enjoy our State with ſuch quietneſs, as is by us deſired, and whereof we never were the firſt diſturbers. Now as the Popes authority and means may be of chiefeſt importance above all other things, to bring theſe things to paſs, ſo can there be no greater ſpur to make him uſe his power therein, and to make him take an opportunity to do it, then his deſire to re-have theſe Cities; the aſſignation whereof, will be a means whereby our Commonwealth may come to univerſal Peace, upon fairer, and more advantagious conditions.*

Neither do I much consider the reason which is urged to prove that this is the true means of arriving thereat, to wit, by gratifying the Pope, to draw him to be on our side: to which purpose, I pray you let us weigh a little better, not what we would have, but what reason tells us we may look for. If the service which in all these hard times we have hitherto done the Pope, hath not been able to impress one thought of our affairs in him, which we see he is rather ready to prejudice, then to secure; what hopes is there, that that which he thinks it is our duty to do, should work more upon him? And if his desire of Revenge, and of restoring his Family to their ancient Greatness in their Country, be so prevalent with him, as it hath made him forget the grievous and abominable injury which he hath received from the Imperialists, how can you think that any reason can do good upon him? Moreover, Say it be true, that (as it hath been said) we are now to put a greater valuation upon the Pope's friendship, because he may favour the League, at this present, in the affairs of Naples; *truly I do not see what assistance he can give to this enterprize, he having neither money nor men, and the enterprize requiring present assistance: But on the contrary, things appear to me to be so fairly begun, and that there is such fair hopes of better success, as any Treaty we shall make with the Pope, or Emperour, will be for our advantage by the prolonging of time: and it may be, time will make the Pope himself see his errour, as we may verily believe it will be acknowledged by the Kings of* France *and* England, *so as his endeavours will be of no validity with them, when they shall see that they have been with reason refused by us.*

The Senators minds were much affected with what these two had said, some inclining to the one, some unto the other; but at last, they resolved to return this answer to the Pope.

That the Senate had always been desirous of such a peace, as might be good for the common service and safety, and for the exaltation of the Church, and that therefore they would willingly listen unto any conditions of agreement: but withal, they must look to the accomodation of other difficulties; wherefore they would send an express Embassadour, who might treat of the business propounded by the Archbishop Sipontino, *and of all things else, whereby they might witness their good will, and* Gaspero Contarini *was forthwith chosen for this Embassie.*

But the Pope being no ways satisfied with this answer, persisted more earnestly in the same demand, and Count *Guido Rangone*, and Cavalier *Cassale* being sent to him by *Lautrech*, to appease him, they could not only not do any good upon him, but he made them be told in plainer terms then formerly, that if those Towns were not restored unto him, he would not only not declare for the League (as he was daylie desired to do) but he must be forced to joyn with the Imperialists: and he made almost the same thing be said by his Nuntio to the King: but clearer evidences did afterwards appear of this his inclination; for he had sent an express Nuntio into *Spain*, to treat with *Cesar*, though he said, he had given him commission to treat only of agreement, and of universal peace; which if *Cesar* should be averse unto, he should denounce war against him, as the other Confederates had done

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But whilſt theſe things were in hand, the Ceſarean Army was already come to the confines of the Kingdom of *Naples*, and the Commanders, with ſome difference of opinion, treated how they were to manage the War: Some were of opinion, of which Marquis *Guaſto* was the forwardeſt.

That they ought to march to where Lautrech *was with the French Army, and to uſe all means to come to a day of Battel with him; and many things made for this, as, that the Confederates forces were as yet divided, the number of their foot was more then thoſe that were with* Lautrech; *the riſings which were every day made by thoſe of the kingdom in favour of the French, the ſcarcity of monies in the Ceſarean Army, and the tumults which by reaſon thereof were begun to be made by the Dutch foot; through which things, it being to be feared that the loſs of the Kingdom would certainly enſue, it ſeemed good advice to hazard the fortune of a Battel, wherein there was as much hope as danger: and if they ſhould beat the French Army, the Towns which they had taken, would ſoon become theirs, and the Kingdom of* Naples *would be in a very ſure condition.*

But others maintained to the contrary, it would be more ſafely, and more wiſely done, to quarter themſelves ſomwhere, whereby the ſtrength of ſituation, and by the conveniency of victuals, they might not eaſily be driven out by the Enemy; and ſtaying there, they might obſerve the Enemies ways, and govern themſelves accordingly; and that if the Army of the League ſhould proſper, they might march with all their forces to the defence of the City of Naples; *upon the preſervation or loſs whereof, the event of the whole War did depend. That it was ſaid that the Prince of* Melfie, *and* Fabritio Maramoldo, *were coming with many ſouldiers, and with many of the Country to meet them, and to receive them, when they ſhould be come nurer* Naples; *by whoſe numbers, their Armies being encreaſed, they might doubtleſly ſtand the Enemy, and hinder their Deſigns. That it was the Duty of an Army, which did defend a Country aſſaulted by powerful forces, to ſpin out time, for time brings often great and unlooked for advantages. That it was to be believed, the Enimies Army wanted not for diſorders, which were likely to be the greater, for that the Intereſts of the Confederate Princes were different, and oft times contrary. That nothing was leſs governed by wiſdom, and good counſel, then the event of Battels. That nothing could be done more worthy the fame and experience of ſo many gallant Commanders as were in that Army, then to hold the enemy in hand by ſeveral pieces of cunning, and endeavour to make them moulder away by time and ſufferings, which might eaſily happen in the French Army, as had been proved by many late examples. Nor was it to be doubted, but that the Neapolitans would furniſh the Camp with ſo much monies as would ſuffice to ſatisfie the Dutch Foot, till ſuch time as the pay was come, which was already on the way from* Spain, *whereby the whole Army might be kept together for a good while, and hope to do better things.*

Theſe reaſons having the approbation of *Alarſone*, who was very ſtiff in that opinion, prevailed. It was therefore reſolved to advance, but ſlowly and ſecurely, and to enter into the *Terra di Lavoro*, that they might be near the City of *Naples*. But the Army being encamped at *Troja*, & ſtaying there to make proviſion of victuals, and to

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learn news of the Enemy, *Lautrech* (as the French are generally more bold and reſolute) reſolved upon what the Enemy refuſed to doe; which was, to find them out, and to fight them; being thereunto chiefly moved, as he ſaid afterwards, for fear leſt the Army which was paid from *France*, might ſuddenly diſſolve, and loſe what had been already won, becauſe the King did already appear plainly to be weary of ſo vaſt expences, and that his Officers, being variouſly affected, were negligent in taking care for proviſions. He was likewiſe perſwaded thereunto, out of great hope of victory; The Marquis of *Saluzzo* being already joyned with him, and expecting daily, choiſe of Foot from the Venetians and Florentines.

On the contrary, the Imperialiſts, though their numbers were not much inferiour, yet their proweſs was much diminiſhed; partly through great ſickneſs, partly through the luxury which they for ſo many moneths had lived in; whereby their bodies & their minds being weakned, and grown effeminate, they had almoſt loſt their Gallantry. Moreover being uſed to live licentiouſly, they did not obſerve Military order and diſcipline, as they ought to have done. *Lautrech* did likewiſe much exceed the Enemy in Horſe, and train of Artillery, ſo as it ſeemed he did not without reaſon hope, to ſhorten and ſecure the victory, and the acquiſition of that whole State, by a day of Battel. The Emperours Army hearing of *Lautrech*'s approach, were gone out of *Troja*, and had quartered themſelves upon the leaning of a Hill, not far off; whereunto *Lautrech* being already come very nigh, although the Florentine nor Venetian foot were not come to him, he reſolved to put his Army in Battel array, and to face the Enemy; defying him, and provoking him, by many Cannon ſhot, which he made againſt their Camp. But the Imperialiſts being but little indamaged thereby, by reaſon of the height of their ſcituation, reſolved not to joyn Battel, but keeping within their quarters, ſent out only ſome Horſe and Harquebuſiers, to skirmiſh with the French; who ſtill advancing, and winning ground, got into a ſituation equal with the Enemy, from whence they might prejudice their Camp with their Artillery. But thoſe who went out afterwards to skirmiſh in much greater numbers, not being able to keep *Lautrech* from winning the Hill, the Enemy reſolved to retreat, and to quarter on the other ſide of *Troja*, towars *Nocera*. But underſtanding not long after, that *Horatio Baglione* was come to the Leagues Camp, with a great many Florentines, all of them expert Souldiers; and that *Camillo Orſini*, and Commiſſary *Piſano*, were expected the next day with the Venetian forces, they quitted *l' Abruzzo*, and marched ſtraight forwards towards *Naples*, following their firſt advice, & placing the total end of the buſineſs, and their hopes of maintaining that State, in the defence of that City: and retayning only the Spaniſh and Dutch foot, about 10000 in number, they applied themſelves diligently to providing the City with victuals. *Lautrech* finding that he could not draw the Enemy to Battel, which they had ſo manifeſtly refuſed, went about to make himſelf Maſter of the Country, and not to leave any Town untaken behind him which was the Enemies, till he ſhould come before the walls of *Naples*. Wherefore underſtanding that the Prince

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was entred into *Melfi*, with a very ſtrong Garriſon of Souldiers, he ſent *Pietro Navarro* with the Gaſcoigne foot, and *Baglione* with the Souldiers of the black Band, to take it; by whom the Town was play'd upon, taken, and ſack'd: and at the ſame time, Commiſſary *Piſani*, with two thouſand Italian foot, took the Town of *Aſcoli*, and then joyned ſuddenly again with *Lautrech*, to whom *Barleti*, *Trani*, and other adjoyning Towns, did quickly yeild; ſome being moved by what had befallen *Melfi*; others, by the love they bore to the French, and by their being weary of the Spaniſh Government; ſo as in all *Puglia*, only the Town of *Manfredonia* held for the Spaniards. Wherefore *Lautrech* leaving 2000 Venetian foot, one hundred Curaſſiers, and two hundred light Horſe to beſiege that City, and to keep thoſe others which he had taken, march'd with all the reſt of the Army towards *Naples*: all Towns coming in apace unto him by which he paſt. At laſt, reſolving to beſiege it, as thinking it the ſafeſt, and moſt ſucceſsful way, whereby to get the City, he encamped himſelf within near about a mile of the Walls, having taken up his Head-quarters, together with the greateſt ſtrength of his men, at *Poggio Reale*, in a ſtrong ſituation, and proper to keep the beſieged from many conveniencies.

At the ſame time, the Venetian Fleet being reinforced at *Corfu*, and put in order, after the prejudice they had undergone at *Sardignia*, was come into the Rivers of *Puglia*, conſiſting of ſixteen Gallies, under the command of Commiſſary *Moro*; for General *Lando* was gone to the Iſland of *Candia*, to appeaſe ſome commotions which were raiſed in the Territories of *Canea*, by the country people. Six Towns in *Puglia* belonged to the Venetians by the agreement of the League, which they had formerly been poſſeſs'd of, to wit, *Ottranto*, *Brandizzo*, *Monopoli*, *Pulignan*, *Mola*, and *Trani*: Therefore the Venetians were more diligent in purſuing this enterprize, having to boot with their Gallies, divers other armed Veſſels, of ſundry ſorts; and their hopes of good ſucceſs were much encreaſed, to boot with the forces and reputation of the League, by the love which thoſe people bore to the Commonwealth; ſo as upon the Fleets arrival, *Monopoli* and *Trani* yeilded preſently to them, and a good inclination was found in the reſt to do the like. *Manfredonia* had ſomwhat a better Garriſon in her, and the Citizens were not ſo well affected to the State; wherefore *Almoro Moreſini*, Captain of the Gulph, went with ſome of the Gallies to the reducing thereof, whither *Camillo Orſino* was alſo gone with ſome land forces: Whilſt they were encamped about the walls, *Rannuio Farneſe* ſallyed out with two hundred Horſe, and *Girollimo Cremona* with two hundred foot, againſt which *Andrea Ciurano* advanced boldly with his *Stradiotte* Horſe, and after many hours skirmiſh, put them to flight, and drove them into the Town, killing ſome, and taking otherſome priſoners, in which action *Ciurano* won much praiſe, and made good the opinion which was conceived of his valour and skill, by reaſon of other egregious deeds; and chiefly, by his having chaſed *George Reynes*, a perſonage of great renown, near *Taranto*; and by having taken the Governour of the Town: but this his glory ſoon ended, for falling grievouſly ſick by reaſon of his much pains taken

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in the Militia, he died, being much beloved by the Souldiers, and valued by the Commanders, for his liberality, carriage, and military diſcipline.

Commiſſary *Moro* was before *Brandizzo*, who play'd upon the Caſtle, which was yet held by the Imperialiſts with a good Garriſon, though the Town was already ſurrendred; this battery was recommended to the particular care of *Bernardo Segredo*, a young man of much ingenuity and courage, who had brought it to ſuch a condition, as men being already landed to give the aſſault, it was thought the enemy could not hold out long. But *Lautrech*, whoſe orders the Venetian commanders had commiſſion from the Senate to obſerve, ſending for the Gallies to *Naples*, made him quit the enterprize, and give over the hoped for victory. *Phillippino Doria* was already come to *Naples* with eight Gallies; but theſe not being ſufficient to keep the City from being victuall'd by Sea, and it being likewiſe thought that they could not be ſafe there, if the enemy ſhould ſend forth their armed Veſſels which were in the Haven, *Lautrech* had continually ſolicited the Venetian Commanders, to come as ſoon as they could, and joyn with *Doria*'s Gallies, to ſecure them, and to ſtraiten the ſiege yet more.

Such were the proceedings in the Kingdom of *Naples*; but the Venetians were buſied with other affairs of no leſs importance: for *Henry* Duke of *Brunſwick*, after many rumours of his coming, being very much ſolicited by *Charls* and *Ferdinand*, to paſs into *Italy*, and to enter *Lombardy*, to divert the forces of the League from the enterprize of *Naples*; which Kingdom being in great danger, he ſaw he could not ſuccour by any way better; paſſing from *Trent* into *Valledragi*, was entred into the Territories of *Verona*, and had brought with him about twelve thouſand foot, with whom it was ſaid, that *Antonio da Leva* was to joyn, who was already come into the field with eight thouſand foot, that they might joyntly fall upon the Town in the State of *Venice*, which *Brunſwick* had denounced war againſt, having with much vanity, and very ridiculouſly, challenged the Duke thereof, *Andrea Gritti*, a man of fourſcore years of age, to fight a ſingle Duel with him: But the Senate was not wanting in diligence, to arm themſelves; they deſigned to raiſe an Army of twelve thouſand foot, of which, four thouſand to be Switzers, to which purpoſe they ſent monies into Switzerland, and deſired the King of *France* to further this their Levy by his authority: They likewiſe brought great ſtore of light Horſe from *Greece*, and from *Dalmatia*, and recalled the Duke of *Urbine* from *Marc d'Ancona*: And to the end that their own State might not be bereft of defence, whilſt they went to defend the States of others, they commanded him to view all their Cities and Forts of greateſt importance, to put good garriſons into them, and to do whatſoever elſe he ſhould judge might make moſt for their ſafety: then they choſe divers ſelect Gentlemen, whom they entruſted with the particular charge of the chief Cities: *Girollimo Diedo* was ſent with one hundred and fifty foot to *Treviſo*. *Pietro Sagredo* with as many to *Padua*. *Zaccheria Orio*, *Phillippo Correro*, *Alleſſandro Donato*, *Ambrogio Contarini*, *Joſeppe Badoero*, *Lorenzo Lanudo*, *Agoſtino Canale*, and

and *Almoro Barbaro*, were ſent to *Verona* with 25 ſouldiers apiece; wherewith they were to guard the gates, and places of greateſt importance.

Theſe preparations were judged worthy conſideration in *France*; wherefore they likewiſe prepared to ſend powerfull Forces into *Italy*, which were to be commanded by *Monſi ur de* St. *Paul*, one of the houſe of *Burbone*, a perſonage highly eſteemed for his birth, and other honourable endowments, but not much experienced in war: and as it proved afterwards, not very fortunate in this enterpriſe. But theſe proviſions proved too late for the preſent occaſion; for the Duke of *Brunswick*, finding himſelf ſtrong enough, deſigned to fall upon ſome of the Commonwealths Cities, being the more encouraged ſo to do, becauſe, at his firſt arrival, *Peſchiera*, *Rivoltella*, and ſome other Towns neighbouring upon the Lake of *Garda*, yielded unto him. But the Duke of *Urbine* who was at *Verona*, diligently obſerving *Brunswicks* marches, prevented his deſignes, and went preſently to *Breſcia*, where he augmented the Garriſon; and from thence to *Bergamo*, putting many of the Inhabitants of thoſe valleys, who were very faithfull to the *Venetian* intereſt, into the City; and begirting the city with trenches and outworks, put it in a poſture of defence. Moreover, he cunningly made the men of thoſe parts propound treaties of agreement, and giving of monies; wherein they ſpun out time, to the end, that by retarding *Brunſwick*'s march, more opportunity might be had to ſecure the principal places: wherein there being good ſtore of Light-horſe, they infeſted the *Dutch* Camp by ſallying out, and diſturb'd their Victuals: And amongſt theſe, *Geralamo da Canale* did very good ſervice, with five hundred Crabats, which he had brought with him out of *Dalmatia*. So as *Brunswick*, falling ſhort of his hoped for ſucceſs, and being incommodated for victuals, after having according to the barbarous and cruel cuſtome of that Nation, ruined the Country, and burnt many noble edifices, went out of the *Venetian* Confines, and came into the State of *Milan*, where he was met by *Antonio da Leva*, who hearing of his arrival, was paſt over the *Ada*, to joyn with him in ſome enterpriſe. Wherefore both of them repaſſing over the *Ada*, they went to encamp before *Lodi*, from whence the Duke of *Milan* was gone a little before, being advertiſed of the enemies approach, by *Gabrielle Veniero*, the *Venetian* Embaſſadour; and leaving a good number of men in that city, he came, by the *Venetians* advice to *Breſcia*. But the Venetian ſouldiers, who were in *Lodi*, and who were commanded by *Paolo Sforza*, the Dukes baſtard brother, having valliantly withſtood many aſſaults, repuls'd the enemy. Wherefore *Brunſwick*, not having much money to maintain the Army longer, finding that he had ſpent much time in vain, began to be aware of his idle thoughts, whereunto he had, out of vain glory, and hopes of Booty, been perſwaded by *Ferdinando d'Auſtria*; who minding more his brother's advantage, then the ſucceſs of the buſineſs, had earneſtly perſwaded him to paſs into *Italy*, and without thinking of advancing further, to enter into the Kingdome of *Naples*, as he had at firſt purpoſed to do; he went by the way of the Lake of *Como*, to return to *Germany*, being

purſued by *il Conte di Giazzo*, and by *Mercurio Bua*: who iſſuing out of *Bergamo*, fell upon his Reer, but did not much prejudice the enemy, becauſe they were too late aware of their departure. Yet many of the *Dutch*, who in great numbers parted from the Camp, were ranſak'd and cut in pieces by the country people. The beſieged in *Naples* were much troubled to hear of the diſſolution of the Dutch Foot; being thereby bereaved of the onely relief wherein their ſafety lay. For but a little before they had with bad ſucceſs attempted to beat the Galleys of *Philippo Doria*, that they might have the way open by Sea, ſince they could come by no victualls by land; *Lautrech* having poſſeſs'd himſelf of *Pazzuolo*, and of the neighbouring places.

The Imperiall Commanders were likewiſe herewith much moleſted; for, underſtanding that the *Venetian* Fleet was ſuddenly to come into thoſe Seas, they knew their danger would be the greater, and their remedy harder. Therefore being reſolved to prevent the Enemy, they determined to put out from the Haven with 6 Galleys, and many other armed Veſſels, and to aſſault *Doria*'s Galleys; and were ſo aſſured of Victory (as they thought) as the Marquis *Guaſto*, *Don Hugo* and other chief Commanders, went aboard thoſe Galleys, as to an aſſured Triumph: And having joyfully dined at the *Iſland* of *Capri*, they went to aſſault *Doria*, who lay with his Galleys upon the coaſt of *Amalfi*, near *Capo d'Orſo*: being perſwaded that the *Genueſes* being terrified with this ſpectacle, and with the unexpected aſſault, would either run away, or, that if they would joyn battel with them, though upon diſadvantage; that through the Vallour of the Spaniſh Souldiers, which were the very beſt, pick'd out of the whole Army, they ſhould obtain certain and glorious victory. But the buſineſs fell out much otherwiſe; for, neither was *Doria* affrighted at the ſight of the enemy, he being a man very well experienced in Maritime affairs; nor came the aſſault unexpected; he having been ſo timely advertiſed thereof, as that he had opportunity to prepare for it, and to reinforce his Fleet with ſouldiers which were ſent unto him from the Camp by *Lautrech*: So as, reſolving to wait the Imperialiſts coming, and not to refuſe battel, when he firſt ſaw the enemy appear, he devided his forces, and with 4 Galley's made boldly towards them, cauſing the other two, which were commanded by *Lomelino*, to fall off at the ſame time to ſeaward, as if they fled away; but with orders to tack about, and aſſault the Imperialiſts on the Flanck and Poupe, whileſt they were buſied in the fight. Which counſel being wiſely taken, and well purſued by the Captain and his *Genueſes*, who were very well verſs'd in all things which belonged to Sea, had ſuch good ſucceſs, as two of the enemies Galleys fell into *Doria*'s hands, two were ſunck, and the other two being ſhrewdly ſhattered, ſaved themſelves with much adoe by flight, the Marquis of *Guaſto*, *Aſconio Colonna*, and other Commanders were taken priſoners; *Don Hugo*, *Ceſare Feramoſca*, and moſt of the ſouldiers which were in the Gallies were ſlain; whereby the City of *Naples* was deprived of her beſt and valianteſt defendants.

General

General *Lando* came this mean while to the ſhores of *Naples* with 20 Gallies, who being likewiſe come for the buſineſs of *Puglia*, and having tarried in the Gulf of *Maſſa*, had already taken all the Towns appertaining to the Venetians, as *Trani*, *Mola*, *Puglignan*, *Monopli*, *Otranto*, and *Brandizzo*; the Caſtles of *Brandizzo* remaining only in the Imperialiſts power; Commiſſary *Auguſtino da Mula* being left to guard them.

The arrival of the Venetian General was of great advantage to the French, and as prejudicial to the Enemy; for leaving ſix Gallies at *Gaeta*, and as many at *Cume*, he ſcowred the Rivers neighbouring upon *Naples*, with the reſt, from *Capanella* to *Maſſa*, blocking up the Sea ſo, as he ſuffer'd not any veſſel to enter with victuals to the Beſieged. The Venetian Gallies did likewiſe poſſeſs themſelves of ſome places where the Mills were, which grownd corn for the City, ſo as the corn which they had yet left, could not be made into bread, but being deliver'd out unto the Souldiers ungrownd, was either eaten by them in pottage, or baked in pans.

On the other ſide, the Venetian Fleet was of great advantage to their friends; for it furniſhed their Camp with victuals from Sea, whereof, by reaſon of the great number of uſeleſs people who flock to the Camp (for the dearth that was that year generally throughout all *Italy*) and by the careleſneſs of the Commanders, there was great ſcarcity in the Camp. And Monſieur *de Barbaſi*, who brought monies from *France* with him to pay the Souldiers, meeting with great impediments by the Imperialiſts, who had block'd all the ways, ſo as that he was fain to take a great circuit about, was met by divers of the Venetian Generals men, whom he on purpoſe had landed, to aſſiſt *Barbaſi*, againſt *Don Ferrante Gonſaga*, who was come with both Horſe and Foot out of *Naples* to intercept the ſupply of monies; and by their means, together with ſome others that were ſent from the Camp, both Venetians and Florentines, led on by *Valerio Urſino*, and *Hugo de Pepoli*, he repuls'd the Enemy; but *Hugo* being too forward in purſuit of them, was taken Priſoner.

Thus far the affairs of the League went on proſperouſly, and with great hopes of putting a ſpeedy end to the War, by the acquiſition of the whole Kingdom of *Naples*; but now apparent ſigns grew, not only of their declination, but even of their ruine: As if fortune could not long favour the French in *Italy*, to whom ſhe had ſo long ſhew'd her ſelf therein an Enemy. Their Army fell into ſore and ſudden ſickneſſes, whereunto many cauſes did concur. As the influence of the Heavens, which had this year occaſioned many peſtiferous diſeaſes in all parts; the ſeaſon of the year, which being in the moneth of *Auguſt*, was made the worſe, by the diſorders committed by the Souldiers, in eating great ſtore of fruit. But eſpecially the badneſs of the air, which was become unwholeſom, by reaſon of the waters, which being diverted for ſeveral moneths from their ordinary courſe, did overflow almoſt all parts about their Quarters. Which put *Lautrech* into great ſtrairs, finding inconveniences on all ſides, and great doubts and difficulties, in either continuing the Siege, (the commenc'd inconveniences conſidered) or in inlarging his Camp. He was

adviſed by almoſt all his Captains, to carry the Souldiers into the neighbouring Towns, and by dividing them, to keep the mallady from ſpreading farther, and that the ſick might have the better means afforded them of cure. And truly the Army was brought into ſuch a condition, as neceſſity ſeemed to force him to ſuch a reſolution; the rather, for that the Sea being ſtill block'd up, he might ſufficiently incommodate the Enemy, though he inlarged his quarters. But on the other ſide, *Lautrech* was greatly grieved to ſee a Victory eſcape his hands, which was almoſt won: For if he ſhould enlarge his quarters, he knew, that the Imperialiſts, who did abound in Horſe, would by their coming abroad, finde ſome wayes open, to provide againſt their Incoveniencies. He underſtood by *Simione Romano*, whom he had ſent into *Calavria*, that all things ſucceeded well there, that all thoſe people did ſurrender, out of their particular affection to the name of *France*; that the Towns, and Havens in *Puglia* were fallen into the Venetians hands: that the *Abruzzo* was at very firſt reduced by the *French*: that the *Spaniards* were already driven out of almoſt the whole Kingdome: And yet all theſe acquiſitions muſt prove to no purpoſe, if, by allowing thoſe who were in *Naples* (and who were already reduced to great ſtraits), the benefit of time, he ſhould loſe the opportunity of getting that City, upon which, the good or bad ſucceſs of the whole enterpriſe did depend. He was alſo aſhamed, that the *Spaniards*, ſuffering under great inconveniencies, ſickneſs, and ſcarcity, ſhould notwithſtanding bear all this with ſuch conſtancy, as that they would not liſten to any Propoſitions of ſurrender; and yet, he and his *French*, muſt, through weakneſs of Spirit, yeild to the very firſt frowns of adverſe fortune; and ſuffer themſelves to be, as it were, overcome by thoſe that were overcome. Moreover, monies which came to him from *France*, falling far ſhort of expectation, and being not ſufficient to pay the Souldiers, he feared, that if the buſineſs ſhould be ſpun out at length, he ſhould not be able to maintain the Army. But *Lautrech*'s nature was more prevalent with him, then all other reaſons; he not being accuſtomed willingly to liſten to, or to value the opinion of others, or to forgoe that advice which he had once thought to be well taken: So as, though he had every day reaſon to alter his minde, and to accommodate himſelf unto the times: yet would he never give way to remove his quarters, nor to give leave to any one to be gone; till extream neceſſity inforc'd him to do that which reaſon ſhould have perſwaded him unto. For, many dying dayly, not onely of the private ſouldiers, but of the moſt principal perſonages, as *Luigi Piſano*, and *Pietro Peſaro*, both of them *Venetian* Commiſſaries, and not long after, *Valdemonte*; many others who fell dayly ſick, were carried to *Gaetta*, and to other neighbouring places; and others without leave abandoned the Camp.

But *Lautrech* was yet more moleſted at another accident, which broke all his hopes of good ſucceſs: *Andrea Doria* not being ſatisfied with the *French*, left the Kings ſervice, and took pay of *Ceſar*. Many things had happened, which had alienated *Doria* from the *French*: but eſpecially, a diſdain which he conceived for not being eſteemed, or rewarded, as he thought, according to his deſerts, he not having obtained

obtained the place of being Admiral at Sea, which honour was at this time conferr'd upon *Monſieur de Barbeſi*; nor been able to procure, that his Country *Genua* ſhould have the ſuperiority over *Savona*, as ſhe had formerly had; many ſignes having already appeared of this his ill ſatisfaction, the Pope had begun formerly to ſuſpect *Doria*, and had ſignified as much into *France*, exhorting, that he might be kept better affected to the League, and not to ſuffer him to bethink himſelf of paſſing over to the Enemy, with ſo many Maritime forces; to the great prejudice of the common Affairs.

But the King, being at this time jealous of all the Popes proceedings, his advices were of leſs authority with him. Yet, the King finding this at laſt to be true, and thinking it a buſineſs worth conſideration, and not knowing how to remedy it, or being peradventure deſirous to free himſelf of this expence, without being thereby diſadvantaged, he earneſtly entreated the Pope that he would take *Doria* into his pay, whom he found inclined to ſerve the Church, and not to ſuffer *Ceſar*'s forces to be ſo much increaſed by the addition of his Gallies. The Pope ſeemed to have the ſame deſire, but being loth to do any thing which might diſpleaſe the Emperour, excuſed himſelf, as not being able to do it; adding, that when he ſhould by the Kings means have recovered *Ravenna* and *Cervia*, he might more freely lay ſome tax upon the Eccleſiaſtical eſtate, and apply it hereunto. Wherefore *Doria* agreed with *Ceſar*, to ſerve him with 12 Gallyes, and to receive for his ſallary ſixty thouſand Duckets a year.

This alienation of *Doria*'s, was very prejudicial to the Colleagues, and to the buſineſs of *Naples*; for the Venetian Gallies being now left alone, were forced to quit the works about the Trenches, which their Slaves wrought upon, and to fall to guard the Seas; and Admiral *Barbeſi*, being come with 16 Gallies from *France*, not daring to go to *Naples*, ſtay'd loytering at *Savona*, having landed many of the foot which were deſtined to relieve *Lautrech*, that they might guard *Genua*; ſo as things more grievous, and more prejudicial ariſing every day from this accident; the League went daily leſs in reputation, and thoſe of the Kingdome who favour'd the French, were as much diſcouraged, as they were before inheartned, and put in hopes by *Brunſwick*'s rout. Yet to make good the enterpriſe of *Naples*, as much as might be, there were ſome Barons, who depended upon the French partie, as the Duke of *Gravina*, the Duke of *Caſtro*, the Prince of *Melfi*, (whoſe ranſome not being payd by the Imperialiſts, had made him turn over to the French) and ſome other principal perſonages, , who raiſed ſome number of Foot to aſſiſt *Lautrech*, and to maintain the reputation of the League, and of the French in the Kingdom.

But *Lautrech* could not make any ſpeedy uſe, anſwerable to the preſent occaſion, of the men that were with *Renzo* in *Civita Vecchia*, by reaſon of the Pope's dubious counſels, who being preſs'd firſt by *Lautrech* in high tearmes, and little leſs then threats, to declare himſelf for the King, and afterwards in a more ſubmiſſive manner, and and with promiſe to re inveſt his family in their Country, could not notwithſtanding

notwithſtanding, be brought to any ſettled reſolution, ſeeming in words to be zealous of the common good, and that he had no other object then peace; the which that he might mediate with better ſucceſs, and more fidelity, he would not forego his neutrality. But there appeared many ſigns to the contrary, that he had a good inclination to make his friendſhip with *Ceſar*, upon particular Articles: Yet being unwilling to make *Lautrech* more his Enemy, before all things were concluded; he ſaid, that his declaring was not of any great importance, ſince (as he had often ſaid) he had not ſufficient Forces to joyn in any enterpriſe; but that without renewing any further confed'racy, the King of *France* might aſſure himſelf of all ſafety from the Churches Territories; and not to be any wayes incommodated thereby. Through theſe reſons, the forces of the French army grew daily weaker, and diſorders did increaſe more and more. And on the other ſide, the beſiegeds hopes did better, in beleiving to be able to maintain the Siege, and to bring all things to a good end.

The forces ſo often demanded by *Lautrech*, and as often promiſed by the King, came not as yet from *France*; and the people which were muſtered in the Country, were not ſufficient to recruit the Army, nor to ſupply the needs of all military actions: there was great want of all things in the camp; for the Enemies Horſe iſſuing forth often, to diſturbe their victuals, which was brought them from adjacent places, had made them of Beſiegers, become beſieged; and by cutting off certain Aqueducts, had deprived them of their beſt water. The inconveniences were ſo increaſed, as there was not any one company in the Camp which was not ſorely infected; the Souldiers grown weak and weary, could not wield their Arms, but throwing them away, neglected all Military exerciſe, kept no order nor diſcipline, and grew full of deſpair. Inſomuch as many Souldiers, and eſpecially the Curaſſiers, abandon'd the Camp without their Captains leave; the Captains were ſome of them far off, being gone into other parts to be cured; ſome kept uſeleſs in the Camp, being ſeized upon by grievous ſickneſs.

Amongſt the reſt, *Lautrech* himſelf fell ſick, being not leſs afflicted in mind then in body, by reaſon of the great danger whereinto he ſaw his Army reduced; which was feared by all others, before it hapned, and deſpiſed by him alone. So his own default aggravating his diſpleaſure of mind, did the more oppreſs him; he could not for many days, either act, or adviſe any thing; and the other Captains, by reaſon of the ſeverity of his nature and government, proceeded ſlowly, and with much caution in all things. So as though he, after being a little recovered, and having gotten ſome ſtrength, was very diligent in correcting theſe diſorders; ſeverely puniſhing the Souldiers diſobedience, and in increaſing his Forces, cauſing ſome companies of the Venetian *Stradiotti* to come unto the Camp, which he recalled from the Enterprize of *Taranto*, and ſoliciting the Florentines to ſend him two thouſand Foot, which they had muſter'd for the ſervice of the League, yet all remedy proved in vain, and too late. But thoſe within the Town grew ſo bold, as ſallying forth dayly in great numbers, they came up even to the French Rampiers, taking away

their

their baggage and their free-bootings before their eyes, and greatly moleſting the ways, and infeſting the Country, hindred the commerce between the Venetian Fleet and the Camp. But ſoon after *Lautrech* relapſing into his diſeaſe by reaſon of his great labour, and agitation of mind, dyed.

The Marquis of *Saluzzo*, in whom, after *Lautrech*'s death, the ſupreme authority of the Army remained, reſolved, with the approbation of the other Commanders, to raiſe the Camp: The preſent ſtate of affairs not only requiring it, but even neceſſity and danger; which was much increaſed by the loſs of *Capua*, lately fallen into the power of the Imperialiſts, by reaſon of the Capuans falſhood, who were inclined to adhere to *Ceſar*: Whereby the French Army was not only deprived of many conveniences, but even of the opportunity of retreating. They divided their men into three Squardrons, and on the nine and twentieth of *Auguſt*, early in the morning, they marched away to *Auverſa*, with all poſſible ſilence, that they might not be purſued by the Imperialiſts, if they ſhould be aware of their departure. Which they could not notwithſtanding do; for the Enemies Horſe being continually even upon their Trenches, and aware of their departure, fell upon them in their Reer, guided by Monſieur *de la Paliſſa*, and by *Camillo Trivulcio*, routed them, and ſlew many of them; and the Spaniſh Foot coming in ſpeedily ſoon after, broke their Battaglia, which was commanded by *Navarro*; took many Priſoners, amongſt which the Captain himſelf. But the Marquis of *Saluzzo*, and Count *Guido Rangone*, who were firſt marched forth of their Quarters with the Van, eſcaped the danger for the preſent, and got ſafe into *Auverſa*; but being preſently purſued by the Enemy, and the City brought to great danger, they were quickly forc'd to yield, upon diſcretion. Thus a great and flouriſhing Army of the French was miſerably waſted and deſtroy'd, and of Conquerours, became conquered; and the whole face of affairs was altered, to the great diſcontent of the Venetians: Whoſe fortune, at leaſt as much as concern'd the Kingdom of *Naples*, depended upon their Friends, and Confederates, the French. Another ſad accident followed this, which was very prejudicial to the League, and was of great concernment for the weakening of the French in *Italy*: For the Plague being got into *Genua*, and the City therefore abandoned almoſt by all the Citizens, and Souldiers, *Andrea Doria* came unexpectedly thither with his Gallies; and with the few Foot which he had, not exceeding five hundred, and by the favour of the people, who loved the name of Liberty, which *Doria* promiſed to introduce, he changed the Government, framed new Orders, and reduced it under *Ceſars* protection. Which novelty *Trivulcio* was not able to obviate, having but a ſmall Garriſon of Souldiers, with whom he had much ado to get ſafe into the Caſtle; hoping, as he ſaid, if he ſhould receive ſudden ſuccour, to return the City unto its former condition, and to the Kings devotion. Wherefore the Confederates Commanders, reſolved to ſend ſuddenly three thouſand Dutch and Switzer Foot thither, who were to come quickly to *Alexandria*, to joyn with other French, who came for *Italy*.

Whilſt

Whilſt theſe things went thus, the thoughts and proviſions for renewing War in *Lombardy* ceaſed not: To the which Monſieur *de S. Paule* being deſtined (as hath been ſaid) the Venetian Senate deſirous, that *Antonio da Leva* might have no longer time nor opportunity to make any farther progreſs, had ſent *Andrea Roſſo* Embaſſadour to *France*, to haſten the coming of the Commander, and of the Army: And being very diligent in all things elſe, they had ſent pay to *Furea* for five thouſand Landsknechts, who were taken into pay by the King for that Enterprize, at the common expence. The Senate had likewiſe given Order to the Duke of *Urbine*, to receive the Dutch Foot into their pay, who were disbanded from *Brunſwicks* Army; whereof there came a great many; ſo as the Commonwealth having in her ſervice in *Lombardy*, of ſeveral Nations, Dutch, Switzers, and Italians, above ten thouſand Foot, fifteen hundred light Horſe, and eight hundred Curaſſiers, with which forces, it was hohoped, that when Monſieur *de S. Paule* ſhould be come from *France* with thoſe warlike preparations which had been ſpoken of, they might be able to drive *Antonio da Leva* out of *Lombardy*: The Duke of *Urbine*'s opinion was, that of all other things, they were to put an excellent Garriſon into *Lodi*, as into a place of great importance for the Duke of *Milans* Intereſts, and for the Venetians alſo, ſince the preſervation thereof would make much for the ſafety of *Bergamo* and *Crema*; which when it ſhould be done, as ſoon as the *French* ſhould begin to aſcend the Mountains, he ſhould paſs over the *Poe* with the Venetian Army, and joyn with them to ſuppreſs *Antonio da Leva*, according as occaſion ſhould beſt ſerve. As ſoon therefore as Monſieur *de S. Paule* was come into *Italy*, who brought with him five thouſand foot, five hundred Launces, and as many Light Horſe, it being about the end of *July*, the Duke of *Urbine* ſpoke with him at *Monticelli*, a place ſeated upon the Banks of *Poe*, to adviſe how they were to carry on the War, for the common ſervice; the Duke of *Urbine* being ordered ſo to do by the Senate, and it agreeing likewiſe with his own opinion, propounded.

That they ſhould keep all their Forces imploy'd in Lombardy, *to drive* Antonio da Leva *out of the Dukedom of* Milan, *upon which all the affairs of* Italy *were finally to depend: For as long as the Imperialiſts ſhould have a ſecure receptacle in that State, whereinto they might eaſily bring many Souldiers from* Germany; *and from whence they received great conveniency for the feeding of their Army, which had now been maintain'd a good while at the private expence of ſeveral men of the Country, there was no hopes of putting a period to the War. That any thing attempted elſewhere, though it ſhould ſucceed well, would not be equally beneficial, to what might be received by driving the Enemy out of thoſe Confines, and by getting ſafe poſſeßion of the State of* Milan. *Moreover, it might be hoped, that by keeping the Forces of the Colleagues joyn'd together, and near at hand, they might at laſt draw the Pope into the League, the which had been ſeveral times attempted in vain.*

Monſieur *de S. Paule*, and the other *French* Commanders, were of another opinion: *viz. That the buſineſs of* Naples *was not to be abandoned, loſing thereby their reputation both with the people, and with the*

the Enemy; shewing amongst other things, how necessary it was to keep the Imperialists imploy'd in the Kingdom of Naples, *so as they might not come and joyn with* Antonio da Leva; *whereby growing very strong, they might settle themselves in the possession of both those States.*

In this diversity of opinion, they pitch upon a way which might serve both their desires; to wit, not to give over the affairs of *Naples* totally, but howsoever to intend chiefly the business of *Lombardy*: wherefore since some Towns in *Puglia* held yet for the confederates, and were well affected to the Venetians, and to the French; it was resolved they should make head there, and reinforce their men, that they might make some other attempt, and keep the Imperialists in fear and jealousie. The Venetian Senate did therefore order their Commissary at Sea, to go with his Fleet into *Puglia*, to put very good Garrisons into all the Towns which held for the Commonwealth, and for the King of *France*, and to fall upon taking the Castles in *Brandizzo*: and on the other side, *Renzo da Ceri*, and the Prince of *Melfi*, were to pass into those Sea coasts with five thousand foot, for the transporting whereof from *Ancona* to *Puglia*, the Venetians sent eight Gallies, and other Vessels. It was also resolved, that the Fleet should be encreased, and reinforced, that they might make some other attempt in the Kingdom, and keep the Imperialists busied in several places. To which purpose, the Venetians promised to lend the King twelve Gallies.

The Senate did moreover very much solicite the other Confederates, as the Florentines, and Duke of *Ferrara*, that bearing patiently the adverse fortune about *Naples*, they would seek to provide against other dangers, by lending ready and stout assistance towards the renewing of the War in *Puglia*, whereby the enemies forces would be kept far from their Territories, being employ'd in defending their own affairs. Whereunto these Princes shewed themselves very forward, the Florentines offering moreover to keep up a body of men in *Tuscany*, and the Duke of *Ferrara* an other at *Modena*, to provide for all occurrences: But as for the affairs of *Lombardy*, and the State of *Milan*, wherein the forces remained entire, it was resolved to advance towards *Milan*; and both the Armies being come to *Landriano*, the Commanders thought it not fit to fall then upon the expugning of *Milan*, which would be a thing too hard to effect, *Leva* being entred thereinto with his Army, after he had fetch'd much victuals into the City; therefore they took an other course, they fell upon the enterprize of *Pavia*, which they thought they might be successful in, for that there was but a weak Garrison there, of only one thousand foot: wherefore the Confederates Army marched speedily thither, to prevent all impediments which they might receive from *Leva*, if he should be aware of their march: they encamp'd before it, and began to play furiously upon the walls: the Duke of *Urbine* having with much perswasions got some pieces of Cannon to be brought along, and carried over the River *Tesino*: So as a great Battery being soon begun, they prepared to give an assault: wherein, the first place falling to the Venetians lot, it hapned that whilst they were ordering their affairs, some averseness thereunto appeared in the Switzers foot: But the Duke of

Urbine having sorely wounded one of their Captains with his own hand (who said that there was not any one who could make his Souldiers move but himself) and at the same instant turning the Cannon upon them, he brought them all to be obedient: so as a hot assault being given, wherein the Duke of *Urbine* was one, who together with some of his Curassiers, all of them being on foot, put himself into the first ranks, and assaulting such Bastions as were best defended, got the praise of being most nobly bold. The Town was taken, and sack'd, and the most of the defendants slain, and soon after the Castle also yeilded, whereinto *Galleazzo da Birago*, together with such souldiers as were left alive, retreated; they had their lives given them, the Dutch foot being permitted to return to *Milan*, and the Italians to return to their own homes.

The getting of *Pavia* proved very advantagious, and of great credit to the League, not only in its own respect, but because it was accompanied with the quick surrender of *Novara*, and of other neighbouring Towns, whereby the enemy, who received much victuals from thence for the nourishment of the Army which was in *Milan*, was much incommodated.

The Venetian Senate was much rejoyced hereat, hoping that it might in the future somwhat counterpoise their late loss at *Naples*: they commended and thanked Monsieur *de St Paul* for it, exhorting him to prosecute the prosperity which was promised by this good beginning; not despairing, but by his happy conduct, they should get *Milan*, and recover *Naples*. The alteration in *Genua* was very unwelcome news to *France*: wherefore the King sent an expres Commission to Monsieur *de St Paul*, that before all other things, he should mind and endeavour the returning of that City into her former condition, to the relief whereof, the three thousand foot which were thereunto designed, refused to go, for want of having received their pay; which put *Trivultio* into so great difficulties, as he protested he would surrender, unless he received some speedy succour. Thus the affairs of the League, which began to be a little refresh'd, fell quickly back into great straits; for as the opportunity which was offered of getting *Milan* was very great, by reason of the recent reputation won at *Pavia*, and through the sufferings whereunto *Leva*'s Arms was reduc'd; but chiefly by the excessive and unsupportable Taxes imposed by the Imperialists upon the people of *Milan*, which had made them ready to mutiny, and to throw off the yoke of so severe servitude, so was it requisite, that to the effecting thereof, they should make use of all their forces together, and to beleaguer that great City with two camps; and yet Monsieur *de St Paul* setting his heart upon the relief of *Genua*, did not only refuse to go to *Milan*, but prest the Duke of *Urbine* very much to go along with him, and to carry his Venetian forces to *Genua*, that they might proceed therein the more securely: to which the Venetian Senate would not consent, since by sending their forces so far off, they should not only lose all the advantage of their victory, and make the Duke of *Milan* despair, but should expose *Bergamo*, and other Cities of their dominion to great danger. Wherefore, being both of them resolute in their opinions, the French Com-

manders

manders roſe with all their forces, and paſt over the *Po*, at *Porta Stella*, to go by the way of *Tuſcany* to *Genua*; and the Venetians (the Senate not thinking it fit that they ſhould retire) ſtayed at *Pavia*, to be aſſiſtant in reputation to the affairs of *Genua*; and that they might tarry there more ſecurely, and fall upon any enterprize which occaſion ſhould offer, the Senate reſolved to raiſe new foot to recruit their Army, which was much diminiſhed by ſeveral accidents.

But the *French* had but ill ſucceſs; for finding *Genua* ſtrongly Garriſon'd, and they not being above two thouſand Foot, they had no hopes of doing any good there by their long tarrying, though they were already got very near the City: Wherefore they reſolved to return to *Lombardy*, and to quarter in the City of *Aleſſandria*, whereunto *Sforza* gave way, hoping that when two thouſand Landsknechts, who were already paſt the mountains ſhould be come unto him, they might return with better hopes to the enterpriſe of *Milan*. But the mean while, *Trivulſio* hearing of their retreat, and deſpairing of timely ſuccour, yielded up the caſtle; which was preſently ſlighted by the people, that they might have no ſuch obſtacle to their Liberty. *Savona* likewiſe, whereinto the ſuccour led on by Captain *Montigiano*, could not enter, returned to the power of the *Genueſes*. after this they fell to alter the Government, freeing it as much as at the firſt they could from popularity; reducing thoſe Families to a ſmall number, who were to partake in the management of the Common-wealth, and inſtituting a magiſtracy of but a few citizens, temporiſing their authority by that of the greater Councels; though *Doria*'s greatneſs continued to be very much in theſe civil inſtitutions, upon whoſe will, and authority, their eſtabliſhment did depend. And that they might be free from the fear of forraign forces, which might cauſe an alteration in this new State, the *Genueſes*, by publick order interceded with the *Venetians*, deſiring them to be contented, that they might now remain in that free neutrality, to which they had formerly exhorted them: alledging it for a reaſon, why they had taken up arms againſt their city, becauſe *Antonietto Adorno* was head of the government thereof, who depending totally upon the Imperialiſts, was very advantagious to the enemy. But the *Venetians* anſwered, that the face of affairs was much altered; ſince they had very much offended the King of *France*, by driving out his men, and by receiving *Doria*, who was his proteſt enemy; whereby they had provoked the Kings forces againſt them; nor could they be wanting to be aſſiſting to the King, their friend and Confederate. And really the *Venetians* did very much deſire, that the buſineſs of *Genua* might be again attempted, for the Kings better ſatisfaction, who gave apparent ſignes of being diſpleaſed, that they did not ſend their men with the Duke of *Urbine*, to relieve *Trivultio*: and becauſe they thought it very convenient for their affairs, that the City, which was as it were the Gate of *Italy*, whereby the *Spaniards* had convenience to enter thereinto by Sea, might depend upon the will of their friend, the King of *France*; and eſpecially at this time, when *Ceſar* had given out, (making uſe of ſuch an occaſion) that he would come himſelf in perſon into *Italy*. They therefore exhorted the *Genueſes* to

put themſelves again under the King of *France* his protection, who was a powerfull and courteous Prince, in whom they ſhould find both power and will to preſerve their Liberty. But neither the ſeaſon of the year, (which was a very bitter winter,) nor yet the weakneſs of their Armies, which were very much leſſened by ſeveral accidents, would not permit them to uſe force: So as, though it were known, that there was a great ſcarcity of victuals in *Milan*, that *Antonio da Leva* was ſick, and the Army ſufficiently leſſened, which might very well invite them to the attempt of that enterpriſe, ſince the Forces of the League were nigh at hand: and though this might be a means to facilitate the good ſucceſs of *Genua*, and that the Senate had prayed the Duke of *Urbine* not to let ſlip ſo fair an occaſion; yet not truſting too much to their own Forces, and apprehending the inconveniencies of winter, the Captains of the League reſolved to bring their Armies into their winter quarters, and to expect a better ſeaſon, and greater Forces. So as, the Duke of *Milan* going to winter with his Forces in *Pavia*, the Duke of *Urbine* was forced to riſe from thence, intending to go to *Lodi*, but not pleaſed therewith, he reſolved to go to the banks of *Ada*, and ſoon after paſt over the river, to get into ſafer and more commodious quarters. But the *French* Army went into *Aleſſandria*, that they might afterwards joyn, as the ſeaſon and occaſion ſhould counſel. But the Senate was chiefly troubled about the towns of *Puglia*, which being preſerved, were very ſerviceable to the Commonwealth, both in times of peace and war: and being by agreement to be reſtored, they might be a great advantage to them, upon other occaſions. *Trani* and *Monopoli* held then for the *Venetians*, and *Berletta* for the *French*, the reſt being abandoned, and theſe not without difficulty preſerved by Commiſſary *Vetturi*, when the French Army was routed; who being about the taking of *Manfredonia*, when he heard of what had happened at *Naples*, ſent a good number of Foot forthwith in Galleyes to Garriſon thoſe Maritime Towns, writing forged Letters to the Magiſtrates, that the *French* Commanders having been but very little damnified, were retired with all their forces ſafe to *Anverſa*, to keep the people in their allegiance; leaſt out of fear, they might be moved, as many others had been, to agree with the Imperialiſts. *Camillo Orſino* was entred into *Trani*, as ſoon as he riſe with the Camp from before *Manfredonia*; *Jovan Corrado Orſino*, *Julio di Montebello*, and *Horratio da Carpenna*, being parted from *Brandizzo*, were in *Monopoli*: and *Renzo da Ceri*, who had the title of Lieutenant of the Kingdome, was come to *Barletta*, Whither alſo *Simion Romano* was come with his light-horſe. The *Venetians* were three thouſand Foot; *Renzo* brought with him five thouſand; and two thouſand were raiſed at the charges of the *Florentines*, and of ſome of the family of the *Orſini*; ſo as, they amounted in all to the number of ten thouſand Foot, to boot, with four hundred *Venetian* horſe, and 300 horſe which *Renzo* brought with him, and in *Abruzzo*; *Jovan Jacopi Franco*, being got into *Matrice*, and *Camillo Orſino* into *Aquila*, they ſet up the *French* colours, and held thoſe Towns in the name of the King of *France*, to whom the country people ſeemed much inclined; as, on the contrary, the name of *Ceſar* grew very hatefull to them,

them, by reaſon of the many extortions which his Officers uſed to the people. The *Venetians* being intent upon the preſervation of theſe places, and hoping not only to be able to hold the enemy play, and to keep the war from the State of *Lombardy*, but to make ſome advancement, ſince the Imperialiſts wanted not many diſaccommodations; reſolved to relieve thoſe Towns, ſending them all ſorts of munition; and to recruit the Garriſons with ſix hundred Foot raiſed in *Dalmatia*, which being conveyed thither in ſome Gallies, in the depth of winter, two of them ran on ground, and ſplit upon thoſe ſhores. But Commiſſary *Mula*, who had kept till then upon thoſe coaſts, for the ſafety of the Towns, and to preſerve thoſe men upon all events, and that the Galley-ſlaves might work upon the Fortifications leaving four Galleys to guard them, retreated by publick order to *Corfu*: which the Senate did, out of the need the Fleet ſtood in of being refreſh'd; and that they might adde to the number of the Galleys, that they might joyn with the Fleet which was prepared by the King of *France* in *Marcelles*; and impoſe the Imperialiſts Maritime Forces: who were ſaid to prepare good ſtore of Frigats in *Barcellona*, to the end, that joining with *Doria*'s Galley's, they might go out ſtrong to Sea. In this Interim, the Pope ceaſed not his deſires to have *Cervia*, and *Ravenna* reſtored unto him; to which purpoſe the King of *France* had ſent the Vicount *Turin* to *Venice*, deſirous to give ſome ſatisfaction to the Pope, in whom his former ill will to the King was encreaſed, by the Marriage of *Renea* the Kings kinſwoman to *Hercoles*, the Duke of *Ferrara*'s ſon, knowing that by this alliance, the king was obliged to defend the Duke, from whom the Pope deſired to repoſſeſs himſelf of the Cities of *Modena* and *Regio*, as well as thoſe in *Romagna* from the Venetians and he hoped to have been therein aſſiſted by the King according to his promiſe.

But the Senate, deſirous to give the King ſatisfaction in all things, acquainted him with their pretentions and intereſts; that they had Ravenna, *from* Obizo Polenta, *the Lord thereof, 400 years ſince it was in the Churches poſſeſſion; and that* Cervia *was poſſeſs'd by the Commonwealth by the laſt Will and Teſtament of* Dominico Malateſta, *charged with many pious uſes, wherein the will of the Teſtator was continually fulfilled; that if they had deſired to enjoy what belonged to others; they would not have refuſed the offers made by thoſe of* Furli, *and of other Towns in* Romagna, *to come under their command; that they had been at no little charge in maintaining* Bologna, *and other Cities under the Papal Dominion; that they poſſeſ'd theſe Towns when the Pope had quitted the League; and and therefore in that reſpect they had juſt reaſon to holde them, ſince they had ſpent more Treaſure in theſe wars by much then thoſe Cities were worth; that his Majeſty would be pleaſed to conſider, whether it would make for his advantage, that his freinds and his confederates ſhould part with ſo convenient places to the Pope who was but ill affected to the Crown of* France, *nay, to the Imperialiſts upon whoſe authority it was apparent that the Pope did depend, either out of will, or fear. That to boot with his own concernments, he ſhould weigh the injury which would be thereby done to the other Colleagues, to the Florentines, and to the Duke of* Ferara; *who certainly would be very much troubled at ſuch an action, which might hinder*

der their forwardneſs in adhering to the League: That he ought likewiſe to conſider theſe Towns were as a curb to keep the Pope within his duty; and that this reſpect ceaſing, he would the ſooner diſcover himſelf to be a friend and confederate of Cesar's.

Viſconte being conjunct by theſe reaſons, went to *Rome*, where he propounded divers expediences to the Pope for the accommodation of theſe Affairs; as, that theſe Towns might be given in fee to the Common-wealth, upon ſome recognition to the Church, as he had done by ſeveral other Towns. Or elſe that they would be depoſited into the King of *France* his hands, to be diſpoſed of as he ſhould think fit. Which propoſals being put unto the Senate, they were neither wholly accepted, nor wholly refuſed; but mentioning what the State had done, and what they were ready to doe in order to the Pope's ſervice, they ſeemed to confide much upon *Clement*'s wiſdom that he might of himſelf find out ſome fair and rational accommodation of theſe difficulties.

Thus was this buſineſs ſuſpended, and the ſucceſs of War uncertain, and the time of laying down Arms moſt uncertain, when the year 1528 ended.

The year 1529 began with various hopes of peace, and with fear of new combuſtions of War; for great wearineſs, and weakneſs appeared plainly in the Princes: Which as well as the bitterneſs of the winter, was the reaſon why all Military actions were ceaſed; nor did any ſuch notable effects enſue either in *Lumbardy*, or in the Kingdom of *Naples*, as might have been expected; the one party being quite diſſipated and deſtroy'd, the other remained totally victorious, and arbitrator of all things: which were ſo ballanced, as each party might bear its own fortune, and hope for better in the future: Wherefore it was thought that the condition of affairs being thus, an agreement would be the more eaſily made. *Ceſar* profeſſed openly that he deſired univerſal peace; and above all things, to accommodate his Affairs to the Princes of *Italy*; to which purpoſe he had ſent the General of Franciſcans to *Rome*, who having received the Cap, took upon him the title of Cardinal of *Santta Cruce*; which Commiſſion (as it was given out to cauſe *Hoſtia* and *Civita Vecchia* to be reſtored to the Pope, and to treat with the Popes ſelf, touching the reconcilment of all difficulties. The King of *England* uſed all efficacious means with the King of *France*, and to bring him to an agreement; & had ſent expreſs Embaſſadours to *Rome*, to exhort the Pope to undertake ſuch a treaty, as a thing that did better belong to him, & more properly then to any other. Nor did the King of *France* appear to be there unto averſe, he having ſent Commiſſion to his Embaſſadour at *Rome*, for univerſal peace. The Venetians did the like, giving ſufficient warrant to their Embaſſadour *Gaſpero Contarini* to ſay, that the Senate following the advice of the King of *France*, and according to their own inclination towards the peace, and common good of Chriſtendom, would make good whatſoever had been formerly agreed upon by particular conventions. They moreover did of themſelves, deſire the Pope that he would take upon him the weight of ſo important a buſineſs, and bring it to a good end, as might be hoped from his power

power and ſincerity; promiſing that upon the concluding of an univerſal peace, they would witneſs their good will in any thing remained in diſpute between them and the Apoſtolick See, touching the Cities of *Ravenna* and *Cervia*. But for all this, many things gave reaſon to ſuſpect, that all this was but a Coppy of their countenances, and that the Princes were inwardly otherwiſe inclined; being more intent upon their own advantage, then agreed with the accommodation of ſo many great differences, and to putting an end to Wars of ſo long duration. It was known that the King of *France* was very jealous of the Pope, ſo as he did neither believe much what he ſaid, nor did he much confide in him: Holding all his propoſals to be doubtful and uncertain. Therefore he treated apart with the Venetians, that they would reorder their Forces by Sea, and by Land, ſeeming not to be at all diſcouraged for what had hapned at *Naples*; as a thing which had fallen out by misfortune, and not through any cowardiſe of the Souldiery: Wherefore he was more deſirous then ever to renew the Wars in *Italy*. As for the Emperour though he ſaid he would come into *Italy*, to take upon him the Crown of the Empire, and to procure peace, yet he made ſo great preparation for War, as it appeared he intended not to do as he ſaid; eſpecialy ſince his deſire of making himſelf Maſter of the State of *Milan* was ſo very well known. And as for the Pope, who was to take upon him the chief care herein, he ſtill retained the deſire of recovering not only the Towns in *Romagna*, but alſo *Modena*, and *Regio*; and likwiſe he longed to revenge himſelf, for the injuries done him by the Florentines, and to replace his Nephews in their priſtine greatneſs, and dignity in *Florence*; which were not things to be done without War. And the Venetians though they had been ſo many years involved in Wars, wherein they had already ſpent five Millions of Gold; and that therefore they deſired to give ſome eaſe and refreſhment to themſelves, and to their Subjects; yet they perſevered reſolutely not to abandon the Duke of *Milan*, not to permit that that State ſhould fall again into *Ceſar*'s power; nor would they eaſily part with the Towns in *Puglia* and *Romagna*, unleſs upon the eſtabliſhing of univerſal peace upon fair and rational conditions. Thus did the Princes at this time ſteer their thoughts and actions; and this was mens opinion touching future War and Peace.

This mean while the News increaſed of *Ceſar*'s coming into *Italy*; for which great preparation of Shiping was made at *Barcellona*; and the Arch-Duke *Ferdinand* came to *Iſpruch*, and raiſed much moneys in the Dyets, taking foot Souldiers into pay, to ſend them for *Italy*, to ſerve his Brother, giving out that he would aſſault the States of *Venice*. Yet at the ſame time divers treaties of agreement were propounded to the Senate, by *Andrea Doria*, and by ſome other Imperialiſts; ſhewing that the Emperour had very good thoughts towards the Common-wealth, and offering to negotiate peace, wherein the Venetians proceeded very cautiouſly; fearing leſt this might be a trick to ſeperate the French by theſe jealouſies from the freindſhip of the Common-wealth; ſo as they ſlackned not their preperation for War; for the Senate would depend upon themſelves, and treat of Peace with Sword in hand, and with honour.

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The time of the Duke of *Urbines* command being at an end, they continued his imployment for three years longer, with the increase of ten thousand Crowns a year pay, and with as many Curassiers, as made up those that were before under his command two hundred.

Moreover a particular Troop of fifty Curassiers was given to his son *Guido Ubaldo*, who was likewise taken into the Commonwealths service, and had a stipend of a thousand crowns a year given him. *Gianus Maria Fregoso* was made Governour General of the Venetian Militia, in reward of his loyalty and worth: And because the Duke of *Urbine* had many occasions to be absent from the camp, as he was particularly at this time; and that it was thought fit for the publick service, that some person of great authority should always be in the Army, *Antonio Alberti* was sent to him, *Savio agli Ordini* with Orders that he should go speedily from *Brescia*, where he then was, and come to the Army; in which journey, for his greater honour, he was accompanied by the said *Alberti*. Other chief places of the Militia were disposed of to others. Count *Gaiazzo* was made General of the Light Horse; and *Antonio da Castello* Captain of the Artillery. *Hercoles Fregoso*, *Farfarella da Ravenna*, and other Commanders were taken again into the Commonwealths service: A good sum of money was sent to the camp, to Commissary *Navi*, with Orders to raise new Foot, and to fill up the companies. Nor were they less vigilant about Maritime Affairs. *Girolamo Pesaro* was created Captain General at Sea, and *Andrea Pesaro* being chosen a little before Commissary of the Fleet, and *Vicenso Justiniano* Captain of the Bastard Gallies, they were both of them ordered to prepare for Sea; there were other ten chosen for Governours, to arm the ten Gallies which were disarm'd the preceding Winter; so as the Commonwealth had above fifty Gallies at Sea, and though by the Articles of confederacy they were not bound to furnish out above sixteen Gallies, they promised notwithstanding to adde four more thereunto; so as there should be twenty for the service of the League, whereof *Girolamo Contarini* was made Captain. And because the Duke of *Milan*, and Monsieur *di S. Paule*, who were desired to increase the number of their Foot according to their Articles, excused themselves for want of monies; the Senate resolved to lend the French twelve thousand Duckets, and eight thousand to the Duke of *Milan*. But the Venetians did chiefly desire, and pray the King of *France*, that he would not be wanting to the Colleagues upon so important an occasion, since he had found them all so affectionate to him, and so constant in prosecuting the War. And truly these remembrances were no more then necessary; for all the bad success of the French in the affairs of *Italy*, arose from their slowness in making provisions, and from too much confiding in themselves; the French being naturally given to promise all good success to themselves at the first beginning, which makes them easily undertake any business, but they are not constant in the prosecution, and but little careful in providing necessaries out of the hopes they have of bringing it soon to an end, measuring it often more according to their own desires, then according to the truth. Monsieur *de S. Paule* was reduced to want of men, monies,

nies, and almoſt of all things requiſite to maintain War in *Italy*: Nor was there any preparations ſeen for doing any thing beyond the Mountains, which the King had ſo often promiſed to do. And yet it was now more neceſſary then ever to do both theſe, and that with powerful forces, to keep the Emperour from coming into *Italy*, either by preparing ſtrongly to reſiſt him there, or elſe by keeping him imploy'd in defending *Spain*, and in muniting the heart of his Dominions. They therefore told the King that it was a thing becoming him, and the forces of that powerful Kingdom, to interrupt *Ceſars* deſigns, and to bring him by force of Arms to an agreement, and to the reſtoring his Sons, ſince he could not be perſwaded thereunto by reaſon. After theſe perſwaſions the King appeared to be ſomewhat more fervent touching the affairs of *Italy*, ſo as they hoped they might be able at one and the ſame time to renew the Wars both in *Lombardy*, and in the Kingdom of *Naples*: And to make ſome notable advancement by anticipating the coming of *Ceſar*, and of his ſuccours. The Senate were therefore of opinion that the Duke of *Urbine* ſhould come to *Venice*; where in the preſence of the Embaſſadours of the King of *France*, and of the Duke of *Milan's*, and of a Gentleman ſent to that purpoſe from Monſieur *di S. Paule*, many long conſultations were had touching the manner of managing the War. And at laſt it was concluded, that the firſt thing to be done was, to mind the buſineſs of *Milan*, but rather by the way of ſiege then aſſault, by taking in the neighbouring places, and by reducing *Leva's* Army to want of victuals, and in the mean time to raiſe greater forces; and the number pitch'd upon were twenty thouſand foot, to wit, eight thouſand French, eight thouſand Venetians, two thouſand of the Duke of *Milan's*, and two thouſand Landsknechts, which were expected from *Lions*, and were already taken into pay at the common expence; and as for the Enterprize of *Genua*, that it ſhould be managed according as occaſions ſhould fall out, and as things ſhould ſucceed in *Lombardy*. But the greateſt ſecurity for the affairs of *Italy* was judged to depend upon the keeping off *Ceſars* coming; it was therefore reſolved that the *French* Fleet ſhould be increaſed as much as might be, as alſo the Venetian Fleet, and particularly in great Veſſels, to the end that they might keep the better at Sea, and oppoſe the Imperial Fleet, which conſiſted of like veſſels; to the end that when *Ceſar* ſhould ſee he could not ſail without great danger, he might keep from doing ſo. Yet it being afterwards known that the Kings inclination lay to make War with *Ceſar* beyond the Mountains, accordingly as was formerly deſigned, the Senators began to differ in their opinions (*Andrea Navagiero* being at this time choſen Embaſſadour to be ſent to the Court of *France*, to renew the firſt deſires) what they ought firſt to exhort the King to, whether to come in perſon into *Italy*, or to ſend his Armies to the Perenean Mountains, and aſſault *Spain*.

Amongſt the reſt, *Luigi Mocenigo*, a man vers'd in the management of the weighteſt Affairs of the Commonwealth, and one of great authority, was of opinion, that they were chiefly to perſwade the King, to ſend his forces to the confines of *Spain*, ſo to divert the War which was intended to be made in *Italy*.

In theſe times, ſo full of difficulties, ſaid he, in an Oration which he made, *we muſt take many things into conſideration, and proceed therein with much temperance. The Art of a skilfull Phiſitian conſiſts in curing his patient, ſo that his malady draw not on another ſickneſs: and the Pilot, who ſails in the ſea, where are many Rocks, if he know not how to ſteer his ſhip, whileſt he endeavours to ſhun one rock, may give againſt another. We are now aſſuredly in a very narrow condition, we have to do with all the precepts of civil wiſdome, and are to conſider many things at once: Our Common-wealth, through ſo many and ſo long wars, is now become weak; the times are ſubject to chances, and we ſail amidſt many dangerous rocks.*

Doubtleſly we ought to be concerned in Ceſar's *greatneſs, for he threatens the ruine of the* Italian *Potentates. It is a uſefull, or rather a neceſſary Counſel, to ſeek by all means how to ſuppreſs him. For by fauteering him, or ſuffering him to grow greater, he becomes daylie more formidable, and the remedy proves harder. Yet I am of opinion, that to attain unto our true intentions, it is not good, neither ought we to uſe all remedies, though they may ſeem proper to cure our preſent maladies. For it is not our thoughts, nor our intentions, to keep* Ceſar *low, out of any hatred we bear unto his perſon, or out of any Rivalſhip that our Commonwealth hath with him; but onely for our own conveniency, and ſafety; that our State may not be expoſed to his victorious will: That, if he ſhould poſſeſs himſelf of the State of* Milan, *we meet not with ſo powerfull a Neighbour, as to be in perpetual jealouſies of him. Whence it may be eaſily conceived, that it makes not for our advantage, to ſuppreſs* Ceſar *ſo, as to raiſe up another Potentate in* Italy, *of equal power and authority with him, who may in time bring us into the ſame dangers, which now we ſtrive to ſhun. For my part, I doubt very much, whether the coming of the moſt Chriſtian King into* Italy, *be like to prove that powerfull means which others may believe, of keeping* Ceſar *far off; and (to confeſs the truth) I cannot promiſe my ſelf, that when we ſhall have our deſire in this, we ſhall find ſuch continency in the King, as that driving the Imperialiſts out of* Italy, *he be to reſtore her to peace and ſafety: but that he will rather claim the whole fruit of the victory to himſelf. The King of* France *is no leſs deſirous to become maſter of the Kingdom of* Naples, *and of the Dukedome of* Milan, *then* Ceſar; *nor are his pretentions thereunto weaker. The ſo many wars made, for this intention, and many other ſignes, diſcovered upon other occaſions, though cloaked under other ends, ſhew, that this Kings thoughts have been ſuch, and ſuch the like of his Predeceſſors. Who can ſecure us, that when the King ſhall be become Arbytrator of the Affairs of* Italy, *and not being counterpoiſed by the Imperial forces, and that he ſhall know, he ſtands not in need of our help, to keep poſſeſſion of theſe States, that he may not ſlight our Intereſts, and forget all that we have done to exalt him. The deſire of Rule doth oft times ſo blind men, as it ſuffers them not to ſee reaſon, makes them violate all Laws, and value nothing but their own peculiar and apparent profit. So as, if* Italy *be to be ſubjected, what doth it import us, whether it be by the* Spaniards, *or by the* French? *He who ſhall conſider things aright, will find, that theſe two differ in many things among themſelves, but that as for us) they are to be of a like prejudice and danger. For though,*

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for what relates to our present affairs, it may seem that we ought as much to desire the comming of the King of France *into* Italy, *as to fear the like of* Cesar's, *the one being a Friend and Confederate, and that the dangers which may incur by him, are more uncertain, and farther off; and that the other thinks himself injured by us, and meets with many occasions of discord from our Common-wealth: Yet it is not to be doubted, but that it were by much best for us, that neither the one, nor the other of these Princes, had either State, Forces, pretentions, or so much as thoughts upon the affairs of* Italy: *Which, since it cannot be entirely effected by us, answerable to our occasions, and desires: yet wee should indeavour, as much as in us lies, to keep their persons far from hence: for we may be sure, that the sight of these noble provinces of* Italy, *will kindle in them (who are easie to take such Impressions) a greater desire of possessing themselves thereof: and that by their presence, those things will be much increased, which we would lessen: For where a great prince is in person, he adds much of reputation to his affairs, and he may easily, and by many wayes, purchase unto himself favour, authority and power. Wherefore do we not think then of some other means of keeping* Cesar *out of* Italy, *since there be others, whereby we may much better effect our desires, without these dangers? For, say the King should resolve to pass over the Mountains, it is not likely, that that would keep* Cesar *from coming also into* Italy *by sea: nay, it may be, if he were less resolved to do so, this would make him do it the sooner, lest he might seem to yield unto a Prince, who is not only his rival in glory, but his open and declared enemy; as if he should confess, that after he had divulged he would make such a voyage, he had forborn doing so, for fear of him, leaving his Army, and all that he is possest of in* Italy, *a secure prey for others. But if on the contrary, the* French *will resolve, to march with powerfull forces to the Confines of* Spain, *and assault some of their Frontier Forts, what reason is there to believe, that when the Emperour shall be molested in his own Dominions, he will abandon their defence, to fall upon* Italy, *a business of such difficulty; and that he will leave his own affairs in apparent danger, out of uncertain hopes of getting what belongs to others.* Hannibals *example is very remarkable, and may be very well paralel'd to this which we now treat of; whom the* Romans *could never get out of* Italy, *till they resolved to assault* Affrica, *and so compel him to turn those forces which he had long made use of against them, to defend his own Country. Moreover, it is an excellent rule, when the fire of war cannot be totally extinguished, to keep it as far from our own houses as we can, and to carry it elswere; and we who see that* Italy *is made the seat of war, whereinto so many* Transalpine *Forces have had recourse, to vent their fury, and glut their wicked wills, to the great prejudice, and almost total ruine thereof; shall we mediate the coming in of new forreigners thereinto, so to continue those miseries, and to make them more? and to foment that fire in our bosomes, which hath long burnt to our great cost, and prejudice? if the King of* France *shall come into* Italy, *we are sure we shall rekindle a new and heavy war: for, either* Cesar *will resolve, (as I verily believe he will do) to come in person with so much the greater forces, for that he shall know he is to meet with so much the stouter resistance; or else, he will send the greater forces into* Italy, *and will adde thereunto as much as he is able, in the Kingdome of* Naples, *and Dukedome of* Milan; *for it is not*

to be imagined, that, whileſt he ſhall be ſafe at whom, and ſufficiently powerfull and victorious in Italy, *he will abandon his fortune, and forego the poſſeſſion of ſo many places which he is maſter of in* Italy, *for fear of the coming of the* French. *And, why ſhould not we think, that the king may be of himſelf well inclined thereunto, whom we hear (that moved thereunto by theſe reaſons) hath ſet his thoughts upon* Spain, *and that he already begins to prepare for it. So as the moving him to make war there, will not onely be advantagious for us, but we may the ſooner obtain our deſires. I know not therefore what we have to commit unto our Embaſſadour,* Navagiero's *charge in this point, ſince the Kings will, and our advantage concur therein. And certainly if we know, how to uſe the time and occaſion which is offered us, we may hope, that the King, by the authority of this Senate, and by* Navagiero's *wiſdome, and eloquence may be perſwaded to confirm his opinion in moleſting the Emperours Dominions with new wars, and with Forces befitting the cauſe, and the grandure of his majeſty and of his kingdome; whereby we ſhall not onely attain unto our chief end of keeping the Emperour, for the preſent out of* Italy, *but we may hope to find him the eaſier to be brought hereafter to make a fair agreement.*

Many were pleaſed herewith; but it was oppoſed by many others, particularly, by *Marc Antonio Cornaro*; who, though by reaſon of his years, he was of leſs Authority, yet he was of great eſteem for his eloquence. This man, in anſwer to what *Mocenigo* had ſaid, ſpoke thus:

If it were as eaſie to find out a remedy for the ſo many miſeries of Italy, *and for our moleſtations and dangers, as we have juſt cauſe to commiſerate the condition of theſe unfortunate times, I ſhould very much approve, that we ſhould think of what might ſecure us not onely from our preſent dangers, but from all thoſe which may a long time hereafter befall us. But I am ſhrewdly afraid, that whileſt by an immature cautiouſneſs we fear every thing, and would foreſee, and provide againſt whatſoever accidents may occur, we ruine our preſent condition, and loſe the opportunity of applying thoſe remedies, which doubtleſs may help us at this our preſent and greateſt need. Concerning* Ceſar's *coming into* Italy, *as we may be ſure thereof, unleſs his way be ſtopped, ſo is it for many reaſons very much to be feared. He is at the preſent poſſeſs'd of almoſt all the Kingdome of* Naples, *and of a good part of the Dukedome of* Milan: *he hath powerfull Armies in both theſe Countreys:* Genua *alſo, a city, ſo opportunely ſituated for the affairs of* Italy, *hath put it ſelf into his protection. If he ſettle himſelf in theſe ſeveral parts by his coming into* Italy, *and by extinguiſhing the remainder of the* French *Army, what hopes have we of ever driving him out? he pretends to poſſeſs the Kingdom of* Naples *by right of Inheritance: and by the inveſtment of the Pope himſelf: we may ſee how he means to behave himſelf concerning the Dutchie of* Milan; *ſince making divers ſubterfuges, he could never be brought to aſſign over the City of* Milan *to* Franciſco Sforza, *as by agreement he was tied to do. On the other ſide, the King of* France *is not now poſſeſs'd of almoſt any thing in* Italy. *He hath put the Towns of the Dukedome of* Milan, *which he hath gotten*

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by his forces, into the hands of Franciſco Sforza; *in the Kingdome of* Naples, *he quits the Towns of* Puglia *to us; and is content, that a particular King be put over the reſt: He hath no other Army in* Italy, *then thoſe few men that are with Monſieur* St. Paul, *and which are ſo much leſſened as they exceed not the number of five thouſand Foot: So as, we ſee, that if the counterpoiſe of the* French *Forces be totally taken away, whereby* Ceſar's *greatneſs may be moderated, all* Italy *muſt neceſſarily be either ſubject to him, or depend upon him: or if any one Potentate ſhall preſerve his Liberty, he muſt live at perpetuall expence, and in continuall jealouſies of ſo powerfull an neighbour. To all which miſchiefs and dangers, it is well known, there is no ſufficient remedy, but the coming of the King of* France *into* Italy. *For, how negligent and full of delayes the* French *are, in making Proviſions for the war, when the King is not preſent in perſon, the freſh examples of ſo many of his Armies, routed, and ruin'd out of this onely reſpect, may ſufficiently witneſs. Moreover, If the Emperour ſhall come, as the* French *Army ought to be in all things, at leaſt equall, if not ſuperiour to his, it muſt be accompanied with like reputation, which can only be effected by the King's preſence, which will help as much as almoſt an other Army; will make the Pope declare for the League; will confirm the* Florentines *and the Duke of* Ferrara; *and will make all the people and princes of* Italy *ready to aſſiſt, and adhere unto him in all his enterpriſes: ſo as, either* Ceſar *will be kept from coming, or if he do come, he will meet with ſuch a counterpoiſe, as will fruſtrate all his diſignes, and will make him paſs quickly back again over the Sea. Theſe advantages are not to be expected, by making any attempts upon* Spain, *which can but little or not at all avail our intentions. For,* Ceſar *knowes, that his ſituations being ſtrong by Art and Nature, and his Caſtels being exceellently well garriſon'd, the King can make no important nor ſpeeay advancement there, nor can he tarry there long, but rather is in danger of conſuming his army through ſeverall ſufferings, in that barren Country. Where, whileſt mountains and walls ſhall fight againſt the King,* Ceſar *finding in* Italy *a fruitfull Country, weak Cities, and thoſe but weakly garriſon'd, he will poſſeſs new Territories, he will fortifie thoſe which he is already poſſeſs'd of, and will confirm himſelf in the poſſeſſion of the greateſt and beſt part of* Italy. *But it may peradventure be ſaid, that the one may be done, and the other not left undone; the Affairs of* Italy *may be provided for, and* Spain *may be aſſaulted. He who ſhall be of that opinion, may be ſaid, to deceive himſelf willingly: For, late experience ſhews the contrary: we ſee how great difficulties and what impediments are found, in bringing men and monies from* France, *to recrute the Army commanded by Monſieur* St. Paul, *and to bring it into a condition of being able to extinguiſh the little remainder of enemies which are yet in* Milan, *under* Antonio da Leva: *and yet the King is not imploy'd in any other enterpriſe. I pray you, what do you think the event will be, when the king ſhall have carried with him the prime Flower of his Nobility to the borders of* Spain, *or when the Emperour being ſtrong in* Italy, *there will be need of greater Forces to reſiſt him, then thoſe which are now requiſite; and yet we find a want of them. Aſſuredly, the beſt Commanders, and beſt Souldiers will be where the Kings perſon is:*

monies

monies, and all Proviſions for war will be carried thither: for both the king and kingdome, and not without reaſon, will have chief regard to thoſe things wherein the glory and ſafety of their king and Nation is concern'd immediately: and yet on the other ſide, if the French do not gallantly recruit their Army in Italy, *the field muſt be yeilded to* Ceſar *at his firſt arrival, whereof being Maſter, he will poſſeſs himſelf of all Cities and ſtrong Holds, which will have but ſmall hope of being relieved by weaker Forces. Therefore, ſince it is impoſſible to attend two enterprizes at once, and to negotiate them both, with ſafety, and hopes of bringing them unto a good end, I know not why we ſhould doubt of chuſing that, wherein the benefit appeares to be greater and more certain, and the danger further off, and more uncertain. But I beſeech you, ſince it is ſo poſitively affirmed, that if* Ceſar *bee moleſted at home, it is not likely that he will have leaſure to think upon the affairs of* Italy; *he being to prefer the preſervation of his own Dominions, before things further off, and more uncertain. Why will not we do the like, by providing principally, and primarily for the ſafety of* Italy, *by the moſt aſſured, and moſt immediate way; and not dream upon preJudicing* Spain, *nor ſeek how by a fallacious and far fetch'd remedy to obviate a certain and apparent danger; nay, we ſhould rather value this reaſon the more, and the more obſerve this rule: for ſuppoſe, the enterpriſe concerning* Spain *ſucceed proſperouſly, what fruit ſhall we reap thereby? But* Ceſar *is poſſeſs'd of ſeverall Territories in* Italy, *ſo as by comming into them, he may hope to ſecure them, and keep them from being prejudiced: ſo as whether he ſtay in* Spain, *or come into* Italy, *his buſineſs goes on advantagiouſly, and is likely to proſper: ſo as his counſell can never be blamed, as peradventure ours may be, there being ſo great a diſparity between them. Tis true, what is ſaid to the contrary, that we ſhould have as great a care, in keeping the King of* France *from increaſing too much in power, as in abaſing* Ceſar's *greatneſs: Yet, if I ſhould enter into the conſideration of all the particulars in this point; this opinion would peradventure prove not to bee ſo abſolutely true; nor would the reaſons, nor reſpects of theſe two Princes prove alike: But let us give it for granted, let us ſee a little, whether the condition of the Times, and the preſent eſtate of affairs being conſidered, we ought now to apprehend the power of the French ſo much, or be jealous of the King of* France *his coming into* Italy.

We have for many years laſt paſt, been joyned in ſtrait League and Amity with that Crown; which being but for a very little while interrupted, was ſoon redintegrated. Moreover, the King of France *hath not at this time, either any State, nor many Forces in* Italy, *nor means of getting any, without our help and aſſiſtance: On the other ſide, we meet with many pretenſions, many difficulties, and many occaſions of diffidence in* Ceſar; *ſo as it is impoſſible to have him our Neighbour, and not to be jealous of him. But that which imports moſt, is,* Milan *holds of him, and many Towns in that State: the City of* Naples, *and the greateſt part of that Kingdom; and he hath ſtill two Armies on Foot; the one in* Lombardy, *the other in the aforeſaid Kingdom: And ſhall we at this time, and with theſe concomitances, value things alike? And ſhall we fear the power of the*

King

King of France *as much in* Italy, *as that of the Emperour? Nay certainly, keeping the ſame meaſure and proportion which hath been ſpoken of, we ought to aſſiſt the greatneſs of the French in* Italy, *where it is ſo much leſſened, to oppoſe it to the like of* Ceſar, *which is ſo much enhanc'd. When theſe ſcales ſhall be equally poiſed, it will then be time to think how we ought to behave our ſelves, in not ſuffering either of them to grow too great, though they ſhould contend one with another; and by this contention, if the Commonwealth cannot purchaſe perfect peace and tranquility, as having forces ſo neer her, ſhe will thereby at leaſt get more ſecurity, and will live in better hope, that* Italy *may one day recover her liberty. This is not the firſt time that the Kings of France have paſs'd over the Mountains; they have been invited over by us, by their aſſiſtance we have recovered our State, and by their friendſhip we have kept up the reputation of our Commonwealth: nor avails it any thing to ſay, that we ought to carry the war into other parts, and keep it far from our ſelves; for war is already kindled in* Italy, *our Country is already on fire, and we treat not now how to enflame this fire by the Kings coming, but rather, how to extinguiſh another more great and dangerous. Diverſion is uſed as a ſecond remedy, when the firſt, of preſerving a mans eſtate from being endamaged by an enemy, cannot otherwiſe be prevented: but when we have time enough to prevent* Ceſar's *coming, by encreaſing our forces, by making our ſelves Maſters of the Field, by fortifying our Towns, and in fine, block up his paſſage, cut off his hopes, and break his deſigns; why ſhall we apply our ſelves to leſs uſeful, and more uncertain remedies? When* Ceſar *ſhall be come into* Italy, *and ſhall have made ſome progreſs therein, which we could not otherwiſe have prevented, it will then become us to think of diverſion, and to have recourſe to theſe remedies, of drawing him out of* Italy, *by aſſaulting his other Dominions, and by endeavouring to make him turn his forces elſewhere. But certainly, it will not now be wiſely done, to endeavour that the forces of a Confederate King ſhould go and waſte themſelves in the barren parts of* Spain, *and ſuffer our enemies to feed fat, and enrich themſelves, in the fruitful parts of* Italy. *Who will think him wiſe, who in lieu of preventing that the fire ſeize not upon his own houſe, will go and kindle it elſewhere, and ſuffer his own dangers to encreaſe, that he may revenge himſelf afterwards upon the author thereof? It will aſſuredly be wiſer counſel, to ſeek how to keep injuries afar off, then to think how to revenge them when they are received. By theſe reaſons it is clearly ſeen that the coming of the King of* France *into* Italy, *will be very advantagious for us, and that we have no reaſon to apprehend any danger thereby, eſpecially at this preſent conjuncture of time: therefore we ought to endeavour it, as much as we can, and to charge our Embaſſadour, that he ſeek by the authority and counſel of this Senate, to perſwade the King, or in caſe he find him already ſo enclined, to increaſe that his diſpoſition in him, to come as ſoon, and as ſtrong as he can, into* Italy, *to the terror of his enemies, and conſolation of his friends.*

Cornaro was liſtned to attentively, and after ſome diſpute, his opinion prevailed, and the Embaſſadour *Navagiero* was enjoyn'd to deliver juſt what he had ſaid; who did accordingly, and being come to *France*, had great hopes of obtaining his deſire: for the King entertain'd the advice willingly, ſeeming to approve of it, and that he would

would follow it: He therefore resolved to go forthwith into *Languedoc*, that he might bring his men into the neareſt and moſt convenient part, to paſs into *Italy*, whither he ſaid he would bring above twenty thouſand foot, ten thouſand Lanſknechts, and ten thouſand Voluntiers. Thus the King's coming being certainly believed, the Senate ordered *Andrea Navagiero* to ſtay in *France* with the Queen Mother and the Kings Council, that *Sebaſtiano Juſtinian*, who was ſucceeded by *Navagiero*, ſhould follow the King into *Italy*. This mean while, the Senate being encouraged with hopes, did diligently prepare for all neceſſaries for the War: a Bridge was built over the *Ada*, with intention that at the end of *April*, the Commonwealths Army ſhould advance, and joyning with Monſieur *St Paul's* men, ſhould march to the enterprize of *Milan*, which was thought would be the chief means of keeping the Emperour from coming, ſince he would be thereby kept from that rendevous, by the reputation whereof, by the help of the Fleet, and by the Kings preſence, they thought they might eaſily get *Genua* after, and effect whatſoever elſe they ſhould attempt. They at the ſame time were no leſs diligent in putting Garriſons into the Towns of *Puglia*, ſending a good number of Foot into that Country, to keep all that they were poſſeſs'd of, and upon occaſion, to offer at getting of more; as alſo, to hold the Imperialiſts forces buſied and divided, and keep them from coming into *Lombardy*. But amidſt all this heat, the King, without any appearing occaſion began to cool, and to ſlacken his proviſions for War; ſo as monies were ſcarcely furniſh'd from *France*, for Monſieur *St Paul*, who deſpairing of being able to maintain his Army, proteſted he would be gone, and give over the buſineſs; for of ten thouſand men which he was to have had, he had ſcarce the one half; for they ran away in threves for want of pay. After long expectation, Monſieur *de Chatillon* came from *France*, but with far leſs money then was requiſite; and going ſome few days after from the Camp, he came to *Venice*, ſaying, he would paſs into *Puglia*, to confirm thoſe ſouldiers and Commanders, and to carry them ſome monies; for which voyage, though the Senate had ſpeedily furniſh'd him with ſhipping, as he had earneſtly deſired, yet he by ſeveral excuſes delay'd his going; with ſuſpition that he had given out this only, not that he had really any monies, or that he intended to go to *Puglia*, but that the Venetians might not ſlacken the proviſions which they had made; which the King much fearing, becauſe he knew he had given them occaſion ſo to do, he ſoon after ſent *Giovan Giacchino*, his Embaſſadour to *Venice*, to haſten the going away of the Fleet, and of the other proviſions for War; and yet he brought no news of the King's coming, which was ſo much expected, and of ſo great importance: This did the more encreaſe the Venetians jealouſie, and was the occaſion of much miſchief, both in reſpect of the dangers which they apprehended from *Ceſar*, and becauſe by this delay, they loſt the fruit of all their hopes, their Army being to lie idle about the banks of *Ada*, becauſe it was not able of it ſelf to fall upon the enterprize of *Milan*. But for all this, the Senate forbare not to be diligent in arming themſelves, and ſolicited the King touching the ſame affairs, as he, with leſs occaſion had ſolicited them. To which purpoſe,

purpoſe, they ſent their Secretary *Gaſpero Penelli* forthwith into *France*, to aſſure the King that all things were ready on their ſide to begin the War; that they expected nothing but his Majeſties coming, and that they would readily ſend their forces to meet him, to the end that they might with more ſafety and ſpeed fall upon any enterprize. But this mean while, thoſe that were baniſh'd the Kingdom, aſſembled themſelves together in great numbers in many places, and did much moleſt the Imperialiſts, and *Renzo* promiſed good ſucceſs if he were furniſh'd with monies, and ſome foot. To which purpoſe, he had ſent away Expreſſes ſundry times into *France*, to repreſent the State of affairs, and to deſire aid; which though they were promiſed to be ſpeedily ſent with the Fleet, yet the time of ſending them was prolonged, to the great prejudice of the League, whereby the Imperialiſts had time afforded them to re-order themſelves, and to encreaſe their forces, and won much favour with the Barons, and people of the Kingdom, by the fame of *Ceſar's* coming with ſuch great warlike preparations; many deſiring to purchaſe his favour, either to provide for their own ſafeties, or elſe to get honours and immunities. The Prince of *Orenge* went therefore into *Abruzzo*, recovered *Aquila* and *Matrice*, and opportunely got an hundred thouſand Ducats by way of Tax, out of the Country people, to pay the Army; yet the Imperialiſts did not proſper much in *Puglia*, for a ſecret Treaty which they held in *Berletta*, was timely diſcovered, ſo as it proved vain, and *Giulio da Napoli*, a captain of ſome foot companies, together with ſome of the Towns Citizens, was put to death for it. Moreover, the Venetians had cauſed ſome Souldiers to come from *Greece* on horſeback, who joyning with *Simeone Romano*, made many ſallies out of the Towns, whereby they ſecured the Country, and kept the way open for the coming of victuals, and drove *Pignatello*, Count *de Borello*, from thoſe confines; who though he were very daring and forward for any action, could not with his light Horſe which he had pick'd up in the Country, reſiſt the Grecians, who were much better at that diſcipline, and ſort of Militia: The Marquis of *Goaſto*, who was come with a regulated Army to take *Monopoli*, after the loſs of much time, and many men, was forc'd to retreat to *Naples*; and ſince this action was very remarkable, it may not be diſpleaſing to hear it more particularly related.

A little before the Marquis was come into *Puglia*, notice was had thereof, and of what deſigne he had in hand; wherefore Commiſſary *Vetturi* came with two Gallies to *Monopoli*, bringing with him a Garriſon of five hundred Foot, commanded by two Captains, *Richardo da Peſigliano*, and *Felice de Perugia*. *Andrea Gritti* was ſent from *Venice* thither, to be the chief Magiſtrate, and the Counts of *Montebello* and *Carpenna*, were here before, with ſome number of Souldiers. Theſe being very confident, fell diligently to make platforms, to ſecure the Walls, to munite the Town the beſt they could every where, and to prepare for defence: and amongſt other things, they placed two pieces of Ordnance, called Falcons, upon two Steeples, putting ſacks of Wool about them, to the end, that they might not be overthrown by the enemies ſhot, which proved very advantagious to them,

The Imperial Army being drawn nigh, the Marquis himself advanced with some of his Troops to discover the scituation; against whom *Pietro Fraſcina* came immediately out, and skirmished with him a good while, with alike fortune and valour: the Marquis began afterwards to make Trenches, that he might approach nearer the wall, being necessitate for want of earth, to make use of faggots made of Olive-trees, wherein that Country did very much abound, and to keep commerce from between those of the Town, and the Gallies, which afforded those of the Town many conveniences, and from whence fresh supplies might be had; he, with much labour to the souldiers, made a Fort be quickly erected upon the Sea side, which before it was fully furnished, was thrown down by shot from the Gallies, which played very violently upon it, and a Bastion was by them built, and munited near the Haven, so as they that were within, had always the way open by Sea, and *Camillo Orſino* had opportunity to come from *Trani* to the relief of the Town, who amongst others, brought *Angelo Santacerta* along with him, a very bold man, and a great master of artificial Fireworks: who coming into the field with some few others, set fire upon several places of the enemies Trenches, at one and the same time; which finding matter to nourish it (for they were made of faggots, as hath been said) they were almost all of them quickly destroyed, and the labour of many days was lost; so as a long time was required to re-make them, and those who wrought upon these works, were likewise much damnified by the Artillery, which playing from the Steeples, hit those who lay unsheltered in the fields. But the Camp being at last got near the Walls, the enemy began to batter, wherewith they made many breaches in the Wall, which were notwithstanding made up again in the night by those that were within, who with singular industry and labour, made use of the materials which were cast into the ditch to throw it down, so as no place was left to make an assault: for the Citizens flock'd readily with the souldiers, to all military actions, insomuch as the very women were not wanting in generosity, but getting upon the walls, encouraged the souldiers, and brought of their own proper means refreshment to them, yea, even their very beds to better munite the Rampires; so as though a great part of the Wall was thrown down by the Artillery, insomuch as they might have entred on horseback through the breaches, yet the Marquis durst not bring his souldiers to the battel.

But at last overcome with tediousness, and want of many things, he resolved to hazard an assault, wherein he met not only with stout resistance by those within, but was beaten back, and lost many of his men: So as it behoved to inlarge his Camp, and to think of getting the Town by Siege. But the Souldiers meeting with many inconveniencies by this delay, and their pay coming in but slowly, they began to mutiny, and chiefly the Italian Foot the most whereof disbanded, and entred into *Monopoli*, where they were willingly taken into pay by the Venetians. But least they should incommodate the Siege, they were sent by Sea to *Trani*, in which transportation three Gallies were lost by a violent storm at Sea. And when news of this Shipwrack came to the camp, some of the Spanish foot Companies

went

went out to plunder the wrack'd goods, which were afterwards recovered by the other Italian Souldiers of the Garriſon of *Trani*. But the Siege continuing, *Vetturi* was of opinion that they might doe well to aſſault ſome of thoſe Towns which were poſſeſs'd by the Imperialiſts, (to do the which thoſe of *Otranto*, who were already up in arms offered themſelves, if they might be aſſiſted) and thereby make the Enemie raiſe their camp, and betake themſelves to defend their own affairs. But this advice being communicated to *Renzo da Ceri*, he thought it would be better to take in as many Souldiers as they could into *Monopoli*, from whence they might ſally out at unawares and aſſault the Enemy within their camp, their Army being become very weak by the departure of the Italian foot, and by the wearineſs of the Dutch. To this purpoſe the Prince of *Melfi* being come to *Monopoli*, with 2000 foot, whom the Marquis had labourd very much both by perſwaſions and offers though all in vain, to draw over to ſide with the Imperialiſts: The Beſieged ſallying out one morning early before the Sun-riſing, aſſaulted the Enemies Camp furiouſly on ſeveral ſides; and fighting in the Trenches, though they could not overcome them, did them notwithſtanding much prejudice; for they were often forced to ſend freſh Souldiers to ſupply their places who were ſlaine. But they could not as yet make them diſlodg, their ſcituation and their Rampiers being very ſtrong. But not long after, the Marquis underſtanding that the Venetians were preparing great ſtore of Gallies, to bring more Souldiers and Amunition into the Town, deſparing of any good ſucceſs, he gave over that enterpriſe, and retreated with his men to *Converſa*, and ſo to *Naples*.

Thus the Confederates began to have ſome better hepes by reaſon of the Marquis his retreat, and by the valient defence of *Monopoli*: So as many Barrons, and others, repenting that they had adhered to the Imperial party, grew ready for a new rebellion; which incouraged the confederates to make ſome new attempt. Wherefore the Venetian Senate, finding that their Fleet was like to ly long idle at *Corfu*, expecting the coming of the French Fleet, whereof they heard no certain tidings, and which was very ſlow in preparing; they ordered the General to paſs into *Puglia*, whither being come with a good many Gallies, he lay before *Brandizzi*, hoping that by reaſon of the affection which the Inhabitants bore to the Venetians, he might eaſily win that Town, as he did: And receiving it upon Articles, preſerved it from ſacking, and from being injured by the Souldiers; and he made *Giovan Franciſco Juſtiniano* Governour for the Town, to keep it for the Common-wealth. He fell then ſuddenly to beſiege *Caſtelli*, the particular care whereof, was committed to *Camillo Orſino*, who playing upon it and begirting it on all ſides, had brought it to a bad condition; yet hoping to ſee the Emperours Fleet quickly in thoſe Seas; they held out.

This mean while the Venetian Fleet infeſted the Sea, even to *Capo d' Otranto*, to the great prejudice of the Imperialiſts. In this action *Simone Romano* was ſlain, a bold and valiant man, and one who had done much ſervice to the League, and won much praiſe to himſelf in many actions. At this time General *Peſaro* fell very ſick, wherefore he got leave

of the Senate to retire unto *Corfu*, to be cured; and *Vicenza Cappello* was chosen in his place, to retaine the same degree, and Authority untill *Pesaro* should be well: Who recovering sooner then was expected, *Capello* came not as then unto the Fleet, but the next place was reserved for him, upon the first occasion.

Things being in this condition, the Prince of *Orenge*, knowing that the confederates forces were not so weak as to be wholly driven out of the Country, nor so strong as that they could do any thing of much importance; or were it that *Cesar* desired that the Popes satisfaction should be preferr'd before all other respects, that he might have him his friend and confederate when he should come into *Italy*; resolved, after he had put Garrisons into the most considerable places, to go with the rest of his men towards *Perugia*, to drive *Malatesta Baglione* out of that City, and then to go into *Tuscany*, to put the *Medici* into their Country again. Wherefore the Duke of *Urbine*, apprehending that these men would fall upon his State, went suddenly from the Army, to look unto his own affairs, upon this so urgent occasion. The Venetians were much displeased with this the Generals absenting himself at so unseasonable a time, both in respect of their own great Interests, and for fear lest the French, growing either really jealous, or picking some fained suspition out of this accident, would grow the cooler in making their provisions for War.

The Senate therefore resolved, to send *Nicolo Tiepolo* forthwith to the Duke (who was intended to have been sent unto him, to the camp) to acquaint him with the new conduct of affairs, and earnestly to intreat him in the name of the publick to return immediately to the Army, and that he might the more willingly do it, they sent him money to raise three thousand Foot, who were to guard his State: But there was no need thereof at that time; for *Orenge* understanding that the Count *dell' Aquila*, and *Camillo Orsino* called *Pardo*, having assembled many of their neighbours together, were come to *Gennali*, and that their numbers increasing every day, it was feared they would make some considerable commotion, changed his mind, and would not as then go out of the Kingdom, fearing some greater insurrection, by reason of the many extortions which the people suffer'd under, who in that respect began to hate and detest the name of a Spaniard: Wherefore he thought it best first to suppress these, reserving his former purpose till another time; this suspition being over, the Duke of *Urbine* came forthwith to the Army, and as soon as he came, resolved to march therewith to *Milan*, Monsieur *de S. Paule* having let him know that he meant to do so too. They were hereunto invited by the Imperials straits, and by the good success of the French; for though two thousand Spanish Foot were come to *Milan*, who were first intended for the relief of *Genua*, the Genueses refusing to receive them, their inconveniences were as much increased by their coming, as their forces, for they were to be paid and fed, though there was great scarcity of monies: And on the contrary, many Towns beyond *Tessino* had surrendered themselves, at this time to Monsieur *de S. Paule*, so as almost all that Country was reduced (to his great honour and conveniency) under his power. Both these Armies met

at *Borgo S. Martino*, five miles distant from *Milan*, where having long debated how they were to prosecute that expedition, it was resolved, that they should incamp about the City of *Milan* with two Armies, to the end they might begirt as much of the wall as they could, and weaken the Enemy by making them defend several places at once. But the Commanders were not so forward nor diligent as was requisite to effect this advice; for the French said there were fewer Foot in the Venetian camp, then they had thought, and then what ought to be: So as the forces being divided, each part would be too weak, and not without danger. And on the other side, the Venetians shewing that they had made good their articles better then the French had done, said, they would see them first incamped, and that then they would do so likewise; for they feared very much what the French would do, having formerly observed in them a settled resolution, to mind the business of *Genua*, and set all things else aside, affirming that they had Orders from the King so to do. Wherefore much delay being used on both sides, and the former resolution, wherein they found many doubts and difficulties, being as it were, of it self revoked, the Armies parted. Monsieur *di S. Paule* went towards *Laudriano*, the Duke of *Urbine* took up his first Quarters at *Montio*, and the Duke of *Milan* went with an intention of carrying his men into *Pavia*. From which places each of them playing their parts severally, in blocking up the ways, infesting the Country, and by keeping *Antonio da Leva* from victuals, they thought they might be able to suppress him, and at last to compass their ends (though by another way) of possessing themselves of *Milan* and *Como*; which were the only two places of importance which held for the Emperour in the Dukedome of *Milan*. But the French were not well got to their Quarters when they sent word, that they would go (as it was before suspected) to *Genua*, being much solicited thereunto by *Cesare Fregoso*; who weighing affairs as he could wish them, told them that the business would be soon and easily effected; so as they believed they should soon return to the same Quarters; and desired the Duke of *Urbine*, that he would tarry the mean while with his men, and those of the Duke of *Milan*, where they were, or thereabouts, to do what was formerly designed, not permitting the Besieged to be relieved. The French Army, rising then with this intention the first day of *June*, marched towards *Pavia*, which *Leva* being by his Spies advertised of, he resolved to pursue them, and if occasion should serve, to fight them. It was either his fortune, or rather the small experience of the Enemy that favour'd his forwardness; for the French Army marched, divided into two parts, the one of which, led on by Count *Guido Rangone*, who commanded the Van, Artillery, and Carriages, was advanced eight miles before the other, which was slow in following them. Wherein was Monsieur *de S. Paule*, who commanded the Battle, and *Claudio Rangone* who ruled the Reer. When *Leva*, who advanced all in one body, in good Order, and very quietly, was got very near the Enemy, he found their disorder, and his own advantage, so as he resolved to fight them, and ordered that the Light Horse should hasten to fall on upon the

French

French rear: which was ſcarcely got two miles from their quarters, and looked for nothing leſs: ſo as, being all of them aſtoniſhed and confuſed, at the unexpected accident, they eaſily grew into diſorder: whereby the enemy coming preſently up to the Foot of the Van, and charging them with their Light-horſe, they forced the *French* to retreat. But Monſieur *de St. Paul* ſtanding firm, and in good order with the battel, did valiantly reſiſt the violence of the enemy for a good while: the combat being made on all ſides with much courage, and equal fortune: But when *Leva* came in with the reſt of the Army, wherein were the old *Spaniſh* Souldiers, the *French* began apparently to give back, and at laſt to run. Many were ſlain in the conflict, many taken priſoners, amongſt which *Monſieur de St. Paul* himſelf, whileſt deſpairing of good ſucceſs, he ſought to eſcape the enemy by running away. Some other eſcaped by flight into ſeveral places, and chiefly into the *Venetians* State, wherein they were readily received, and well treated.

The Duke of *Urbine* hearing of this ſucceſs, and knowing, that to tarry where he was, was to no purpoſe, and not without danger, went from *Montia*, to return to his former quarters at *Caßano*; which was much commended by the Senate, and proved luckely. The Duke proceeded with much circumſpection in his retreat, for the ſafety of his Army, wherein was as then about five thouſand Foot, four hundred Curaſſiers, ſeven hundred Light horſe, and many Carriages. He marched by the upper way, endeavouring to keep the enemy on the left hand, on which ſide he kept a great company of Harquebuſiers to back the battle. He divided his whole Army into three ſquadrons, but ſo ordered, as each of them might commodiouſly ſuccour the other, and be by them ſuccoured. The light horſe, traverſing the Country, watched the enemies wayes, that they might give timely advertiſement thereof to the Generall: and by this diligence the Duke brought himſelf, together with all his men, and Carriages, ſafe to their quarters at *Caßan*: which is a place ſeated near the river of *Ada*, which was on his back, whereupon there was a bridg made, to paſs over into *Giaradada*, and to the end that victuals might be brought from ſeveral parts to the Camp, the quarter was every where invironed, and fortified with ſafe works, having but one way only open unto it, which was likewiſe well munited. This was thought to be a very covenient ſeat, ſince from thence they might relieve *Lodi*, and *Pavia*, and as occaſion ſhould ſerve, offend the enemy; defend the Territories of the Commonwealth; and upon need favour the enterpriſe of *Genua*: wherefore the Duke, thinking that he might keep there with much ſafety, and honour, would not admit of *Fanus Maria Fregoſo*'s opinion, and the like of ſome other Captains, who adviſed, that the Army might be brought into *Breſcia*, and thereby not expoſed to danger; they being much inferiour in numbers to *Leva*'s men, who being encouraged by his Victory, and deſirous to quite overthrow the Confederates forces, purſued the Duke of *Urbine*, and had taken up his quarters at *Vaſri*, ſome two miles diſtant from the *Venetian* quarters, which cauſed our men to fear, that they would paſs over the *Ada*, to deſtroy the Territories of *Breſcia*, *Bergamo*, and *Crema*;

but

but the Duke relied much upon his Light-horſe, which were more in number then the enemies, and exceeded them much in worth and diſcipline: who ſcouring all the adjacent parts, did not only diſturb the carrying of victuals to the Imperial Camp, but had cauſed ſuch terrour, as none of them durſt ſtir out of their Trenches. The Duke reſolved therefore to tarry ſtill in that quarter, to preſerve his reputation, and to make uſe of the Proviſions of the neighbouring Countrey, for the ſervice of his own Army, which otherwiſe would have been left for the enemies uſe; whereas, if he ſhould have retreated into the City, he ſhould have waſted thoſe Victuals which ſerved for the uſe of his Friends. But *Fregoſo* grew dayly more and more afraid, that if the Army ſhould tarry in thoſe quarters, it might receive ſome notable prejudice, which his minde was ſo full of, as it wrought upon his body, making him fall grievouſly ſick; to be cured of which malady, he was carried into *Breſcia*. Whileſt the Armies were quartered thus near together, many skirmiſhes paſt between them, wherein moſt commonly *Leva*'s ſouldiers came by the worſt; who deſirous to repair himſelf by ſome more conſiderable action, ſent *Ceſare da Napoli* with three thouſand Foot beyond the river *Ada*, to plunder the Territories of *Breſcia* and *Crema*: which, the Duke of *Urbine* having notice of, he left Count *Giazzo* with the Camp, and went, with ſome of his Souldiers, to lie in Ambuſh near the place where he knew that the enemy was to paſs the river: and ſuffering ſome of them to paſs over, he fell unlooked for upon the rear, who were yet upon the banks, having ſent the Light-horſe back to block up the way, that the enemy might not eſcape back to their own quarters. *Ceſare da Napoli*, ſurpriſed by the unexpected danger, cauſed the bridg to be broken, to keep the Duke from paſſing over to fight him: ſo as, the ſouldiers, who were yet unpaſs'd, and were in number about one thouſand five hundred, were either ſlain, or taken priſoners. And it happened, that amongſt the reſt, a *Spaniſh* Captain, was taken priſoner by a woman of a large ſtature, and manlike ſpirit, who being clad in ſouldier-like aparrel belonged to the colours of Count *Giazzo*; who ſending one day, by way of ſport, for the *Spaniſh* Captain, who was taken priſoner, to come before him, he ſhewed him *Malgaretone*, (ſo was this woman called by the Souldiers) and told him, that this was the ſouldier whoſe priſoner he was; the *Spaniard*, looking upon her, ſaid, that he had comforted himſelf in this his misfortune, in his being made priſoner, by a valiant man, as ſhe ſeemed to be: but when he knew, ſhe was a woman, being overcome with ſhame and diſdain, he dyed of very grief within a few dayes. The Armies kept many dayes after within their quarters. But the Duke, conſulting with his ſouldiers, wherein ſeveral things were propounded, deſired very much ſo to incommodate the Enemy, as to make him forſake his quarters, and at laſt he reſolved, having ſome advantage, and uſing Art and military diſcipline, to bring *Leva* to a battel. He therefore placed all his Artillery only in one place; from whence he went forth with all his Foot and horſe, carrying onely three pieces of Artillery along with him; intending to leave them behinde, and to retreat as ſoon as the skirmiſh ſhould be begun, ſeeming to do ſo out of fear and neceſſity;

ceſſity; ſo as, when the enemy ſhould advance to get the Canon, he might diſorder them by ſhot of Canon from the Camp, which, if it ſhould happen, he would ſally out again, and fall upon the enemy with greater violence, when they ſhould be diſordered and in confuſion. But this could not be done as it was firſt projected: for Count *Gaiazzo*, being too far advanced with ſome of his Foot, and the battel being begun a great way off his quarters, and not being able to make his party long good with thoſe few ſouldiers which he had, he was forced to retreat in ſome diſorder, though in his own perſon he behaved himſelf gallantly. So as, it behoved the Duke, ſeeing him in diſtreſs, to advance ſpeedily with the reſt of his men to relieve him; which he did with ſuch reſolution, as the Imperiall Foot, who were at firſt ſo forward in purſuing our men, retired to their quarters in great diſorder, being ſtill followed and damnified by the Venetians. *Leva* loſt in this action above one thouſand five hundred Foot, ſo as, he durſt not ſend his men any more out of his Camp, nor attempt any thing; but was much perplext, being full of thoughts and difficulties. He could not tarry longer where he was for want of Victuals, wherein he ſuffered very much: nor could he hope, though he ſuffered ſo much, to get any good: he thought it ſtood not with his honour, to retreat to *Milan*, which would be, as much as to ſay, he did it for fear, and being driven away by a much leſſer number of Enemies, to enter into the Venetian State, was to ſmall purpoſe, and not without much danger, all their Towns being very well garriſon'd: and on the other ſide, the inhabitants of *Milan* were very exceedingly diſcontented, and ready to deſpair, by reaſon of the Souldiers extortions, and injurious proceedings: Inſomuch, as they had a great inclination to mutiny, all of them crying out aloud for their Duke; who was then with his men in *Cremona*; nor did they doubt, but that the Venetians, being very deſirous to ſee him reinſtated, would be willing to hazzard their Forces, if they might ſee any hopes thereof. But at laſt, *Leva* being almoſt inforc'd ſo to do, retired to *Milan*. Who being gone, the Duke of *Urbine*'s deſire was, to remove his quarters nearer *Mouſa*. But the Senate being ſomwhat jealous, that *Sforza* negotiated ſome agreement with the Emperour: which, if it ſhould prove ſo, the way would be ſo block'd up, as their Army could not ſuccour *Bergamo*; they thought it better, that he ſhould go with his army to *Lodi*, that they might the better diſcover the Duke of *Milan*'s minde. But, whileſt theſe things were in Treaty, the news encreaſed every day, of the coming of the Dutch Foot, and that they were to enter into the Territories of *Verona*, to joyn with *Leva*; the Senate reſolved, to bring all their Forces ſo within the Cities of their own Dominions. Wherefore the Duke of *Urbine*, having received ſuch orders, retired with part of his Army into *Breſcia*, and Count *Gaiazzo* went with the reſt into *Bergamo*: the Duke having, by the opinion of all men, won great praiſe, and the renown of being a valiant and expert Commander, in all theſe actions. But *Fanus Fregoſo* growing ſtill ſicker, and his Melancholy humour encreaſing, for that he ſaw, the affairs of the Camp proceeded ſo much differing from his opinion, dyed within a few dayes, to the great grief of the Venetians,

who

who had been very well pleaſed with his loyalty and dexterity; which they witneſſed ſufficiently, by conferring honour upon his three ſons, making *Ceſare* General of their Light Horſe, *Alexander* Conductor of their Curaſſiers, and *Hannibal* a Colonel of Foot.

At this very time, there was continual negotiation of agreement had between the Emperour and the King of *France*, wherein *Margaret* of *Auſtria*, *Ceſar*'s Aunt, was the chief ſtickler, whom he had authorized to treat of Peace, and to conclude it: Wherefore ſhe having ſent ſeveral Agents to the Court of *France*; and the buſineſs being already begun, the King thought good, before any further proceedings ſhould be had therein, to ſend his Chamberlain *Leluzbaiardo* to her into *Flanders*, to ſee *Ceſar*'s Commiſſions, and to examine whether they were really ſuch as were ſufficient to conclude a buſineſs of ſuch weight: and he finding them to be very ample, the King likewiſe deſtined to ſend his Mother to *Cambray*, where ſhe might meet with the Lady *Margaret*, and negotiate, and ſtipulate the particular conventions of Peace between theſe two Princes. The King did not acquaint the Venetian Senate with theſe Treaties, till it was very late, when by the departure of Queen Mother to the Diet at *Cambray*, it could be concealed no longer; nor did he then communicate any particulars unto them, but did only promiſe, he would come to no agreement with *Ceſar*, without their conſent and knowledge, and the like of the other Confederates: and afterwards, by endeavours which ſhewed him to be very well affected towards the Commonwealth, he exhorted to univerſal peace; which being (as he ſaid) to be treated of at the Diet, he deſired that the Embaſſadors who were at his Court, might have Commiſſions ſent them to conclude it. But the Senate, though they were very jealous of the King's courſes, by theſe proceedings; the rather, for that they found he had long cunningly nouriſh'd them with hopes of his coming in perſon into *Italy*, or of ſending powerful forces both by Sea and Land, and that yet he had done none of all this; the King forbearing to do ſo, for fear of diſturbing this Treaty, and expecting what the end thereof would be; yet to ſhew that they had ſtill the ſame minde which they ever had to peace and agreement, they reſolved to ſend commiſſions, and authority to their two Embaſſadors, who were yet together in the Court of *France*, *Giuſtiniano*, and *Navagiero*,, to intervene, and promiſe in the name of the Commonwealth, what ſhould be fitting to the Treaty of peace. But *Navagiero* having been very ſick, was dead before this Order came to *France*, which was a great loſs to the Commonwealth, and much lamented by them all, for he was a very learned Gentleman; and when he betook himſelf to the management of publique affairs, he ſhewed great ingenuity and wiſdom: *Giuſtiniano* remained then alone to negotiate this Treaty, who received particular inſtructions from the Senate, which in brief were:

That all things contained in the agreement of the year 23. *ſhould be punctually obſerved, and likewiſe, that whatſoever had been formerly promiſed and confirmed in the Diet at* Worms, *ſhould be effected; for in the not obſerving of theſe things, the difficulties between the Commonwealth and the Houſe of* Auſtria *did depend: but chiefly, that whatſoever ſhould be-*

come of the Agreement, the restitution of the State of Milan *to* Francisco Sforza, *should primarily and principally be regarded.*

But the Embassadour had no occasion to make use of these Instructions; for though he followed the Queen to *Cambray*, yet he kept for the most part at St *Quintains*, some few miles from thence, nor was he made acquainted with the most important particulars of the Treaty. Wherefore the Senate began to be still more afraid, that the King would minde himself only in the Agreement, without any consideration of their, or of the Confederates Intereſts; and that his promise not to come to any Agreement without them, was made, not with any intention to keep it, but least the Confederates should prevent him, and by accommodating their affairs with *Cesar*, should make his Agreement the harder, and less advantagious. To this purpose, the King had likewise sent the Bishop of *Tarba* to *Venice*, to treat of the particular provisions for War; the which the less he intended, the more did he seek to advantage himself thereby in the Treaty of peace, that the contrary might be believed: And soon after, *Theadore Trivultio* being come to *Venice*, by order from the King, required the Senate to depositе the Cities of *Ravenna* and *Cervia* in his hands, till some accommodation might be found in that business; affirming, that he did it to make the Pope declare himself, since it was a thing of great moment, to have him on their side, if he should come himself in person into *Italy*; to which, answer was made, that for as much as concern'd his coming, the Commonwealth would in no wise be wanting in lending such assistance as they had often promised; to witness the which, they would be content to send twenty thousand Ducats by way of Impreſt for the first payment, to *Susa*, or to *Asti*: but touching the assignment of the Towns in *Romagna*, that if the Universal Peace should be treated of in the Dyet at *Cambray*, that was likewise to be decided, together with the other difficulties; and that the Senate would not be against such a deposition, when they should see their affairs in a safe condition, and when all other differences should be accorded.

But discovering the King's cunning, and contrary intentions in these interceſſions, they very much longed to hear the result of the Diet at *Cambray*. The Senate therefore ordered their Embassadour in *England*, *Lodovico Faliero*, that he should mediate with King *Henry*, who had alwaies been a friend to the Commonwealth, to take upon him the protection of the Republique, as he had formerly done, when things went hardest with her, and endeavour, that in what should be treated off in the Dyet at *Cambray*, nothing should be concluded which might prove prejudicial to her, nor to the Liberty of *Italy*, whereof he for many years past, had to his infinite praise, been a particular Defender.

Whilst these things were in treaty, *Cesar*, who for all this negotiation of peace gave not over thinking, nor preparing for his coming into *Italy*, came to *Genua*, accompanied with many great Lords, with thirty five Gallies, and eighty other vessels, having brought with him eight thousand foot, and a thousand Horse from *Spain*, which he caused to be landed at *Savona*, that they might pass the more easily into

into *Lombardy*. It was not eaſie to diſcern then what his deſign was; for he had ſtill conſtantly given out, that he came into *Italy* to ſettle peace in her, and to accommodate his differences with all the Italian Potentates; yet he was very diligent in increaſing his forces, raiſing many Souldiers from all parts, and giving order that all his men ſhould meet in that place where he himſelf ſhould be in perſon: and reſolving to go to *Piacenza*, he ſent forthwith to have his Lodgings prepared there. *Leva* had at this time twelve thouſand foot with him, the Prince of *Orenge* was gone from *Naples* with ſeven thouſand to *Spoleti*, whither the Popes men were come: Ten thouſand Dutch foot began to fall down from *Trent*, into the Territories of *Verona*, which were raiſed in the County of *Tirol*, and thoſe that were lately come from *Spain* were eight thouſand. So as when all theſe ſhould be met together, the Emperour would have about fourty thouſand foot in his ſervice, beſides Horſe, whereof the number was not ſmall; the Dutch foot being accompanied with ten thouſand Burgonian Horſe. The Italian Princes grew mightily afraid of this ſo very great power, which increaſed by the fame that was given out, (though the King of *France* continued to affirm the contrary) that peace was agreed upon between him and *Ceſar* in the Diet at *Cabrai*, all the other Colleagues being excluded. Only the Pope, meaſuring the danger according to the preſent ſtate of affairs, thought himſelf ſafe, by reaſon of the particular agreement made with *Ceſar* at *Barcellona*, which till now was kept ſecret; nay he thought to make uſe of the Imperial forces, to ſatisfie his deſire, and particular ends, in placing his Nephews in their former power and authority in *Florence*, as it was agreed upon before between him and *Ceſar*. Wherefore for the Emperours greater honour, he ſent three of the principal Court Cardinals to meet him at *Genua*, and to be aſſiſtant to him. The Florentines, who were in the greateſt and moſt preſent danger, ſent alſo their Embaſſadours ſoon after to *Ceſar* to curry-favour with him, and to underſtand his will, excuſing themſelves for having entred into confederacy againſt him; for that it behooved them therein to follow the Popes authority and commandment, and ſhewing themſelves ready to adhere unto him. But theſe men having brought no publick commiſſion to accommodate the differences which depended between the City and the Pope, and *Ceſar* continuing firm in his reſolution, to keep his promiſe made to the Pope, and to give him all manner of ſatisfaction, this Embaſſie proved to no purpoſe, and their affairs continued in their former condition. Other Princes of *Italy* ſent alſo their Embaſſadours deſiring friendſhip, and fair correſpondence; only the Senate of *Venice* perſevered in their opinion of not coming to any agreement with *Ceſar*, unleſs forc'd by neceſſity. Not but that the Venetians would have been as glad of concord as the reſt, but becauſe they thought that *Ceſar* intended nothing leſs then the Liberty of *Italy*; and that his end was to bring things to ſuch a condition, as that all the reſt ſhould receive Laws from him. Wherefore they thought that to appear humble and ſubmiſs, ſerved only to puff him up the more, and to confirm him in his deſire, and hopes of commanding all *Italy*. They therefore thought it not fit to ſend their

Embaſſadours to him then; but they gave way that the Duke of *Millan*, who deſired their advice in this point, as by conventions he was bound to do, might ſend his Embaſſadours, becauſe they thought it might become him to do ſo, who was a Vaſſal of the Empire, and that it might turn to the common good, by opening a way upon that occaſion to the accommodation of his own particular differences, upon which the concluſion of the univerſal peace did chiefly depend: whereof ſince no well grounded hopes did as yet appear, the Venetians who ſaw themſelves left almoſt alone to undergo all the danger, betook themſelves with all induſtry and diligence to provide for all ſuch things as might ſecure their State the beſt they could upon this ſo important occaſion. They raiſed new foot to increaſe their Army and their Garriſons, which between the one and the other aroſe to the number of fifteen thouſand. They made *Franciſco Paſquillio* their Commiſſary General on *Terra firma*, giving him a particular charge to ſurvey the ſtrong Holds, and to provide all neceſſaries for them. They took divers chief Commanders into the Commonwealths pay, amongſt which *Sigiſmond Malateſta*, together with a thouſand foot, and two hundred Light Horſe. And becauſe the Dutch foot, advanc'd already in great numbers from *Bolzano*, Commiſſary *Giovan Cantarini* and *Ceſare Fregoſo*, were put into *Verona* with a good Garriſon. And becauſe the greateſt concernment was to keep the other confederate Princes of *Italy* as firm to them as they could, the Senate failed not to minde the Florentines thereof, to praiſe their conſtancy, to exhort them to defend their Country, and the liberty thereof, promiſing to give them what aſſiſtance the times would permit them to do; and particularly, to make their men enter into the Territories of *Pincenza* and *Parma*, as ſoon as *Ceſar* ſhould be gone from thence, ſo to draw the Imperialiſts who were in *Tuſcany*, to the defence of thoſe Cities.

They uſed the like indeavours with the Duke of *Ferara*, ſending *Marc Antonio Veniero* Embaſſadour to him, who was to witneſs the conſtancy of the Common-wealth, in their reſolution of defending the Common liberty, and their particular good inclination towards the Duke and his State; whereunto as they were joyned by neighborhood, and many other reſpects, ſo would they never ſhun running the ſame fortune with him:

"That therefore they deſired to underſtand what his pleaſure and "opinion was; as knowing that in times of ſuch difficulty, a great "eſteem was to be put upon his friendſhip and advice. But they "chiefly laid before him the danger of the Florentines; ſaying, that "as they were common to them all, ſo they ought all to aſſiſt them; "that they ſhould remember what the Popes deſires were, which "would be the more inflamed by what of proſperity ſhould befall "*Florence*; and that the Pope would the more moleſt his State, and "the like of all others, unto which he laid any juſt pretentions.

The Duke ſeemed to take theſe Memorandums very well, and promiſed many things, and particularly that he would maintain a good body of men, which he was raiſing about *Modena*, which ſhould not only be for his own defence, but for the ſervice of all the Confederates.

At

At this time the Agreement made at *Cambrai*, was published, wherein as it was long before commonly said, none of the Confederates were comprehended; only place was reserved for the Venetians to be admitted thereinto, if within a short space the differences betwen them and *Cesar* should be reconciled; which was nothing but a meer complement; they being in effect totally excluded, since the greatest difficulties remained still undecided.

"The King of *France* was obliged amongst other things, to make "the Towns in *Puglia* which were possess'd by the Venetians to be "restored to the Emperour; which if they should refuse to doe, "he was to declare himself their Enemy, and help the Emperour to "recover them by force. Which Article being to be put in executi-"on, the King sent his Embassadours to *Venice*, to require the Senate "that they would cause the Towns which they possess'd in *Puglia*, to "be delivered up to *Cesar*, as he was bound to do by the conventions "at *Cambray*; alledging that he did this in observance of the League "made at *Cognack*, wherein that was comprehended: And he fur-"ther added, that he did so much rely upon the affection which the "Common-wealth had always shewn to the Crown of *France*, as if "they were not bound thereunto by Agreement, he was perswaded "he might obtain it of them by way of meer gratification; the occasi-"on and thing it self being of so great waight, and that without it he "could not have his Sons, who were to succeed him in his Kingdom, "set at liberty by *Cesar*.

To this the Senate answered, "That they did still continue that "good affection towards the King, and Crown of *France* as they had "done for many years past, and would still do so for the future; the "Common-wealth being almost indissolvably knit fast to the King-"dom out of many common interests. That they could not deny "but that they had very much desired their Common-wealth might "have been comprehended in the Agreement made with *Cesar*; "not only to the end that their safety might have been provided for, "but that none might have doubted of the good intelligence had, and "held between the Venetian Senate, and Crown of *France*. That "notwithstanding they did confide much in the Kings goodness and "wisedom, that he would not be wanting to the good and honour of "the Common-wealth, by interposing his authority with *Cesar*, "that her affairs might be reduced to such safety, and tranquility as "they desired, and reason required. But as concerning the restituti-"on of the Towns in *Puglia*, it was clear enough they were not there-"unto bound out of any obligation, for since the King had concluded "peace with *Cesar*, without including the Common-wealth, he had "freed them from that tie of confederacy, wherein it was agreed that "the King should not make any accord without them. Yet they de-"sired to give convenient satisfaction, even in this point, but that "a fitting time might be waited for, to do it; the rather for that his "Sons were not to be set at liberty yet these two moneths; in which "time they hoped that some accommodations might be found out "between their and *Cesar*'s differences, whereby this might be ended "with satisfaction to the King. To which purpose the King sent the

Admira

Admiral into *Italy* to *Cesar*, to exhort him to an universal peace, and particularly to compose differences with the Venetians; whereby he hoped he should be able to make good the Articles of *Cambray*; by procuring the restitution of the Towns in *Puglia*, having already as much as concern'd him begun to do so, by ordering *Renzo da Ceri* to deliver up all Towns, and places which he held under him; in the Kingdom of *Naples*, to the Imperialists; and had indeavoured that the Venetians would do the like but that they being first advertized of the Senates pleasure, had refused to do it.

This was the present condition of the affairs of *Italy*; *Cesar* very powerful, and in armes; the Pope his Friend, and Confederate; the other Potentates of *Italy*, all of them almost for fear, to obey his will; the French driven fully out of *Italy*; so as though they had not as yet laid down their arms, they were bound by articles not to meddle with any thing concerning *Italy*, wherein the Emperour might be prejudiced. Yet amidst all these difficulties the Senate kept still their resolution of opposing *Cesar*, if he should (as it was thought he would do) possess himself of the State of *Milan*. Wherefore the first confederacy being broken with the rest, they did again ratifie, and confirm it by new obligations with *Francisco Sforza*, wishing him not to be wanting to himself, but to hope well, for the Commonwealth would willingly serve him with all their Forces.

At the same time *Soliman*, who had resolved to re-possess *John* King of *Hungary* in his Kingdom, he being driven out of it by *Ferdinando*'s forces, was entred with a numerous and powerful Army into the confines of *Hungary*, and incamp'd before the City of *Buda*; whereat the Inhabitants being mightily terrified, he easily made himself Master thereof; and making his Cavalry over-run the Campagnia of *Austria*, he plunder'd and wasted the Archdukes Country, threatening to come with his whole Army to before *Vienna*, towards the which he caused great preparation of victuals be made, and of warlike instruments, to be brought to before that City by the River of *Danubius*. *Cesar* was greatly troubled at this News, seeing his Brother imbroyl'd in so many troubles, wherein he knew his own honour was concern'd, and the safety of the Empire, if he should suffer so powerful an Army to come so near him, whilst he being busied about lesser affairs, should stand, as it were, an idle Spectator of so sore dangers which threatened his Country, and himself too. Other occasions of fear were likewise hereunto added; for he had received intelligence from his brother, that the Heretical sects increased much in *Germany*; that they raised forces, and that it was apparently seen they meant to put for novelty; which pestiferous seeds, if they should not be rooted out, it was thought they would soon bring forth malignant effects, to the great scandal of the true Catholick Religion, and to the as much prejudice of the states of Temporal Princes, and chiefly to that of the Empire.

These things being maturely considered, made the Emperour begin to think of peace, and to make him really intend that, which it was thought he did at first but seem to do. To forego *Italy* without having settled any of his affairs, was neither for his honour, nor for his

his ſafety; and he knew he could not make peace, though but for a while, without agreeing with the Venetians; upon whom, whilſt things were in this commotion, the ſtate of *Italy* did depend; there being no ſlight ſuſpition, that if the King of *France* could get the Venetians to joyn with him, as either open Enemies, or but meanly ſatisfied with *Ceſar*, he would keep the articles of *Cambray* no better now that he had his Sons back again, then he had done thoſe of *Madrid*, when he himſelf was ſet at liberty.

Ceſar having then for theſe reaſons reſolved to accommodate his differences with the Venetians, and to eſtabliſh the affairs of *Italy* by an univerſal peace, he ſuffer'd this his will to be clearly underſtood, which made many Perſonages of great authority, interpoſe themſelves therein. *Andrea Doria* ſent *Frederick Grimaldo* to *Venice*, to offer his ſervice in this treaty, ſaying that he knew *Ceſar* to be ſo well inclined to peace, as if the Senate would be pleaſed that he ſhould undertake the buſineſs, he hoped to bring it to a happy end quickly. But the Senate neither accepting nor refuſing this offer, anſwered, That they had always indeavour'd peace, and did value the Emperours friendſhip very much, as it became them well to do; and that they were ſtill of the ſame mind: But they deſired to ſee ſome ſign, whereby they might be perſwaded that *Ceſars* real intentions were what they were affirmed to be; for the tarrying of the Dutch foot ſtill in an hoſtile manner in their State, ranſacking, and ruinating the Territories of *Breſcia*, gave but ſmall ſhew thereof. Soon after *Sigiſmond dalla Torre*, Chamberlain to the Marquis of *Mantua*, came as Embaſſadour from him to *Venice*, to exhort the Senate likewiſe to make peace with *Ceſar*, affirming yet more conſtantly then *Doria* had done, *Ceſars* willingneſs to peace, and deſiring them moreover that they would be contented that the Treaty might be held in the City of *Mantua*, whither he knew that *Ceſar* would preſently ſend his Agents with commiſſions to that purpoſe. And he the Marquis offer'd his beſt ſervice herein, as an Italian who was very zealous of the Liberty of *Italy*, and as a friend to the Commonwealth.

Whilſt theſe things were in Treaty, *Ceſar* prepared to go to *Bullogna* to ſpeak with the Pope, according to the agreement made at *Barcellona*, which was choſen for the place of meeting inſteed of *Genua*, as being more commodious for the Pope, and more convenient for *Ceſars* deſigns. Upon this interview the reſolution of many important things was to depend. Wherefore the eyes of all men were upon the reſult thereof, eſpecially of the Venetians, whoſe Intereſts were of moſt importance, and involved in greateſt difficulty. The Pope ſeemed to conſider very much the ſafety and conveniency of this Commonwealth, and that he might purchaſe the better belief, he indeavour'd very much by the means of Cardinal *Marco Cornaro*, to perſwade the Senate to lay down Arms, and to come to ſome fair compoſition: and he had formerly ſent the Biſhop *Vacenenſe* his Nuntio to *Ceſar*; who as it was thought, had help'd very much to bring the Emperour to be of the good mind he was in, to make peace with all men, eſpecially with the Venetians. This was the cauſe why many of the Senators, proceeded with more reſervedneſs

in this negotiation, expecting what the issue of the meeting at *Bologna* would be; but others were for accepting of the proposition made by the Marquis, and for the chusing of Embassadours immediately to send to *Mantua*, to treat of an agreement.

What is it (said these men) *that we can expect more?* Cesar *is very strong in Forces, the Forces of the League are broken, weakened, scattered, or rather dissolved; the Florentines, the Duke of* Milan, *and we, are all that are left to sustain the burthen of so great a War: A thing altogether impossible, in respect of the weakness whereinto we are all reduced, by so many expences, and in respect of the great Forces and dependances which* Cesar *hath in* Italy *at this time; yet in such a disparity of Affairs, whilst his hopes increase every day, and ours grow less,* Cesar *is content to treat with us upon equal terms; nay I may say, to humble himself, and to be the first that propounds friendship and peace; and shall we refuse, or not value these invitations? No man can with reason doubt, but that the things promised first by* Doria, *and afterwards by the Marquis of* Mantua, *are not only done by the consent of* Cesar, *but by his express Order, since no man meddles in things of this nature between so great Princes, especially with such asseverations of their good will, without good grounds: And shall it be thought wisely done, to suffer an occasion slip out of our hands, of doing that which we have so often desired, and which we ought now to desire more then ever in a thousand respects? We have been for these many years in a continual War, wherein we have spent above five millions of Gold: So as this City, and our whole State, is almost oppress, all our means consumed; and yet when the way is opened unto us of finding some repose and quiet, with safety of our honour, and with provision, as it may be hoped for, of security to the Commonwealth, shall we be backward, and put our happiness to the Arbitriment of fortune, which may (as it often times falls out) cause some such accident arise, as may make* Cesar *alter his mind? And either tarrying armed in* Italy, *increase our present danger, or if he shall go from hence, and leave things unquiet and confused, oblige us to keep in War and trouble for as many years more, and with as much expence, and God knows what the end will be? Those who till now have praised the constancy of this Senate, in having, without any consideration of expence, or fear of danger, been so zealous in the defence of the common cause, and of the liberty of* Italy, *the very name whereof will cry up the glory of the Commonwealth to posterity; seeing how much the face of affairs is now alter'd, and that other counsels are to be required, then to keep still the same course, and trust upon Arms, when our affairs may be better provided for by negotiation; and that we may thereby arive at the true and allowable end which thrust us upon War, may peradventure change their opinion, and think us to be too haughty and obstinate, since we will not weigh things by reason, but by our own will, and it may be, not over-wise, since we cannot accommodate our selves to times and occasions, nor temporize in difficulty, and expect better fortune. Advisedness is assuredly good and laudable, but it ought to be kept within its due bounds, lest it fall into extreams, which are always dangerous; for it is often seen, that as much harm accrews by too much slowness, which makes men perpetually irresolute, as by too much haste; we have hitherto kept excellently well from the latter, having*

having maintain'd wars for ſo many years, and tryed all things poſſible, to bring our ſelves into a condition of true ſafety and peace; let us now take heed leſt we run into the other extream, leſt whilſt we covet too much ſecurity, and too much advantage, we do ſufficiently diſadvantage our ſelves, and expoſe our affairs to greater dangers.

But others were of another opinion; theſe affirm'd it would be more honourable and more advantagious to expect a while, and not to ſeem too deſirous of agreement, they conſidered the unſettledneſs of Ceſars *Forces; they being in great want of money, and victuals; ſo as the greater his Army was, the ſooner it was likely to diſſolve; that all the ſtrong Holds in their State were excellently well garriſon'd, nor could* Ceſar *attempt any thing againſt them, with hopes of bringing it ſoon to an end; moreover that* Ceſar *was recalled into other parts out of weighty reſpects, and of very great importance to himſelf, and would be neceſſitated quickly to quit* Italy; *that* Vienna *was already aſſaulted by the Turks, and was reduced to great ſtraits: That all the reſt of his brothers Dominions, was overrun and waſted by the Enemies Cavalry: That commotions of no ſmall conſideration began to be raiſed by the Hereticks in many parts of* Germany, *if they were not quickly alay'd by* Ceſars *Forces, and by his preſence; that when he ſhould be gone from* Italy, *and his Army either diſſolved, or very much leſſened, there was no doubt but that they might eaſily make good the Dukedom of* Milan, *keep poſſeſſion of their Towns in* Puglia, *and in fine, prove victorious throughout the whole War, and reap thereby a glorious name amongſt all people, and in all ages: And whereas now they were to receive ſuch laws and conditions as would be given them by others,* Ceſar *would be compell'd to endeavour, and accept of the Commonwealths friendſhip, upon terms which would be advantagious for her; leſt the French, who were always ready to take up Arms, and to attempt Novelties, ſhould go about to moleſt him, by making new Leagues, whilſt they ſaw him otherwiſe buſied: That no man could with reaſon believe* Ceſar *would propound any conditions of agreement, out of any affection which he bears to this Commonwealth, ſince he thinks himſelf injured by us, for having for theſe many years adhered to* France: *But that it was to be held for certain, it was his own Intereſt that moved him thereunto, knowing upon how weak foundations his own affairs ſtood, and how impoſſible it was for him to maintain an Army, and tarry any longer in* Italy. *That it is a general rule, what is acceptable, and advantagious to an Enemy, is to be ſhunn'd, as that which may produce contrary effects to the adverſe party. That this which had an appearance of humanity, and looked like a deſire of peace and quietneſs, was only a piece of cunning in the Imperialiſts, to conceal their weakneſs, and to make it be believed that they intended the common good, when they did only endeavour their own advantage. But ſuppoſe, ſaid theſe men, that we may do well for the preſent to agree with* Ceſar, *it will be fitting at leaſt to expect what the reſult will be of the convention at* Bullogna, *where* Ceſars *mind and intentions may be better diſcovered, eſpecially touching the ſettlement of the Dutchy of* Milan, *upon which the beſt grounded reſolution of peace ought to depend; by the obligation of ancient and new confederacy, and by the diſpoſition of the Commonwealth her ſelf, introduced by many weighty Intereſts: That it was alſo probable, that the Pope, though he were not very well pleaſed*

with them as touching the towns in Romagna, *would not notwithſtanding, for the Churches intereſt and his own, break the friendſhip and peace betweeen the Emperour and the Commonwealth (the ſafety and honour whereof did finally reſult to the accommodation and grandezza of the Apoſtolique See) as that alſo the preſent peace, would make for the buſineſs of* Florence, *which the Pope did then ſo fervently endeavour, to the end that all other reſpects and jealouſies being laid aſide,* Ceſar *might for the Popes ſatisfaction turn his Forces into thoſe parts, and bring them to a ſooner, and a more certain end.*

Theſe reaſons wrought much upon the minds of many men, who being now wonted to War, were unwilling to lay down Arms, unleſs with great honour and ſafety to the Commonwealth; inſomuch as they did for that time forbear the chuſing of Commiſſioners to ſend to *Mantua*, to treat of peace, and reſolved to ſend Secretary *Andrea Roſſo* to the Marquis, *To return their thanks for his offer, and for the good Will which he ſeemed to bear to the Commonwealth; excuſing themſelves for that they could not at the preſent reſolve upon a Treaty, ſince the Emperour and the Pope were to meet quickly at* Bullognia, *to find out an accommodation for all the affairs of* Italy; *and for that Biſhop* Boſoniences, *the Popes Nuntio, had interpoſed himſelf in that buſineſs, and particularly in what appertained to the Commonwealth.*

This mean while the Pope being gone from *Rome*, went to *Spoleti*, and from thence to *Bullognia*, to expect the Emperour, who came thither ſome few days after the five and twentieth of *October*, which was the day the Pope entred that City. As ſoon as they met, the Treaty of Peace began, both of them ſeeming deſirous to ſettle *Italy* in a firm condition of quiet. The firſt and moſt important buſineſſes to be accorded, were thoſe which concerned the Duke of *Milan*, who, after many former practiſes and endeavours, for which the *Protonotary Caracciolo*, and Don *Garzia di Padiglia*, were gone with ſeveral propoſitions from *Piacenza* to *Cremona*, reſolved (having formerly obtained a ſafe conduct, and being councell'd ſo to do by the Venetians, who for his greater honour ſent their Embaſſadour *Mark Antonio Veniero* to accompany him) to go himſelf to *Ceſar* in *Bullognia*, for one thing which made the buſineſs more difficult, was, that *Ceſar* took it ill that *Francisco Sforza* ſhould not humble himſelf to him, as it became a Vaſſal of the Empire to do, and that he did negotiate his buſineſs either too arrogantly, or at leaſt, diſtruſting too much *Ceſars* either juſtice or clemency.

The firſt thing which diſturb'd this Treaty, which was before brought near a concluſion, was, that the Imperialiſts would have the Cities of *Pavia* and *Aleſſandria* delivered up into their hands, as pledges for the obſervancy of what ſhould be agreed upon, which *Sforza* (following herein the counſel and opinion of the Senate, who had put great Garriſons into thoſe Cities, and had lent the Duke ten thouſand Ducats to maintain them) utterly refuſed to do: This demand having renewed in him, and in the Venetians, their former jealouſies, that the Imperialiſts deſired to appropriate the State of *Milan* unto themſelves; wherefore the Pope deſired thoſe Cities might

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be depoſited into his hands, which the Duke ſaid he could not do, without the conſent of the Venetians, alledging that it would be better to refer the diſcuſſion of his cauſe to the convention at *Bullognia*: And thus he ſpun out the time, without coming to any concluſion. When *Sforza* was come to *Bullognia*, where he was graciouſly received by the Emperour, his buſineſs was brought to this concluſion, the Pope interceding therein, to whom *Ceſar* had promiſed, that he would not diſpoſe of the State of *Milan*, without his conſent; that his cauſe ſhould be decided by Juſtice: Whereunto the Duke did more willingly conſent, then to any other propoſal; to ſhew that he relied upon his own Innocence, and upon *Ceſar*'s Juſtice. But the Venetian Senate, ſeeing that the agreement with the Duke of *Millan* (which had been the chief cauſe of beginning the war, and of the continuance thereof,) was in a fair way of being concluded, ſent Commiſſions to *Gaſpero Contarini*, who was their Embaſſadour with the Pope, to treat, and conclude of peace, if they could agree upon particulars: they having been very much, and with great expreſſions of love, ſolicited thereunto by the Pope, who promiſed to interpoſe both his authority and favour with *Ceſar*, concerning this Treaty. The Embaſſadour *Contarini*, when he met the Emperour at his firſt entrance into *Bologna*, was very graciouſly received by his Majeſtie: but nothing was as yet treated of, ſaving general civilities, which ſhewed a good inclination to friendſhip and peace. When the Embaſſadour had made it known, that he had Commiſſion from the Senate, to treat of an agreement, and that therefore he deſired to know, upon what tearms it was to be made: The Emperour ſeeming to correſpond very much in a will and deſire to peace, deputed the Lord Chancellour *Granville*, and *Monſieur di Prato*, to this negotiation: in which Treaty the Pope himſelf would intervene. At firſt there was great hopes of comming to a ſpeedy agreement: but when they drew near a concluſion, new doubts and difficulties were ſtarted: which made it be believed, that but little ſincerity was intended therein: chiefly, for that, though many endeavours had been had, the Imperialiſts could not be brought to remove the *Dutch* Foot from the State of *Venice*, who continued ſtill to the number of about ten thouſand in the Territories of *Breſcia*, and did prejudice the Country much. And moreover, twenty five Gallies being parted from *Cevita Vecchia*, to go for *Naples*, it was publickly ſaid, that theſe, together with four more which were in that Haven, were ordered to go into *Puglia*. So as, all expences and proviſions for war were ſtill to be continued: not onely keeping the land Army intire, but the Fleet alſo: whereof part of the Gallies being propoſed to be diſarmed, the Senate would not allow thereof, many of them being of an opinion, that they were to renew the war more eagerly: and it was commonly affirmed, that though the Emperour was well enough inclined to peace, yet this his good intention was corrupted by many of his Councellours and Captains, and eſpecially by *Antonio da Leva*, ſo as, at the laſt he would be drawn to alter his minde. Nor was the difference touching the Towns in *Romania* as yet accommodated with the Pope, a thing which procured new matter of diſagreement; wherein there was ſomewhat

of difference in the Senate it ſelf: ſome being of opinion, that they were to repoſe ſo much confidence in *Ceſar*, as to put this buſineſs to be decided by him, to the end, that he, as a friend to both ſides, might compoſe it. But others thought it better to negotiate this buſineſs with the Pope's ſelf: becauſe they might either continue their poſſeſſion of theſe Towns, upon ſome recognition, or if they would reſolve to part with them, they might ingratiate themſelves with the Pope, to the advantage of the Commonwealth; making uſe of his favour and authority, in compoſing their differences with the Emperour. Whereas if they ſhould leave any authority therein in the Emperour, they might be ſure that he would prefer the Popes ſatisfaction before any conſideration of the Common-wealth. And this opinion prevailed; ſo as the Pope continuing in his opinatracy, and the Senate being unwilling that it ſhould at any time be ſaid, that for their own Intereſts they had interrupted the common good of Chriſtendom, and diſturb'd the hoped for peace of *Italy*, when an univerſal peace was in treaty, they at laſt reſolved to reſtore the Cities of *Ravenna* and *Cervia* to the Pope, the rights of the Commonwealth being preſerved; and afterwards in their treaty with the Emperour, they were likewiſe content to reſtore the Towns in *Puglia* to him, having firſt a promiſe from him that he would pardon all thoſe who had adhered to them in the times of War, and to deal well with them, cancelling the memory of what had been paſt. Agreement was likewiſe made with the Duke of *Milan*, who was injoyned to pay 500000 Ducates for his Inveſtment, or being put into poſſeſſion, and 300000 for the expences of War; for pledg of which payments, the Imperialiſts deſired that the Caſtles of *Milan*, and *Como* might be delivered up into their hands; but by the interceſſion of the Venetians, this deſire was layd aſide; for they made it appear to the Imperialiſts that thereby the Duke would be made the leſs able to raiſe the aforeſaid moneys, or be neceſſitated to be the longer in paying it; for doubtleſly the people of *Milan*, being extraordinarily deſirous to have their own natural Lord rule over them, would the more readily apply themſelves to undergo any taxations. Thus all things tended towards peace & agreement; and it was hoped that *Italy*, after ſo many years of continual Wars, would now be brought into a peaceable condition; and all men began to rejoyce, hoping to enjoy better times for the future: There remained nothing to perfect this which was ſo much deſired, but the accommodation of the differences between the Florentines and the Pope, which appeared to be made the more difficult by the preſent condition of the times, and by the agreement which was made amongſt the reſt; for the Imperial army having proceeded very ſlowly, after they came to the Confines of *Tuſcanie*, which they did by orders from the Pope, who deſired to preſerve the City of *Florence*, and the Country as much as might be from being prejudiſed by the Souldiers; the Florentines had opportunity to make the City more defenceable, by making ſeveral works about the Wals, and by taking in of a Garriſon of 2000 foot which *Malateſta Baglione* brought with him thither, after he had yeilded the City of *Perugia* upon articles to the Marquis of *Guaſta*; ſo as

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the Florentines began to grow the harder to be brought to the Pope's will. The ſlowneſs of theſe proceedings at the firſt, had begot a belief in the Florentines, that *Ceſar* deſired to ſatisfy the Pope in reſemblance more then in ſincerity, and he would more conſider the intereſt of State (ſince the encreaſing of the Popes power did not at all concern him) then the injury they had done him by ſiding with the French. But on the other ſide, the Pope growing daily more and more incenſed, for that the City would not as he had deſired them, put themſelves upon his arbitriment, though he had promiſed them to proceed with all humanity, and ingenuity; and hoping to compaſs his deſires ſo much the ſooner, for that *Ceſar* having now no more occaſion to imploy his forces againſt the Venetians, nor Duke of *Milan*, would turn with the greater force and readineſs, to ſerve him in the buſineſs concerning *Florence*; ſeemed rather deſirous to uſe his utmoſt force againſt the City, then to yield to any thing. The Venetian Senate was very much perplext at theſe troubles and dangers of the Florentines, as being their friends and confederates; but the Common-wealth was ſo over-burthened with diſburſments, ſtill maintaining all her Forces, as ſhe could not at the preſent aſſiſt them anſwerable to their need. They therefore wiſht the Florentines to bring their buſineſſe to ſome reaſonable conditions, if they could; and to agree with the Pope upon ſuch tearmes as might not be prejudicial to their liberties. But the treaty of peace being as yet doubtful, the Senate in favour to the Florentine affairs, as much as the time would permit them, and to cauſe jealouſiein the Pope, which might make him remove his men out of *Tuſcany*; gave directions to the Duke of *Urbine*, who had already muſtered all their men, to above the number of 10000, that he might be ready to march, and to give out that he was to go to the confines of *Parma*; but after all theſe indeavours and proceedings, the agreement with the Florentines, being (as aforeſaid) the further off, by how much the reſt were likelyer to agree, the Marquis *Guaſto*, who had already taken *Tortona*, and *Arezzo*, received orders from *Ceſar*, to advance with his army to the Walls of *Florence*; other particular reſpects being added to his deſire of ſatisfying the Pope, to move *Ceſar* to indeauour the return of the *Medici* into their Country for having promis'd to give his natural daughter *Margaret*, in Marriage to *Alexander* the Popes Nephew, he was the more obliged to do ſo, as that his Son in law might have an Eſtate, anſwerable to the greatneſs of his marriage. And moreover he thought it would make for the encreaſing and confirming their power in *Italy* that the Government of that City which of her ſelf had alwaies been much devoted to the French ſhould for the future depend upon him. Thus the whole War being brought into *Tuſcany*, and to about the Walls of *Florence* all the other parts of *Italy* were free and quiet; the Pope, the Emperour, *Ferdinand* King of the Romans, and the Senate of *Venice*, having at laſt ratified an Agreement upon theſe conditions.

"That the Venetians ſhould relinquiſh the Cities of *Cervia* and "*Ravenna* the Apoſtolique See; and to the Emperour, *Trani*, *Mono*-"*poli*, and whatſoever they were poſſeſs'd of in *Puglia*, that all o-

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"ther Cities, Towns, & places, which were as then in their poſſeſſion,
"ſhould remain under the Juriſdiction, and Dominion of the Com-
"mon-wealth; which was to enjoy them peacefully, and quietly.
"That the Inhabitants who were in thoſe Cities, and who had ad-
"hered to the Venetians, might be ſuffered either to tarry there, or
"to goe elſewhere; and that whereſoever they ſhould be, they might
"injoy the goods which they poſſeſs'd in their countries: and particu-
"larly, that it might be lawful for ſuch Venetian Citizens, as had any
"poſſeſſions in thoſe Territories, not only to enjoy their Incomes,
"but to carry them whitherſoever they ſhould pleaſe, without
"being ſubject to any prohibition or Tax. That the Vene-
"tian Citizens ſhould alſo have all thoſe priviledges, and immuni-
"ties confirm'd unto them, throughout the whole Kingdom of *Na-*
"*ples*, which they had before enjoy'd by the conceſſion of the former
"Kings; and that generally, free and ſafe abode and commerce, ſhould
"be allowed to all the Subjects of the Confederate Princes, in all
"their ſeveral Dominions, and that they ſhould be well dealt withal,
"and have Reaſon and Juſtice done them, as if they were of the ſame
"Country where for the preſent they did inhabit, or negotiate. That
"all paſt faults ſhould be forgiven to thoſe, who during the time of
"War, after that *Maximilian* took firſt up Arms againſt the Com-
"mon-wealth, for having followed the Imperial faction; or had
"either been accus'd and condemned for any thing thereunto belong-
"ing; and that they ſhould be reſtored to their Countries, and goods;
"except ſuch goods as were formerly confiſcated, for which the Ve-
"netians promiſed to pay yearly 5000 Ducates. And that all faults
"ſhould be forgiven to Count *Brunoro di Gambara*, by name, and that
"he ſhould be received into favour, who was then the Emperours
"Chamberlain. That moreover the Venetians ſhould pay unto the
"Emperour for what remain'd unpaid of 200000 Ducates, promis'd
"at the agreement made the year 1523. 25000 Ducates within two
"Moneths, and the reſt which ſhould appear to be due, within one
"year following: But upon expreſs condition, that before the diſ-
"burſment of theſe monies, thoſe Towns and places ſhould be re-
"ſtored to the Common-wealth, which were thereunto due upon
"the ſame Articles; wherein if any diſpute ſhould ariſe, the ſame
"ſhould be determined by two Arbitrators, and one Umpire. More-
"over, the Venetians were contented to gratifie *Ceſar* with 100000
"Ducates more within ſix Moneths; and that becauſe the rights of the
"Patriarch of *Aquilegia* were reſerved in the Diet at *Worms*; where-
"in he pretended to be injured in his juriſdiction by *Ferdinand* of
"*Auſtria*, that this cauſe ſhould be decided by two Arbitrators, and
"one Umpire, to the end, that the Patriarch might be reſtored to what
"ſhould be found due unto him: and that this agreement might not
"only aim at the preſent peace of *Italy*, but to provide for the future
"quiet and ſecurity thereof, each of the aforeſaid Princes were bound
"to enter into a perpetual League for the defence of each other, in as
"much as concern'd the Eſtates in *Italy*. And it was particularly ex-
"preſſed, that the Venetians, and *Francisco Sforza* Duke of *Milan*, for
"whom the Emperour promiſed and ſtood bound, ſhould alwaies
"have

"have each of them five hundred Curaſſiers in readineſs, and that "when either the Dukes ſtate, or the Commonwealth, ſhould be aſ-"ſaulted by any Forraign Army, each ſhould be bound to aſſiſt the "other with eight hundred Curaſſiers, wherein the foreſaid five hun-"dred were to be comprehended, with five hundred Light Horſe, and "ſix thouſand Foot, together with a ſufficient Train of Artillery, am-"munition, and all the expences thereunto belonging, during the war: "and that neither of them ſhould grant paſſage, victuals, or any other "accommodation, to ſuch as ſhould intend prejudice to either of "them, but ſhould uſe all the means they could to hinder them. And "on the other ſide, the Duke of *Milan*, and the Venetians, were bound "to defend the Kingdom of *Naples* from any aſſault that ſhould be "thereupon made by any Chriſtian Princes, with ſixteen Gallies at "their own expence. In this capitulation, all the friends and confe-"derates of theſe Princes were comprehended, ſo as they ſhould not "prove enemies to any of the chief contractors; and the Common-"wealths of *Genua*, *Sienna*, and *Lucca*, the Duke of *Savoy*, the Mar-"quis of *Mantua*, and Marquis of *Monferrat*, were particularly nomi-"nated by the Pope, by the Emperour, and by *Ferdinando*, and by "the Venetians, *Antonio Maria Montefeltro* Duke of *Urbine*. But with "this difference, that the Venetians were not bound to defend the "States of the others, though they were nominated: and the Duke of "*Urbine* was comprehended in his perſon and State, under the ſame "conditions as were the chief contractors, as having a dependancy "upon the Commonwealth, and as being by her taken into protecti-"on. Touching the Duke of *Ferara*, it was declared, that he was "only underſtood to be comprehended with the reſt, when he ſhould "have accommodated the differences which were between him and "the Apoſtolique See.

Thus after ſo many vexations and long Wars, things were ſetled and accommodated, and a certain and ſecure peace was made, to the great comfort of the Subjects, and the no leſs praiſe of the Princes.

All men thought that this peace and agreement amongſt the Chriſtian Princes was made at a very opportune time, ſo as they might joyntly make head againſt *Soliman*, who being wholly ſet upon the glory of War, and being encouraged by the diſcords of the Chriſtian Princes, was come with his forces againſt their Kingdoms, threatning ruine. For though he was forced to riſe from before the Walls of *Vienna*, and freed her ſo from danger at that time, by reaſon that the Winter came on, and that he had no great Train of Artillery, as alſo, for that the City was defended by very many valiant Souldiers, yet he declared that he would return the next Spring with greater forces, to aſſail that City, and other Towns in *Germany*. *Soliman* at his departure from thoſe confines, declared *John* to be King of *Hungary*, ſhewing that he aimed chiefly at the praiſe of valour and generoſity. He alſo made *Luigi Gritti* chief Treaſurer of that Kingdom, who was natural ſon of *Andrea Gritti*, Duke of *Venice*, born at *Conſtantinople*, whilſt *Andrea* being a young man, was there upon his own private affairs. *Luigi* proved to be a very ingenious man, endowed with

with many noble qualities; ſo as getting firſt into favour with *Ebrahim*, the chief Baſhaw, and of ſupream authority in that Court, and afterwards by his means, into the like of *Soliman*, he had done the Commonwealth very good ſervice in their laſt troubles, by keeping them in friendſhip with the Turks; which was the more requiſite for them upon ſuch occaſions, for that the Haven by Sea lying open to the City of *Venice*, whereby they trafique, and merchandizing was preſerved, they had the better means to maintain War in *Terra firma*, whilſt they maintained the ſtock of their publique revenews whole. But the Senate, as for ſuch reſpects they had been very careful to keep peace with the Turks, ſo with a noble and generous mind, had they alwaies refuſed the offers of aſſiſtance made by them againſt Chriſtian Princes, with which pious intention of theirs, God being well pleaſed, he ſo favoured the concluſion of Peace, as that a firm foundation thereof being laid, the Commonwealth had been able to preſerve her ſelf in honour and ſafety, even until this day.

The End of the ſixth Book.

THE

THE HISTORY OF VENICE,

Written by PAULO PARUTA.

BOOK VII.

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PEace being made in manner as hath been related, the Senate being deſirous to eſtabliſh it, and to work themſelves, as much as they could, into the favour and good will of the Princes, ſhewing themſelves well affectioned towards them, and how conſtant their deſire was to preſerve the peace of *Italy*, reſolved to ſend Embaſſadours to the Pope, and to the Emperour, to witneſs the great ſatisfaction which they had received by the agreement, and the deſire which they had to continue long peace and friendſhip with them. Thoſe who were deputed to this Embaſſie, were of the prime men of the Commonwealth, and of a clear reputation for their own endowments, for the many places they had paſſed thorow, both at home and abroad, *Marco Dandalo*, *Luigi Gradinigo*, *Luigi Mocenigo*, and *Lorenzo Braggadino*; to whom, that the Embaſſie might appear the more ſolemn, they added *Antonio Suriano*, who was with the Pope, and *Nicolo Tiepolo*, who was to remain Liedger with the Emperour.

Theſe ſix went all together in the beginning of the year 1530. to *Bullognia*, where the Pope and the Emperour were as yet, by whom they were graciouſly received; they delivered their Embaſſies ſeverally, firſt to the Pope, and then to the Emperour. "They did not "only praiſe the Pope, for having (as the common Father) piouſly and "prudently embraced the cauſe of Chriſtendom, and put a period to "ſo many miſchiefs and miſeries, but they likewiſe thanked him in "name of the Commonwealth, for his particular care which he had "therein of her, in compoſing the differences between her and *Ceſar*, "and in freeing her from the expence and troubles of War. They "ſhew'd *Ceſar* the neceſſity which had made them take up Arms, and "to continue the War, their being diſpleas'd at what was paſt, but "chiefly, their conſtant and firm reſolution to make good the agree-"ment which was made, and their endeavours of perpetual friendſhip "between the Houſe of *Auſtria* and the Commonwealth.

Though when the Embaſſadors had delivered this, they had no more to do, yet were they commanded to tarry in *Bullognia*, that they might be preſent at the Emperours coronation, which was to be celebrated in that City. For *Charls* who had firſt deſigned to go to *Rome*, to take the Imperial Crown upon him there, according to the ancient cuſtom of the Emperours, was reſolved to accompliſh that ceremony in *Bullognia*, being called for back into *Germany*, upon other more weighty State affairs; for which purpoſe, great ſtore of people flocking thither, and Embaſſadours from all Princes, ſuch an Embaſſie

ſeemed

seemed to befit that days solemnity and pomp, which was on the 24. of *February*; which being over, the Embassadours returned to *Venice*, being presented by *Cesar* with five hundred pieces of Portugueses, to the value of ten crowns each piece, which according to custome, were put into the Exchequer, for the publique service. It was wisely provided for by the first Founders of the Commonwealth, and established by Law, that any who should be sent Embassadours to forreigne Princes, and should receive any presents from them, they should bring them into the publique Bank, it being not thought convenient to refuse such demonstrations of honour done to those who represented the Commonwealth, nor to permit that such things as were given to publique persons, should be converted into private mens purses; which if they were permitted peradventure somtimes to keep, it must be allow'd of by the votes of the Senate, and be acknowledged from their favour and liberality: thereby prevention was had, that evil men, out of hopes of such gain, might not prove partial to other Princes, and prejudicial to the Commonwealth.

Three Embassadours were afterwards sent by *Cesar* to the Senate; as well by way of correspondency in friendly civilities, as also to end certain differences, belonging to the articles of peace. They were received with great demonstrations of honour, and were presented with cups of Gold to the value of a thousand crowns a piece. And in favour to *Cesar*, who sought it at their hands, many Subjects of the Commonwealth had their faults forgiven them, and others had other favours done them. After he was crowned, *Cesar* went to *Mantua*, where being received very magnificently by the Marquis *Frederick da Gonsaga*, in memorial of which civil hospitality, the Emperour made him a Duke: and being to pass from thence through the State of the Commonwealth, that he might go into *Germany* by the way of *Trent*, the Senate ordered *Paolo Nani*, and *Giovan Dolfino*, who were Commissaries General on *Terra firma*; and likewise *Giovan Moro* who was Captain of *Padua*, and *Pietro Grimani* Captain of *Vicenza*, to meet *Cesar*, with an honourable assembly of Gentry at *Villa Franca*, which lyes upon the confines of *Verona* and *Mantua*, and to wait upon him as long as he should be in the States Territories. And they charged the Rectors of *Verona*, that they should be very careful in providing victuals, and all things necessary for the Court and Souldiers: and particularly, that they should present *Cesars* self in the name of the Commonwealth, with excellent wines, fish, venison, sweet-meats, and with every thing else of rarity which could be found for his refreshment. Thus *Cesar* past on with all his people, being accompanied by a great many Lords, and Princes Embassadours, and amongst the rest by *Nicolo Tiepolo*, who, as hath been said, was appointed to stay as Leiger Embassadour with him: and crossing over the Territories of *Verona*, without entring into the City, where double Guards were placed at the gates and about the castles, he went to *Chiusa*.

As these things did increase confidence amongst these Princes, and establish peace and friendship, so it was suspected that they would beget jealousie in *Soliman*, that the Commonwealth would joyn with

other Christian Princes against him, which might be occasioned by many speeches that were spread abroad; that these Princes had made peace, to the end that they might march with their forces joyntly against the Turks, and oppose *Soliman*'s too deep and dangerous designs upon Christendom. Who having been already before *Vienna*, threatened to return with more powerful forces, and being made to hope for better things by his recent victories, promised to himself successful progress in *Germany*. Some convention of Cardinals deputed thereunto, and wherein the Embassadours of other Princes did intervene, were made at *Bullognia*, that they might think how to govern themselves in their taking up of Arms against the Turks; and though the Venetian Embassadours did not intervene at these Treaties, and that no result was had therein, yet fame (which always useth to amplifie) had brought greater tidings to *Constantinople* then were true. So as this course was blamed by those that were wise, for experience shew'd, that whilst they consulted in vain how to remedy our mischiefs, they drew on greater and more certain dangers, incensing *Soliman* the more, and inforcing him to make greater preparations for War.

The Senate being advertised of these the Turks suspicions, by *Luigi Gritti*, who as Embassadour to *John* King of *Hungary*, had attended *Soliman* when he parted from those confines, to *Constantinople*; and considering that they might be of very evil consequence to the affairs of the Commonwealth, if they were any longer credited by *Soliman*, and his *Bashawes*, they resolved to send an Embassadour to *Constantinople*, who was to give an account of the peace which they had made with *Cesar*, and of the reasons which perswaded them thereunto; and who was afterwards to affirm, that the Senate was resolved to continue constant in their friendship unto the family of the Ottomans, and in their commerce with that Nation, and that if the Embassadour should find the Turks desirous thereof, he should again ratifie the ancient articles of peace. The Senate thought it the fitter for them to do this, because *Soliman* a little before, as he went to *Belgrade*, had sent *Ibraim* his Embassadour to *Venice*, to give an account of his success in *Hungary*, and particularly of his having re-placed their ancient friend King *John* in his Kingdom. He had also sent another *Chiaus* to *Venice* upon the occasion of the solemnity of circumcising two of his Sons, inviting them to send their Embassadours, who might be present at the doing of it; and at the same time, in witness of his good affection to the Commonwealth, he had presented them with 100000 pound weight of Salt-peter, hearing that they were in great need thereof. *Tomaso Mocenico* was chosen for this Embassie, who began his journey a few days after, and came very opportunely to *Constantinople*, in respect of the aforesaid considerations; for a Cruzado being published, the fame and expectation whereof was the greater, because the Preachers by the Popes directions, had earnestly exhorted the people in their pulpits, to contribute monies readily and cheerfully to the war against the Infidels. These things had raised no light suspitions in *Soliman*, that the Venetians had conspired against him, together with the other Christian Princes, af-

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ter the confederacy at *Bologna*; wherefore looking the more narrowly into all their former actions, *Soliman* complain'd that the Venetians upon the making of peace, had contributed monies to the Princes of the House of *Austria*, who being his Enemies, might be thereby the better inabled to make war against him. Hereunto was likewise added, that he took it ill at the Venetians hands, who professed friendship to him, that he had not understood any thing of a business of so great moment, save only the conclusion. But these rumours which were already spred abroad amongst the *Bashaws*, and other chief Personages, were quieted at the coming of the Embassadours, and friendship was readily renewed, and re-confirmed upon the former articles. The Embassadours were afterwards present at the festival of the circumcision, which was performed with great pomp and cost; in all which shews, the Embassadours had honourable places provided for them; and they, according to the custom of that Nation, and of that solemnity, did present many rich vestments to the Grand Signeur, and other things of price, amongst which a fair Unicorns horn, a thing which *Soliman* had much desired, and which was very welcome to him.

In the time of these sports and festival, *Soliman*, who was born to effect great things, was full of weighty and important thoughts. He discoursed often with his Bashaws, of raising an Army to return into *Hungary*, and into *Germany*, to abate the forces of the Austrian Princes, towards which he gave order for many things. He in the next place designed to send out a great Fleet, whereby he might upon occasion fall upon any enterprize, but with full resolution to secure the Seas, which was at this time much infested with the Gallies belonging to the Knights of *Rhodes*, who being permitted by *Charls* the Emperour to come into *Malta*, molested Ships, and the Turkish affairs in all Seas: and at the same time, as concerning affairs of peace, he endeavoured to make *Constantinople* the Staple Town of Merchandize, especially of such spices as were brought from the Eastern parts into *Alexandria*, and other places of his dominions, intending (as he said) to make that City, the Seat of the Empire, to abound in all things, and especially in Gold: to which purpose, he had forbidden men of all Nations to buy any Silks or Spices, and had already bought a great quantity of these merchandize with his own monies, that he might bring them to *Constantinople*. The Venetians were much troubled at these proceedings; for though the Turkish forces seemed to threaten other parts, yet their power encreasing by the ruine of other Princes, it would become likewise more formidable to them, and the going out of the Fleet would alwaies be occasion of trouble, and of expence to the Commonwealth, especially if the Fleet should come (as it was said it was to do) into the Gulph of *Venice*, where the Western Vessels came oftentimes to pillage with much insolency. And the removing of Traffique from the usual places, did much disturb their Merchandizing, and the ancient Navigation of their Galeasses, which were wont to go every year to *Soria* and *Alexandria*. The Venetians thinking how to give a timely remedy to these things, exhorted the King of *Hungary*, who was found to have some inclination to make peace with

with the Archduke *Ferdinand*, to purſue it, and thereby to rid Chriſtendom of ſo many occaſions of danger and prejudice. They likewiſe encouraged the King of *Poland*, who had formerly interpoſed himſelf in this buſineſs, to re-aſſume the Treaty of Agreement. They ſought by many endeavours with the Baſhaws at *Conſtantinople*, and eſpecially with *Luigi Gritti*, who grew daylie greater in favour and authority there, to keep the Grand Seignior from ſending forth his Fleet, by ſhewing the care and diligence uſed by the Commonwealth in keeping the Sea open, and free from Pyrats; and likewiſe from his other intention of bringing the Merchandize of *Soria*, and *Alexandria* to *Conſtantinople*; ſhewing many inconveniences that would ariſe thereby, ſo as without any conſiderable advantage to *Conſtantinople*, and to the great prejudice of his other Provinces, and of his Impoſts, traffique would leſſen, by leaving thoſe of the Weſtern parts no occaſion of making thoſe Voyages, if they ſhould not be permitted to ſend forth ſo many ſorts of Merchandize, which they vented in great quantities in thoſe Countries, and wherewith they contracted for Spices, and other Merchandize, more then with ready money. But to take all occaſion from the Turks of ſending out Gallies, and eſpecially into the Gulph of *Venice*, the Senate ordered the Commiſſary of their Fleet, that he ſhould warn the Gallies of *Malta* not to come into the Gulph, nor to prejudice any Veſſels which ſailed into the Eaſtern Seas, which were guarded by them; which if they ſhould deny to do, that then he ſhould endeavour to diſarm them. The Turks thought themſelves very much injur'd hereby, and complaining of the Venetians, they ſaid, that it did not ſuit with the friendſhip which they profeſs'd to hold with the Grand Seignior, to ſuffer that the Turks, who were their friends, ſhould be ſo much prejudiced at their own homes, and before their faces, eſpecially ſince their ſecurity was to rely upon the proviſions and forces of the Commonwealth; in which reſpect, to preſerve her juriſdiction, and to ſhun occaſion of diſorder, the Turks forbore ſending any men of War into the Gulph.

At the ſame time, *Ceſar* having ſummoned a Diet of all the German Princes in *Auguſta*, many things appertaining to the State, and to Religion, were therein treated on. The Proteſtants inſiſted chiefly in demanding a General Councel, wherein their opinions concerning the points of faith, might be examined and decided: which they did, not out of any deſire of ſifting out the truth, but becauſe they believed that the Pope would not give way thereunto, leſt they might enter into ſome other Treaties, whereby his authority might be endangered, ſo as they thought they might have good occaſion thereby to foment their falſe opinions amongſt the people. The Emperour ſeeking how to appeaſe ſo many humours, and how to cut off this root of greater evils, propounded the buſineſs to the Pope; who looking for little good thereby, nay rather, occaſion of greater diſorders, and yet being unwilling to ſeem to refuſe it, ſought to ſpin out the buſineſs at length, alledging many reſpects, which gave juſt occaſion of delay; and chiefly, the diſcords which were then on foot amongſt Chriſtian Princes; to appeaſe the which, he ſaid, it would be beſt firſt to think how they might all concur joyntly to aſſiſt and favour the Councel

Counſel. But the Proteſtants growing more earneſt in this their deſire, and the Popes fear increaſing, he who greatly deteſted this ſort of people, began to propound, that they might be proſecuted by temporal arms: which he oftentimes mentioned not onely to *Ceſar*, but to the Venetian Senate alſo: to whom he ſent an expreſs *Nuntio* to exhort them to uſe their Counſels, authority and forces herein. and to make *Ceſar* undertake this buſineſs the more willingly, he offered him a certain ſum of money. But the Senate were much of an other opinion, and ſought to diſſwade the Pope from it: "Whoſe "piety when they had praiſed, they ſhewed him afterwards, that to "take up arms at this time, and without any preſſing occaſion, was "no better then to ſhew his fear the more in a juſt cauſe, which he "would go about to ſecure, by preventing by way of Arms, the "power which the concourſe and favour of the people might bring "unto the adverſe party. That it became thoſe who ſuſtained the "cauſe of Religion, to try all things, eſpecially by Scripture, and by "reaſon. Moreover, that the Proteſtant Princes would be neceſſitated "to procure forces, and more followers, and their cauſe would be "more favoured by the people, and have ſome fair appearance, ſince "they were to withſtand the violence of Enemies, that the Princes of "*Italy* were wholly exhauſted, by the ſo many wars. That it was "to be ſuſpected to what party the Electors of the Empire would "adhere in ſuch a caſe, they being more deſirous of agreement, then "of war, as appeared by their Embaſſadours, who were ſent to the "Emperour at *Bruſſels*: That the Hans Towns of *Germany* were re"ſolved not to aſſiſt *Ceſar*, if he ſhould go about to attempt any "thing rather by power then by reaſon; That *Ceſar* was not able of "himſelf to raiſe ſufficient forces to oppreſs the Princes and people, "who were in commotion. There appeared ſuch reaſon in theſe things, and the Authority of the Senate was ſo great, (from whoſe advice the Pope had very much differed) as changing his opinion, he forbore ſending his Nuntio to *Ceſar*, as he had intended to do, and ſuſpended any ſuch Treaty. And truly it was thought to be a much wiſer courſe, and better becoming the condition of the preſent times, to think rather of ſuſtaining the Turkiſh Wars, and to keep the forces of Chriſtendom united as much as might be, eſpecially thoſe of *Germany*, who were to withſtand the Turks firſt violence: For it was held for certain, that *Soliman*, whoſe haughty mind muſt needs be ſcandalized, for his being inforced to riſe from before the Walls of *Vienna*, not only without Victory, but with ſome ſhame, would return very ſtrong to the ſame Enterprize; whereof there was much ſpeech already in this reſpect, *Ceſar* did alſo incline more to agreement then to War; as alſo becauſe he was very intent and buſie to get his Brother *Ferdinando* choſen to ſucceed him in his Empire. Therefore without reſolving any thing abſolutely, he was contented with ordering ſome things to be obſerved in point of Religion, till the next Councel. *Ceſar* alſo, that he might bring all things in all parts to a peaceful poſture, deſired that the differences which remained yet undecided, between the Arch-duke *Ferdinando*, and the Commonwealth, might be fully ended; wherefore he propounded that Arbi-

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trators might be choſen to that purpoſe, as was agreed upon by articles. To which, though the Senate did not only willingly aſſent, but ſolicited the diſpatch thereof, yet what was deſired by both parties, was not effected, for they could not agree upon an Umpire. The Archduke named the Marquis of *Mantua*, the Biſhop of *Auguſta*, the Popes Nuntio that was reſident with him; and the Venetians, the Biſhop *Teatino*, the Archbiſhop of *Salerno*, of the Houſe of *Adorni*, and the Nuntio reſident in *Venice*. But thoſe that the one ſide liked, the other diſliked; ſo as affairs continued ſtill undecided, and much prejudice enſued amongſt the ſubjects, upon the confines, and occaſion of diſagreement between the Princes. Nor was the Caſtle of *Milan*, nor City of *Como*, reſtored as yet to *Franciſco Sforza*, by the Emperour, though it grew towards the end of the year: wherefore the Venetians being very deſirous that the delivery thereof might be no longer delayed, leſt time might prove prejudicial thereunto, and *Sforza* not being able of himſelf to raiſe all the money which he was to pay *Ceſar*, they offered to lend him fifty thouſand Ducats, to make this payment, which was to be repayed by the profit of a bargain of Salt, which was offered him alſo by the Commonwealth, which was, to give him an hundred and fifty thouſand Buſhels of Salt, at the rate at 31 *Soldi* of Imperial money, the buſhel, to be brought to *Pavia*, which being vented in the State of *Milan* at reaſonable rates, the Duke would gain as much thereby in a ſhort ſpace, as would enable him to repay the fifty thouſand Ducats. But *Ceſar* being deſirous to pleaſe ſome Merchants of *Genua*, and the Duke being willing to pleaſe him, refuſed this bargain, but made another of the like nature with others, which was leſs advantagious to himſelf; and by the ſame way of Salt, found out monies ſufficient to ſatisfie *Ceſar*; who preſently after, cauſed the Caſtle of *Milan*, and City of *Como*, to be delivered up to *Sforza*; whereat the Venetians were well pleaſed, whoſe chief aim was, to ſecure *Sforza*'s State: who finding by many evident ſigns, that the Senate of *Venice* had ſtill the ſame care of his State, and of his Affairs, that he might make uſe thereof to his own advantage upon any occaſion; or elſe, that he might therein pleaſe *Ceſar*, by ſeeming to be jealous of the French, he earneſtly deſired the Senate, that they would uſe their interceſſion and authority with the King of *France*, to appeaſe thoſe rumours of Wars, which (as hath been ſaid) had been much ſpoken off: And though it were not altogether believed, yet continuing conſtant in their reſolution of defending that State, and in maintaining the capitulations, and thinking it expedient that their reſolution ſhould be made publiquely known, ſo to take all hopes from the French that the Commonwealth would ever part from *Ceſar*, and the other Colleagues, it was reſolved, that they would endeavour it, not only in *France*, but in all other Courts; and to ſhew themſelves the more firm and reſolute, it was reſolved, that when this ſhould be diſcourſed of in the Colledge where ſuch propoſitions are uſually made by Embaſſadours, that without taking time for any further conſideration, the Duke ſhould ſay plainly in his anſwers, that the Senate was fully reſolved not to part for whatſoever accident ſhould happen from the League eſtabliſhed with *Ceſar*, and

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the other Confederates. But *Cesar* not being herewith satisfied, did moreover desire, that those men should be raised, which the Commonwealth by their Articles were bound to raise: Whereunto the Venetians, fearing lest his aim might be at some particular end of his own, and to draw them further then they were bound by the Articles of the League, answered, that the state of affairs being now such as did promise peace in *Italy*, they ought not to be put to so needless an expence.

King *Francis* had at this time taken a wife unto himself, and had recovered his two sonnes, wherefore he seemed to be rather given to festivals and delights, then to the troubles of war: and the Commonwealth, that they might congratulate therein with him, had, to that purpose, sent *Giovanni Pisano*, procurator of St. *Mark*, as Embassadour extraordinary to him. But if any real commotions should appear, they promised, they for their parts would not suffer the common peace and quiet to be disturbed, nor would they be any wayes faulty to their ingagements. The Common-wealth being at this time in a safe and secure condition, the Senatours sought how to restore her integrally, and to recover the preheminencies which she injoyed before the late wars: amongst which the Authority practised by the Senate in nominating such as were to be promoted to any bishoprick within their State, was thought a great priviledg; they had often press'd the Pope much in that point, but not getting any resolution, they forbear giving temporal possession of divers Bishopricks of their best Cities to those upon whom the Pope had bestowed such benefices, a thing whereat he was exceedingly troubled, and which he did so much resent, as it seemed, he sought to break with the Venetians. This business growing every day more hard, the Senate differed in their opinions; some were of opinion that they were either to give it over, or to put the dispute off till another time; others who were resolute in denying temporal possession, were for endeavouring to get the Pope to gratifie the Republique, and to restore this preheminence, and power unto them, which other Princes injoyed in their Dominions.

Those who dissented from this opinion, shewed, *how hard a business it would be to effect, the Pope being so highly incensed, who would not be appeased by any new endeavours, but was still the more offended: and, to nourish his anger, he recall'd to memory such things wherein he had formerly received but little satisfaction from the Senate, and did sinisterly interpret their good actions. They said, that the Popes of* Rome *were too deeply interessed in this business, who had means to gratifie their Kindred, and servants, by concession of these rich Prelacies, as also, thereby to keep themselves in the more respect and grandeza: to overcome which difficulties, it would behove them to wait for a better time and opportunity, or expect a Pope, who might be better minded to the Commonwealth. They further added, the thing was not in it self so much to be desired, nor so advantagious to the Commonwealth, as to be so highly prest for, and so violently, endangering themselves, thereby to incur the Pope's displeasure, and Ecclesiastique censures; things which had formerly proved very prejudicial, and almost ruinous to the Commonwealth, in depriving her, as it had often done,*

done, of her chiefeſt Senators: By giving them theſe dignities, and charge of Churches, and by intereſſing ſo many Families in Eccleſiaſtical goods and preferments; ſo as by the Laws, many Citizens were excluded from the moſt important negotiations of government. How could it be thought to tend to the publique good, or that it was of ſmall moment in their Cities, to introduce hereby a Court-like life in many of their families, and more of grandeiza and deliciouſneſs, then became a private life, which their Anceſtors had always endeavour'd, as much as they could, to keep in an equality, thrifty, and far from ſuch things as might corrupt the ancient cuſtoms of their forefathers, & as might beget in ſome citiſens too haughty thoughts, and in others, envie at their too great fortune. That the ambition which was in all men, of attaining unto the uſual employments of the Commonwealth, was ſufficiently advantagious, without adding another ambition thereunto, of thirſting after eccleſiaſtical dignities, which would be ſo much the greater, as the thing endeavoured ſeemed the more deſirable, by the perpetuity of honour, and by the profit which waited thereupon: and that though they were formerly ſuffered, it was to be conſider'd, that the manners of theſe times (as is uſually ſeen in all other human things) were already gone far beyond the bounds of that naked honeſty, wherewith their predeceſſors had governd themſelves and the Commonwealth. But others held to the contrary, that they were not to forbear their former reſolution of drawing the Pope to condiſcend to their reaſonable requeſts, that they had had experience enough, by their late ſucceſſes, of what force a conſtant and generous reſolution was, whereby having overcome ſo many difficulties of the ſevereſt and ſaddeſt times, they had recovered almoſt their whols State on Terra firma. *That it was not to be doubted, but that they might ſoon reduce their Commonwealth to her former dignity, authority, and honour, if they would ſtill uſe the ſame means: And what reaſon was there to believe, that the Pope, to whom peace was more advantagious then to any others, ſince thereby he might ſettle his Nephew in that Grandeiza in his country, which had coſt him ſo much labour and expence to put him into, would now, by troubling the affairs of* Italy, *expoſe ſo great, and now ſo certain a Fortune, to new and doubtful events of War. That they could not expect a better occaſion or opportunity: That* Ceſar *would further this requeſt, both out of the common Intereſt, and for the need he had of keeping Friendſhip and good Intelligence with the Common-wealth. That the thing it ſelf was ſuch, as length of time would prove prejudicial to it; for, by endring the longer deprivation thereof, their former pretence of poßeſſion, would become the weaker. But that, if they would conſider the particulars of this buſineſſe more inwardly, the advantages, and conveniencies thereof would appear to be ſo many, as there would be no doubt of the contrary. That other great Princes had this conceſſion, and uſed it with ample authority; and why ſhould the Common-wealth, which was Miſtris of Kingdomes, be inferiour to the reſt? That it was apparent enough, how much it imports Princes, in point of State, that Prelates, who are of ſuch Authority in Cities, ſhould not only be their Confidents, but ſhould alſo be bound unto them: and that they ſhould acknowledge that Dignity, and all their Fortune, from their Natural Prince; ſo as they might proceed in all things with more ſincere Faith, and greater Reſpect. Nor could the Ambition after*

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this degree be more harmful, then that by which the magistracies of the Commonwealth are usually procured: and that it had always been thought, that the need that one Citizen stood in of anothers favour in the attaining unto honours, doth help much to the preservation of civil Government. Whereof, the more various & important occasions are offer'd, so much more the love and union of Citizens are confirm'd and augmented. Nor was that wealth to be blamed in Citizens, which is justly conferr'd upon them by the Publick. And that it was the comfort of many families, and made many out of such hopes to be the more careful in breeding up good Subjects, who by their learning and manners might be capable of such preferments, and prove after very fit for the Government of the Commonwealth. And when provision is not had by the good Orders of a City, that Citizens may of themselves love good demeanour, and the good of their Country, it was in vain to blame riches, or praise poverty; since both of them may equally allure corrupt minds to wickedness, though by several ways.

These and other reasons were alledged according to the diversity of opinions, so as the business rested in suspence, and undecided. But at the last, taking a middle way, it was resolved, that to gratifie the Pope, possessions should be given to all such, as till then the Pope had conferr'd Bishopricks upon in their Dominions. But that nevertheless, not desisting from their former demands, but professing that they had done this only out of respect, and observancy to *Clement*, they should seem to hope the more to obtain their desire. Yet the Pope, who did first require this in sign of their obedience, could not be appeased, but appeared still more obdurate, so as the business could be brought to no better condition.

But other more weighty affairs diverted them from this care, and advised them to endeavour a good intelligence with the Pope; for in the beginning of the year 1531. 'twas known that *Soliman* intended great war upon Christendom, having already accommodated his differences with the King of *Persia*, from whom some were already come to *Constantinople*, to confirm the peace. Many things raised a jealousie that he would make attempts, not only by land but by Sea too; for he had sent his Standard to *Cariadino*, surnamed *Barbarossa*, a very famous Pyrat, for his skilfulness in Sea affairs, and for the great harm he had done to Christendom: and this man he had received into the number of his Commanders; which he acquainted the Venetians with, to the end that they might not proceed with him any more as with a Pyrate, but as with one that belonged to him. And though the *Bashawes* did often affirm that they would keep friendship and peace with the Commonwealth, yet it being neither honourable nor safe, to leave the Sea open to the discretion of these barbarous people, it behoved them to make extraordinary provision of Gallies, and of Souldiers: which was the more grievous to them, for that the publick purse being exhausted by the late wars, they could not well find monies for so great an expence; therefore they were forced to have recourse to other means, amongst which they thought, that to seize on the Tythes of the Clergy within their Dominions, which were very many, was a very good course; which they endea-

vour'd to obtain of the Pope, wherein they proceeded with him, with much dexterity and humanity: But yet they could not overcome many difficulties which ſtuck with him; ſo as the buſineſs was protracted, nay, to a double diſpleaſure of the Venetians, he deſigned to lay two tenths upon all the goods of the Eccleſiaſticks throughout *Italy*, meaning to make uſe of theſe monies, as he ſaid, in aſſiſting the Catholick Cantons of the Switzers, againſt which the Hereticks had taken up Arms. So as the Commonwealth was not only deprived of this benefit of Tythes, which being to be taken out of the Incomes of their own Territories, ſeemed imployable for the benefit thereof; but occaſion was thereby given of greater diſturbances, by the jealouſies given to the Turks, that theſe monies raiſed in the Popes name, might be for the ſervice of ſome League to be made againſt them. Yet the Senate, though they were deprived of theſe aids, and of all hopes of ever attaining thereunto, the Pope being mightily ſcandalized, for that out of confidence of obtaining this favour, they had begun a little too early to exact them, would not delay making requiſite proviſions; but overcoming all difficulties, reſolved for the preſent to arm fifty Gallies, which were forthwith put to Sea, in excellent order. But this great noiſe of war, did ſoon after ceaſe of it ſelf; for *Soliman* being gone into *Andrinopolis*, with intention (as was given out) that he might mind theſe preparations the better, gave himſelf ſo to the delight of hunting, and did ſo defer the affairs of war, as he did not this year trouble any place with his Forces. Yet the Venetian Fleet was not all this while idle, the Sea being full of Pyrates, who aſſembled together in great numbers, infeſted all the Seas, and diſturb'd navigation, and commerce: But theſe were driven away in all parts, and many of their Veſſels were taken, and deſtroy'd, to the general advantage, and to the great praiſe of the Venetians. At this ſame time, the King of *Hungary*, though he kept himſelf in good order for war, and that his forces were greater then *Ferdinando*'s, yet were it either that he did expect ſuccour from the Turks for his greater ſecurity, or that he feared the aid which *Charles* was ſaid to prepare for his brother, or that he deſired to accommodate his affairs rather by treaty then by arms, by reaſon of the little confidence he had in his own Subjects, did not attempt any thing.

Thus Arms being ſuſpended, as it were by a tacit conſent, on all ſides, he ſent *Jovanni Laſco* Embaſſadour to the Emperour, from whom not being able to get any reſolution, *Laſco* paſt on to *Ferdinand*, and meeting with no leſs doubts and difficulties touching his propoſals in him, he intended to go to other German Princes, to treat of his Kings affairs with them; but his ſafe conduct being deny'd him by *Ferdinando*, he was forc'd to return to *Hungary*. But King *John* made it known by other means in the Dyets which were held in ſeveral parts of *Germany*, and eſpecially amongſt the Hereticks, that he might keep *Ferdinand* from being aſſiſted by them; that *Soliman* would eſteem them his friends or enemies, who ſhould appear friends or enemies to the Kingdom of *Hungary*. And leaving nothing unattempted, he ſent his Embaſſadours alſo to *Venice*, deſiring

ring the Senate that they would mediate both with the Emperour and Pope to imbrace his cauſe, and bring affairs to ſome compoſition; wherefore the Senate knowing that King *John* was reſolved to try all extreams, ſo as he might keep his Kingdom, and that the Turks were ſtill ready to defend him, they, that they might remove all new troubles and dangers from Chriſtendome, readily imbraced his cauſe, and moved the Pope in his behalf. But they could not do much good therein; for the Pope, were it either that he did rather favour *Ferdinando*, then King *John*, or that he was really ſo minded, ſeemed more inclined to have the buſineſs decided by Arms, then by Treaty. So as the rumours of war beginning again to be renewed, and *Soliman* having more certainly publiſhed his reſolution, of coming with very powerful forces into *Hungary*, to recover the City of *Strigonia*, which was poſſeſs'd by *Ferdinando*, the Pope ſent his Nuntio, the Biſhop of *Verona*, to *Venice*, to require the Senate to delare what their intentions were, and what they would do, if the Turks ſhould return with an Army into *Hungary*; and to deſire them that they would joyn with the reſt of the Princes of Chriſtendom, in ſhewing their good will to oppoſe theſe common Enemies. The Senators were very doubtful what to do herein; they were ſet upon on one ſide by their zeal to Religion, and State Policy, by reaſon of the great danger which accrew'd to the Commonwealth, by the increaſe of their Neighbour the Turks forces, who were Enemies to all Chriſtian Princes: And on the other ſide, they were afraid they ſhould find but little conſtancy in the Princes, and that to ſhun more uncertain, and farther diſtant dangers, they might run upon ſuch as were certain, and preſent. Their inward thoughts were very fervent, but they cooled therein apace when they conſidered the nature of the buſineſs. The Enemy being very ſtrong, and their friends not likely to agree in uniting their minds, and forces; and that theſe very things had been many times propoſed rather to ſhew an appearance of zeal, then out of any reſolution, or well grounded hopes, of effecting the thing propounded. So as neither totally imbracing this invitation, nor yet ſeeming altogether averſe thereunto, they return'd this anſwer to the Pope.

"That the deſire of the good of Chriſtendom was ancient, and "hereditary in the Venetian Senate; but that as this made them rea- "dily willing to do any thing tending to the ſervice thereof, ſo did "it grieve them, that the preſent condition, neither of times, nor "affairs, would ſuffer them to ſhew it. That the greateſt Princes of "Chriſtendom were now at great odds; ſo as there was ſmall hopes "that they would joyn their forces againſt theſe common Enemies. "That the Commonwealth was too weak of her ſelf, to oppoſe the "Turks with any hopes of much advantage. That they might at- "firm their State did confine for the ſpace of two thouſand miles, "leading from *Cyprus* to all *Dalmatia*, upon the Turks; in whoſe "power there was always likewiſe great numbers of their Citizens, "and of their ſubſiſtances to a great value; which things impoſed up- "on them a neceſſity of temporizing with the Turks; and which "would not eaſily permit them to declare themſelves their Enemies.

"That

"That they did notwithſtanding very much praiſe the wiſdom, and "piety of the Pope, in fore-ſeeing, and in providing againſt the "dangers of Chriſtendom; but that they did truſt their too juſt and "too well known reſpects, would be both acknowledged and allowed "of throughout Chriſtendom.

But *Ferdinando*, though he ſaw all theſe indeavourings of Leagues would prove vaine, hoping that he might obtain better conditions by Armes, then thoſe that were profferd him by King *John*, deſpiſed all Treaties: for he was already declared in the convention of *Cullen*, to be the King of the Romans, and Succeſſor to his Brother *Charles* in the Empire; and he had got many aids in the Diets held at *Lins* and *Prague*, and hopes of greater ſuccours from his Brother. But the Venetians continued ſtill in their indeavours for peace; and having ſent their Embaſſadours to *Ferdinando*, to congratulate his new dignity; they inſerted many ſpeeches, wherein they exhorted him to imbrace peace, and to make good the hopes which were conceived of him; that as a wiſe and an excellent Prince, he would above all things, ſtudy the peace and good of Chriſtendom. Peace was the more indeavourd and deſired by thoſe who did ſincerely deſire the common good, and conſidered the conditions of the preſent times, becauſe it was known, that grievous Wars, and the beginnings of other calamities were threatned elſewhere; for the Kings of *France* and *England*, finding that they had opportunity offer'd them of moleſting the Emperour, by reaſon of the neceſſity he lay under of defending the Territories of his own family, and of the Empire, from the Turks, plotted ſeveral waies how to make War againſt him. The former being moved by his antient deſire of recovering the State of *Milan*; the other, by a new diſtaſte conceived againſt *Charls*, for defending his Aunt————wife to *Henry*, but who was by him repudiated, through the deſire he had of another Wife. They therefore joyntly endeavour'd to egg on many German Princes againſt *Charls*, who were not well ſatisfied with him, and they themſelves prepared for Arms: So as it was imagined that nothing was expected to the making of War, but that the Turks ſhould be the firſt who ſhould draw the Emperours forces into thoſe parts, whereof greater and more certain rumour now aroſe; for *Soliman*, who heard daylie of theſe intentions of the Chriſtian Princes, and thinking for the ſame reaſons, to find *Ceſar* buſied in ſeveral Wars at one and the ſame time, ſeemed every day more reſolute to defend, and maintain the cauſe of his friend and confederate King *John*; and more deſirous alſo to recover the reputation of his Forces, which he thought, was not a little leſſened by his retreat from *Vienna*.

In the beginning therefore of the year 1532. he went to *Andranopoli*, where he divulged what he intended to do; and having before his departure, ſhewed both in words and actions, a great deſire of preſerving friendſhip with the Venetians, he had given order for the expedition of the great Gallies, which for the aforeſaid reaſons had lain idle in *Soria*, and in *Alexandria*; permitted all free commerce to the Merchants of that Nation; laying aſide the thought of reducing the buſineſs to *Conſtantinople*; readily granted the carriage of Corn and

and Salrpeter, out of divers parts of his Dominions, giving many other ſigns of putting an eſteem upon the Commonwealth, and of his deſire to continue peace with her. But being intent upon aſſembling his Army, he had ſent orders to all the Spacchi of *Greece* (theſe are a ſort of men who ſerve on Horſeback, receiving a perpetual proportion of land, granted them by the Prince) to come and meet him, well provided with Horſe and Arms. He had likewiſe demanded ſuch Auxiliaries from the Tartarians, Wallacchi, and Tranſilvanians, as they were bound by Articles to ſend unto his Camp; ſo as having taken the field, and begun his march, he had, when he came neer the confines of *Hungary*, about an hundred and fifty thouſand ſouldiers, amongſt which there was twenty thouſand gallant Janizaries, all foot, bred up from their youth, perpetually and ſolely to this ſort of Militia. When *Soliman* was come with this his Army to *Belgrado*, a Town lying in the lower *Hungary*, he made it be proclaimed, that he would give Battel to *Charls* the Emperour, and aſſuring himſelf of victory, he inſolently threatned, that he would drive him out of *Germany*, and aſſume unto himſelf all the Rights and Territories of the Weſtern Empire; affirming them to appertain unto him, as to the true Emperour, and Lord of *Conſtantinople*: But *Charls* had raiſed a no leſs powerful Army to oppoſe theſe Forces, which he had gathered out of almoſt all the Nations of Chriſtendom; which was greater and gallanter, then had been ſeen in many former ages; and herewith he ſtayed, expecting the enemy before the Walls of *Vienna*. All mens minds were held in ſuſpence touching what would become at this ſo great a rumour of War, chiefly the Venetians, who for other important reaſons, were much concern'd in this buſineſs, and were very ſolicitous in expecting what the event would be: but in their wiſhes they were for the Chriſtians, and permitted the ſouldiers of their dominions, to go to the Emperour, and did that underhand, which they were not allowed to do in publique. But truly, it was very miraculous, that ſo great a preparation for War, ſhould produce no notable effect on either ſide: for *Soliman*, without paſſing any further, and ſending only one of his Captains, by name *Caſſone*, to pillage *Carinthia*, and *Stiria*, who was afterwards ſuppreſt, and deſtroyed by the Count Palatine, returned back to *Conſtantinople*: and on the other ſide, *Charls* not having ever ſtirr'd with his Camp from before the walls of *Vienna* (for his Captains thought it not ſafe to quit that quarter, that they might not go far from *Danubius*, and go into the open champagnia, whereby they might want the conveniency of that River, and be expoſed to the violence of *Solimans* ſo numerous Cavalry) having received certain news whither the Turks were gone, diſſolved his Army ſuddenly, and leaving a Garriſon of Souldiers with his brother, reſolved to come himſelf in perſon into *Italy*, and to paſs from thence to *Spain*; which gave the French occaſion to upbraid him with this ſudden departure, when their King was at another time accuſed by *Charls* for keeping him from advancing againſt the Turks, ſince (as they ſaid) when he himſelf was in Arms, and free as then from all other Wars, he had not uſed opportunity of purſuing the enemy, but ſuffered him to retreat with ſuch ſafety and conveniency, as that he

carried

carried away above thirty thouſand Priſoners from off his Territories. So as it ſeemed *Ceſar* was to confeſs, either that he had not forces ſufficient, or elſe courage and reſolution to fight the Turkiſh Armies.

At this very time, the Imperial and Turkiſh Fleets were gone forth very ſtrong to Sea, wherefore the Venetians thinking it became them, both for the honour and ſafety of their State, to Arm, ſo as they might be provided for whatſoever ſhould happen, they reſolved to add a great many Gallies to their Fleet, and to conſtitute a Commander of great authority over them. Thus by order from the Senate, twenty Gallies were ſuddenly armed in the Iſlands of *Candia*, *Zante*, and *Corfu*, and in other Towns of *Dalmatia*, which made up the number of the Fleet ſixty, the Government whereof was given to *Vicenzo Capello*, who was created Captain General at Sea: His Commiſſion was to look carefully to the preſervation of all places, and ſubjects belonging to the Commonwealth, not ſuffering any injury to be done unto them, but not to meddle by any means in the affairs of any forraign Fleet; that both the Imperialiſts and Turks ſhould be treated as friends, that they ſhould be allowed Havens and Victuals, but neither Arms nor ammunition, nor any thing appertaining to War; for the Senate was ſtedfaſtly reſolved to keep peace and friendſhip with all. The Turkiſh Fleet being then put forth into the Eaſtern Seas, to the number of eighty Sail, ſome twenty leſſer Veſſels being numbred amongſt the Gallies, commanded by *Immerale*, and the Imperial Fleet into the Weſtern, conſiſting of forty nimble Gallies, to boot with a great number of Men of War, commanded by *Andrea Doria*, and it not appearing as yet, what the commanders ends or commiſſions were, General *Capello* kept between *Zant* and *Corfu*, endeavouring (according to his Commiſſion) to ſecure the Subjects, but to ſhun all occaſion of encountring with this Fleet, in caſe it ſhould advance, that he might give no ſuſpition of favouring one party more then the other. *Immerale* being come to *Peveſa*, *Capello* tarrying at *Corfu*, ſent one of his Gallies to make him a friendly Viſit, which he took very kindly, and promiſed to have a great care to the affairs of the Commonwealth, not ſuffering any of her ſubjects to be injured; and it was a great truth, that the Turkiſh Fleet having touched at *Zant*, and at other places, had not injured any one. But *Doria* putting from *Sicily*, where he had tarried long, ſailed towards *Greece*, and hearing that the Venetian Fleet was at *Zant*, he would go thither alſo with his Gallies, that he might ſpeak with General *Capello*, intending, as it was believ'd (for he had often ſaid he would do ſo) to put a neceſſity upon the Venetians of joyning with him, by making the Turks jealous that their Fleets would joyn; concerning which union, he had written many letters to the Senate; and the Emperours Embaſſadour then reſident at *Venice*, had ſeveral times with much importunity, preſt to know, that if it ſhould ſo fall out, as his Maſters and the Turks Fleet ſhould have a conflict, whether the Venetian General was to aſſiſt *Soliman*, or no: Which it being very well known how far the Venetian were from doing, they knew theſe queries were made, to bring them to ſome farther juſtification of themſelves, by ſome promiſe which might

might make them quit their Neutrality: Therefore the Senate, and General *Capello* gave such answers, as might witness their forwardness, and willingness to keep friends with *Cesar*, but that they would not be brought, either out of favour to him, or out of any vain hopes of self-interest, to break peace with so powerful an Enemy. Thus the Imperial and Turkish Fleets being almost equally ballanced in point of force, they lay idle all the Summer; neither of them daring to fall upon any Enterprize, for fear of being worsted by the other. At last the Turkish Fleet beginning, because it was much weakened by the Souldiers sickness, to retire towards *Negraponte*, to the end, as it was believed, that they might winter in *Constantinople*, *Doria* grew thereupon the bolder, and having a great many Souldiers in his Fleet, after many consultations, steered his course towards *Morea*, resolving to attempt the taking of *Corone*; which after some resistance made by the Turkish Garrison, he took by force, and soon after took *Patrasso* by agreement. But winter being now at hand, both the Fleets with-drew into their several Havens, not doing any remarkable action. Wherefore the Venetians, that they might not be at so great an expence to no purpose, disarm'd their extraordinary Gallies, which had been armed abroad, and some of the oldest also, which had formerly been in their Fleet.

This happy success of the Imperialists, encouraged the Christians to hope for greater things; every little acquisition being highly esteemed by them, who were always wont to come off with the loss. But others, weighing the condition of affairs better, said, that such things were vainly undertaken, as could produce no true, nor greatly considerable advantage to the service of Christendom; for since the Turkish Forces remained intire both by Sea and Land, what reason had they to nourish any hopes of maintaining those places long, to which the Enemy might easily bring their most powerful Armies both by Land and Sea? And certainly, the sequel made this be the better known; for the next year *Corone* was re-taken by the Turks, to the great loss and shame of the Christians. And the like not many years after befell *Castel Novo*, which was first taken, and soon after lost by our men, as shall hereafter be related.

These things were done abroad; but in *Italy* all things were this mean while peaceable, save that the Duke of *Milan* was forced to send his men against the Commander of the castle of *Muss*, who desirous to better his condition by some novelty, and hoping to be assisted by the Landsknechts, had taken some places amongst the Grisouns, and threatened the City of *Como*: which caused the Duke to send a Servant of his, *Jovan Battisto Spetiano*, to crave help from the Senate. To which the Senate answered, that they were to proceed herein with great caution, lest they might trouble the quiet of *Italy*, and raise jealousies that they had deeper designs: But that if the occasion should increase, he should find them as ready as they had been for so many late years, to assist the Duke and his affairs. Which was the occasion of the quenching of this little spark; which, if the Venetians should have taken up Arms, was feared might have broken out into a greater fire: For the Grisouns being assisted in this interim

by ſome of the Cantons of the Switzers, had aſſembled a good number of men, with whom they made head againſt the aforeſaid Commander, and brought him to agreement; to the which the Duke when he underſtood the Venetians reſolution, did the more willingly aſſent, and at laſt had the town of *Lecco*, and the Caſtle of *Muſs* reſtored unto him, for a certain ſum of money. At the ſame time, the poſſeſſion of the Cities of *Modena* and *Regio* was confirm'd to the Duke of *Ferrara*, by the Emperours favourable decree in his behalf, though the Pope complain'd much thereof. To whom the Duke, being to pay for this 100000 Duckets within a preſix'd time, and the Pope requiring Pledges, the Duke gave him fifteen Gentlemen of *Venice*, whom the Pope accepted of, upon the Senates word, that they were ſufficient ſecurity for ſuch a ſum. A little before this, the Duke was return'd to favour and friendſhip with the Commonwealth; whereby he was freely re-admitted to the poſſeſſion of a noble Palace in *Venice*, which was formerly given to his Predeceſſors by the Senate, and had been taken from him by reaſon of the late wars; and a greater deſire of good intelligence was daily diſcover'd to be in them of both ſides; the Senate favouring the accommodation of his affairs with the Pope, as much as they could, with whom the Duke was yet in contumacy; for his Holineſs could not well content himſelf to forego thoſe two Cities, to which he had very much aſpired, out of other deſigns of his own. Wherefore *Ceſar* finding that ſome grudgings did remain in the Popes mind, and being willing to ſweeten him by ſome good turn, he bethought himſelf of coming again into *Italy*, and of ſpeaking once more with the Pope in the ſame town of *Bullogna*. He knew he might ſtand in ſo much the more need of *Clements* friendſhip at this time, for that he underſtood the French began to ſtir again, and he hoped to be able by his interpoſition and authority, to draw the other Princes of *Italy*, and eſpecially the Venetians, to a ſtraiter confederacy; by the which the defence of the State of *Milan*, and of the Kingdom of *Naples* might not only be provided for, according to the capitulations made two years before, but that the affairs of *Genua* might alſo thereby be ſecured, upon which he underſtood the French had ſome deſign. But the Pope was glad to meet with *Ceſar* for other reſpects; for having bethought himſelf of marrying his Neece to the King of *France* his ſecond Son, and fearing leſt *Ceſar* being offended thereat, might put ſome ſtop to the marriage formerly agreed between his Nephew *Alexander de Medici*, and *Margaret*, *Ceſars* natural daughter, endeavour'd to hold *Ceſar* in hand by his uſual artifices, and to give him ſome ſatisfaction. He therefore cauſed all the Potentates of *Italy* to ſend their Embaſſadours to *Bologna*, to treat about the new confederacy, which he knew was much deſired by them all.

But the Venetians were as much troubled hereat, for as they were fully reſolved not to come to any new confederacy with *Ceſar*, ſo would they not willingly be put upon a neceſſity of denial, and of diſpleaſing him thereby. Many reſpects concurr'd in confirming their reſolution of not altering their firſt capitulations at *Bullogna*; the conſideration of not raiſing jealouſies in the Turks, that theſe treaties aim-

ed not at the affairs of *Italy*, but at Leagues to be made against them: And they were to proceed the more cautiously with them, for that they understood a very powerful Fleet was to come from *Constantinople* the next Spring. Likewise the King of *France* his Interests, and the opinions which he might conceive hereat, seemed not to be set at naught; since the further incensing him, must needs redound to the disadvantage of the Common-wealth, by entring into new obligations with the Emperour, to boot with those which they had formerly alledged upon many occasions, in excuse of being compell'd by necessity to embrace peace; or else alienate him wholly from thinking of the Affairs of *Italy* any more; with which the Venetians were not displeased, that *Cesar*'s aspiring thoughts might be allay'd, and whereby he might be occasioned to value their Friendship the more.

These things were the more weighed, for that they knew *Cesar*'s chief drift in this new League, was to defend *Genua*, whereat the Turks and French, were very much troubled. The Turks, because the very name of that City was odious to them, for that the Fleet came from thence which had taken *Corone* from them, and done them so many other mischeifs. And the French, because the securing of *Genua*, inforc'd a necessity of taking up Arms against them, by reason of the noise already spread abroad, that they were to attempt this enterprize. They suspected likewise, lest this might be a trick of *Cesar*'s, to raise jealousies by these Treaties in the Turks, and King of *France*, against the Common-wealth, by bringing her into a necessity, not only of joyning with him, but in making her depend upon his will, and follow his fortune, declaring themselvs to be friends to his friends and enemies to his enemies. The Venetians answered therefore the desires made in this behalf by *Cesar*'s Agents who were at *Rome*, by deviating from the proposition, and by asserting their constant resolution of maintaining the League which they had already made with *Cesar*, and the other Colleagues, and their desire of the peace and quiet of *Italy*.

But this mean while, *Cesar* came himself in person into *Italy*, coming by the way of *Villacco*, whither he was accompanied by his Brother *Ferdinando*. He was received at *Pontieba* by four Venetian Embassadours, *Marco Minio*, *Feronimo Pesaro*, *Lorenzo Bragadino*, and *Marco Foscari*, who were apointed to receive him by the Common-wealth, and to wait upon him, as long as he tarried in their Dominions. But when the meeting was had at *Bullonia*, in the end of the year 1532. in the beginning of *January* the next ensuing year 1533. he began to think upon more weighty affairs, and chiefly to renew his intercessions with the Venetians, touching the new confederacy, for which the other Princes had sent their Embassadours to *Bullogna*. He therefore sent for *Mark Antonio Veniero*, and *Mark Antonio Contarini*, the one of them being Embassadour from the Common-wealth, resident with the Pope, the other with himself, whom these Princes did joyntly perswade to make them mediate strongly with the Senate, in perswading them to imbrace such things as were propounded for the greater common security, and for the quiet of *Italy*, which was so advantagious

and so dear unto them. And moreover, the Pope sent his Nuntio, *Roberto Maggio* to *Venice*, for the same end; but as it was thought, he did it more to satisfie *Cesar*, then himself. But the Senate seeking several times how to deviate from this proposal, as they had formerly done, by attesting their setled resolution, and good will to observe the agreement made the year 29. which stood yet firm and valid; being still solicited to the same thing, resolved to discover their reasons in part, concealing the Affairs of *France*, which peradventure, they were not so much troubled at, as was *Cesar*.

They answered, *That the Turks were well acquainted with the first convention made at* Bullognia *for the safety of* Italy, *so as if they should now come to a new League, all the affairs of Christendom being conveyed to that Court, and they being by many accidents increased, to foment distrust and jealousie, certainly they would believe, that this League was made against them; therefore as these just respects had been several times formerly allow'd and admitted of, when the very affairs of* Genua *were in treaty; the condition of the present times were such, as they might now be thought to be of more importance, and to deserve truer excuse. Moreover, it was sufficiently known, that there was no need of any capitulation for the safety of the affairs of* Italy; *for that Cesar's Fleet was sufficient of it self, against any attempts that should be made by Sea, and that sufficient provision was had for any attempt that might be made by Land, by the former confederacy: Even for the affairs of* Genua; *against which no Forces could be brought, which were not to pass through the State of* Milan, *which was comprehended within the Articles of the League, and that experience her self did demonstrate, that sufficient provisions were had for all things in the first agreement, since* Italy *had already enjoyed three years peace, which was respected even by those that had a mind to disturbe her.*

The King of *France*, seeking how to strengthen these allegations made by the Venetians, strove to remove all suspitions of his making War. The French Cardinals urg'd this much with the Pope; & the French Embassadour as much with the Senate; so as *Cesar* having no hopes to prevail with the Venetians, and the Pope himself growing cool therein, seeing his intercessions could do no good, and two Moneths being already over, since the convention met, so as *Cesar's* desires and occasions called him back into *Spain*. The League between the Pope, and the Emperour, and the other Princes of *Italy*, to wit, the Dukes of *Milan*, and *Ferrara*, and the Cities of *Genua*, *Sienna*, *Lucca*, and *Florence*, was concluded, and published, about the end of *February*.

In which it was agreed upon, *That the aforenamed should deposit* 110000 *Ducates; that the same provision should be monthly paid, according to the certain proportions by them all, in time of War; and in time of Peace* 25000 *Ducates, for the entertainments of the Commanders: And* Antonio da Leva *was declared Captain General of the League. The Duke of* Savoy *was likwise comprehended herein, for what concern'd his Territories in* Italy; *and also the Duke of* Mantua; *but without any particular Obligation to pay their part of this contribution.*

And

And it was obſervable, that though the Commonwealth had neither aſſented unto, nor intervened by her Agents in any Treaties, yet, either to give more reputation to the buſineſs, or to make other Princes jealous of the Commonwealth, it was ſaid in the contents of the draught of this agreement, that the League made the year 1529. between the Pope, and the other Confederates, with the Commonwealth of *Venice*, was confirmed and eſtabliſhed, adding thereunto the names of the aforeſaid Italian Princes; and this was not only proclaimed, but printed; ſo as copies hereof coming to *Conſtantinople*, and to *England*, it gave occaſion to thoſe Princes, both of which were *Ceſar*'s declared enemies, to complain ſomwhat of the Senate, and to ſeem jealous of them. And to aggravate the buſineſs with *Soliman*, it was added, that many of the inhabitants of the Iſlands belonging to the Commonwealth, were in the Fleet, when it went to *Corone*: and to work the like effect in *Henry*, that the Doctors of *Padua*, publiquely appointed thereunto, had determined the point of marriage on *Ceſar*'s ſide, and againſt the King of *England*, whereby he lay at this time under Eccleſiaſtical cenſure by the Pope. Yet the Senate was very much pleaſed, that in this convention, wherein the Duke of *Milan* was preſent, the match was concluded between him, and the Lady *Coriſterna*, daughter to the King of *Denmark*, by *Iſabella*, *Ceſars* Siſter; which was very much deſired by the Venetians, that they might ſee the ſucceſſion of the State of *Milan*, ſetled in the Family of the *Sforzas*, and in a Prince of that State, and an Italian: for which the Commonwealth had undergone ſo long, and ſo ſore Wars. *Ceſar* went then from *Bullogna* towards *Milan*, intending to take Sea (as he did) at *Genua*, whither twenty five Gallies were brought by *Doria*, to convey him to *Barcelona*; and when he came to *Cremona*, he writ lovingly to the Venetian Senate, in which Letters he ſeemed to admit of their excuſes, in not aſſenting to the new League, and deſired to be ſerviceable to the Commonwealth.

Thus fair intelligence and friendſhip continuing between the Commonwealth and the Houſe of *Auſtria*, and all parties appearing deſirous, that the diſputes between the King of the Romans, and the Commonwealth, touching the reſtitution of certain places poſſeſs'd by *Ferdinand*, but belonging to the Commonwealth, might be decided, wherin *Ceſar* himſelf did alſo intercede, at laſt, by conſent of all ſides, *Lodovico Porro*, a Senator of *Milan*, was choſen Umpire, and *Girolamo Bulſark*, a Dutch Doctor, Arbytrator for *Ferdinand*, and *Matheo Avogaro Breſſiano*, Doctor, and Chevalier for the *Venetians*: Theſe met in the City of *Trent*, whither alſo Secretary *Andrea Roſſo* was ſent by the Senate, that he might be aſſiſtant at this negotiation, and might inform the Senate of all that ſhould paſs; who hoping to have the Forts of *Marano* and *Gradiſca* reſtored unto them by friendly compoſition, upon the diſburſing of a certain ſum of money, ſent *Jouanni Delfino*, *Podeſta* of *Verona* to *Trent* likewiſe, to aſſiſt in this buſineſs; but ſo many difficulties were met withal in this, and in other affairs, as the convention was diſſolved, without having concluded any thing. The Auſtrian Commiſſary would have nothing treated of, but ſuch things, and in ſuch manner, as might prove advantagious to his Prince: But when it

was propoſed on the Venetians behalf, that ſuch things ſhould alſo be decided, wherein they and their ſubjects ſuffered; as the reſtitution of ſome Towns, and chiefly thoſe which were wrongfully poſſeſt by the Auſtrian ſubjects, after the capitulation of *Bullegnia*; *Bulſarch* either ſaying he had not ſufficient commiſſion to treat thereof, or making ſome other excuſe, ſought to delay, & deviate ſuch Treaties, but chiefly he would have nothing to do with the reſtitution of *Aquileia*, which *Ferdinand* was ty'd to return to the Patriarch, as to the lawful owner thereof: a thing which was deſired, and endeavour'd by the Venetians for many reſpects, and without which they would not aſſent to other things, though they ſhould be agreed upon.

Whilſt theſe things paſt amongſt the Chriſtian Princes, the Turks being very intent upon the recovery of *Corone*, had prepared a gallant Fleet, and ſent it early to Sea, to that purpoſe; To give a counterpoiſe to which, *Doria* had likewiſe put together many Men of War, in ſeveral places. Theſe preparations forc'd the Venetians to re-arm their Gallies, which they had in the preceding Winter diſarmed: but howſoever, continuing their former reſolution, of not intermodling in any thing between theſe Princes, they renewed their orders of the former year to their General *Capello*, who continued ſtill his charge in the Fleet: wherefore he ſent *Franciſco Dandalo*, Captain of the Gulf, with a good ſquadron of Gallies into this our Sea, to guard it from the Pyrats, who being very many, did much harm, and ſent four other Gallies for the ſame end to *Zant*, and the great Gallion to *Cape Malio* (a very commodious place for the Navigation of our Ships which go unto the Levant) a very great Veſſel of ſtupendious building, and excellently well provided of men and artillery: and he, with the reſt of the Fleet, kept about *Corfu*, being contented, according to the Senates intention, to keep their State and affairs uninjured. But all inconveniencies could not be prevented (it being always dangerous, and very ſcandalous, that men of War, belonging to ſeveral Potentates, ſhould keep in the ſame Seas) *Franciſco Dandalo*, Captain of the Gulf, being come with 6 Gallies towards the coaſts of *Dalmatia*, and being gotten to the *Saſino*, a place not far from *Vallona*, he might diſcover twelve of the barbarian Gallies, which taking at firſt to be thoſe of the Proveditor *Canala*, he bare up with them: but when he came ſo near them, as that he ſaw they were Pyrats, he fell roomward, intending (as he ſaid afterwards) to make way for them, to the end, that putting further from land, in hope to eſcape the better, he might the more commodiouſly fall upon them, and fight them, where they ſhould not be able to ſave themſelves. But not having communicated this his intention to any of the Maſters of his reſerve, they thought he fell roomward, not to fight, but to fly: ſo as they tarrying behind, he was followed only by *Marco Cornaro*, who commanded a Baſtard Gally: being this mean while got very near the Pyrats, they, finding the advantage of our Gallies being ſeparated and divided, and being themſelves very well provided of arms and ſouldiers, advanced, fell upon our Gallies which were parted from the reſt, had the better of them, and carried both them, and them that were in them, into *Barbary*, and amongſt the reſt, *Dandalo* and *Cornaro*. The Venetians reſented this very much, both by reaſon of the Pyrats daring

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and of their Commanders negligence and indiſcretion, who had been the cauſe of ſhame to the Gallies of the Commonwealth, which were ſo highly eſteemed at Sea. Some of the Senators did therefore move, that a good Squadron of Gallies ſhould be ſent to the Rivers of *Affrica*, particularly to the *Gerbi* and *Algiers*, to burn all the Gallies that they ſhould finde in thoſe parts, in revenge of the injury received from thoſe men: But finding afterwards that they ſhould do ill to provoke all the Inhabitants of that Country, with whom they held commerce, whereby the Venetian Navigation might be hindred and diſturbed, they abſtained from that advice. But to free the Commonwealth from any note of infamy, which they might ſeem to have contracted thorow the cowardize or ignorance of one Officer, *Dandalo* having firſt been carried to *Conſtantinople*, from whence, chiefly by *Grittis* means, he was ſet at liberty, and return'd to *Venice*, was baniſh'd to *Zara*, for having badly adminiſtred the affairs of the Commonwealth.

Another more remarkable accident fell out at the ſame time, *Girolimo da Canale*, Commiſſary of the Fleet, was gone from *Corfu*, with twelve Gallies, to convoy the great Gallies of Merchandize, bent for *Soria* and *Aleſſandria*, and to ſecure their Navigation, wherein they were at that time much diſturbed by Pyrats; and being all of them come in company together to *Candia*, when they came near land, they were forced to caſt anchor in a place where the great Gallies rid ſome miles diſtant from the leſſer. Being in this poſture at Sun-ſetting on all Saints day, ſome Veſſels were diſcovered making towards them, by thoſe that were on the Top-maſt in the greater Gallies. The Commiſſary being ſoon advertized hereof by *Daniele Tregadino*, Captain of the Gallies that were bent for *Alexandria*, the Commiſſary thinking that they were Pyrats, generouſly reſolved to put to Sea with his Convoy, and to fight them: This his ſuſpition was increaſed, by the news he heard of what way the Turkiſh Fleet took; which being gone from *Modone*, to winter at *Conſtantinople*, the Pyrats were diſmiſs'd; who at ſuch times, go in greater numbers, and more licentiouſly a Free-booting. The Commiſſary was the more incouraged, becauſe his Gallies were very well provided with old Mariners, the moſt of them being of *Dalmatia*, and well armed; but when he was gotten far out to Sea, he found he had only ſeven of his Gallies with him; for the reſt, were it either that the rowers were not of equal ſtrength and diſcipline, or that their Captains were not alike couragious, tarried behind.

The Commiſſary not being any ways abaſh'd hereat, playing the part of a good Commander, and skilful Seaman, commanded that all the Gallies which were with him ſhould ſet up two Lanthorns a piece, to make the Enemy believe the number of his Veſſels were more. Then ſtaying in ſight of them, he reſolved to let all their Gallies paſs by him, that he might have the wind of them, and fall upon them at advantage. Theſe were twelve Turkiſh Gallies commanded by a Son of the Moor of *Alexandria*, one of *Solimans* Captains, who when the Fleet was diſſolved, returned with thoſe Gallies to his Guard of *Barbary*. The young Moor, when he ſaw our Gallies

lies, were it either that he never intended to come nearer the Iſland, or to commit any pillage, or that ſeeing ſo many Lanthorns in our Gallies, he was afraid and durſt not do it, ſteering on his courſe, paſt by the Commiſſaries Gallies; who plying his Oars followed the Turkiſh Gallies in the Reer, and began to ſhoot at them, both on the Flank and poop, and did much prejudice them, not receiving any harm himſelf by the Turks Artillery by reaſon of his Station. The firſt of our Gallies that grapell'd was the Admiral, which luckily light upon the Moors Admiral, between whom a cloſe and dangerous fight began. Many Janeſaries were upon this Gally, who for a long time valiantly with-ſtood the aſſault, but there was another Gally which kept cloſe to the Commiſſaries Admiral, from whence he was continually ſupply'd with Souldiers, to make good the conflict; ſo as the young Moor being ſorely wounded, and diſpairing of being able to defend his Gally any longer, threw himſelf into the Sea, and ſought to ſave himſelf, in ſome other of his Gallies; but being taken by our men, and with much ado making himſelf known, he obtain'd his life, but his Gally became our prey, and was delivered by the Commiſſary to the Maſter of the next Gally, whilſt he himſelf with the reſt purſued the victory: In fine, four of them were taken, two ſunk, and the reſt hoyſting all their ſails, ſaved themſelves early from the danger. The Turkiſh Admiral, when he ſaw our Gallies aſſault him on the Flank, hoyſted ſail, and ſought to ſave himſelf, but his ſails being burnt and conſumed by certain artificial fire-works ſhot from out our Commiſſaries Gally, and his Rudder being by and by born away by a Cannon-ſhot, he was forc'd to ſtay, and to endeavour his ſafety by fighting.

The Souldiers and common people of *Candia*, were well pleaſed with this ſucceſs, but the Magiſtrates and graver ſort of people, were as much diſpleaſed, conſidering that the Gallies which were taken, were no Pyrates Veſſels, but belonging to *Soliman*, a powerful Prince, who it was feared might hold the peace made between him and the Common-wealth, violated by this act, and might eaſily be provoked to make war againſt her Territories. Wherefore the Magiſtrates of *Candia*, and Sea Captains meeting together, they reſolved to ſend the Gallies immediately back to *Barbary*, and took order the mean while for curing the Turkiſh Captain, uſing him civilly, and excuſing their fault by the errour of night.

When this News came to *Venice*, the Senators were for the ſame cauſe greatly troubled, and the rather, for that the Harveſt proving very bad this year, and they having hoped to feed the numerous Inhabitants of the City, with corn which they expected out of *Turky*, from whence they had not only obtain'd tranſportation of corn, but had begun to load divers of their ſhips therewithal, they feared leſt this offence might be done unſeaſonably: For the Turkiſh Officers who were upon the ſhore ſide, had already, without expecting any farther Orders from the Court, embargode the Venetian ſhips, which were at the loading places, ready to carry corn away. For this it was propos'd by ſome, that another Commiſſary ſhould be choſen in lieu of *Canale*, who ſhould be deprived of that place, and ſent for back,

back, to give an account of what he had done. But this action was by others stoutly defended, as done by military reason, and worthy to be rewarded, not punished; for that it did not become the dignity and honour of the Commonwealth, which was so highly esteemed, so punish, or but to appear inclined to punish such servants, who behaving themselves well and valiantly, had discharged the trust imposed in them faithfully. Thus these proposals being laid aside, it was resolved by a joynt consent, to send *Daniel de Federici*, Secretary to the *Provadi*, to *Constantinople*, who was a discreet man, and well experienced in other affairs; that he might justifie what was done, *viva voce*, to the *Buscia*, and to *Solimans* self; shewing the necessity which had inforced our Captain, out of apprehension of the armed Vessels which came so near him, and by the darkness of the night, to fight their friends Gallies; and that on the other side, the sudden sending back of those, and the good usage of their Captain, might sufficiently prove their sincere good will towards the Grand Signior. The admittance of these things was much furthered by the good offices done by *Ebrahim* and *Gritti*; but especially by the new war of *Persia*, on which *Soliman* having already fix'd his mind, he would not promote any thing that might divert him from it. Thus these commotions being honourably appeased at *Constantinople*, *Canale* reaped the more praise and glory; who dying not long after in the same charge, the Senate in acknowledgment of his long and faithful service, granted a certain annual Revenue in fee, during *Canales* life time, to his Son *Antonio*, in the Island of *Corfu*. *Canale* was certainly a gallant man in his time, and very famous for his experience in Sea affairs, and for his noble daring, which made him easily attempt whatsoever difficulties.

These things hapned in the Venetian Fleet, but that of the Emperours, after it had tarried long about *Naples* and *Messina*, went boldly on to relieve *Corone*, though her Captains knew, that the Enemy was very strong in those Seas: And they were successful therein, for according to their intention, they brought relief to their men who were besieged in *Corone*, and were already reduced to the utmost extremity: But conceiving some better hopes afterwards of greater success and victory against the Turkish Fleet, which leaving the way open to its Enemies, did by its direct running away, declare the weakness, and fear thereof, it proved by fault of the chief Commander, or by the perpetual misfortune of Christendome, vain, and to no purpose. Nay it may be said, that this cowardise of the Turkish Commanders proved more prejudicial to Christendom; for *Soliman*, not satisfied with those to whom he had committed the Government of his Fleet, and blaming their fear and want of expetience, sent for *Cariadino*, nicknamed *Barbarossa*, who of a Pyrate, being become a Prince, did then command over the City of *Algiers*, and gave him the charge of his maritime affairs. This man was very expert at the Mariners art, and having roved a long time with armed ships upon the Sea, knew very particularly all the Christian situations, and Sea-coasts about *Barbary*; and had got a great repute, by many prosperous successes against the Moors in the African Rivers, and particularly by the rout which

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he gave the Spaniſh Gallies as they paſt four years before under the Goverment of Don *Hugo di Moncada*, to *Genua*, to find out *Doria*. He may be ſaid to be the firſt that taught the Turks how to manage a Fleet & all things elſe belonging to the maritime Militia, who had hitherto minded the grounding, and increaſing of their power only by Land Armies. By his counſel the arming of Gallies with Slaves was firſt inſtituted, which were formerly uſed to be armed with raw and unexperienced men; & by him were many other orders made, whereby the Turkiſh Fleets are become more formidable to Chriſtian Princes. *Soliman* being reſolved to make uſe of this man, gave the Venetians quick notice thereof, to the end that they might treat with him, if they ſhould meet him hereafter, as with one that appertain'd to his Court, knowing that he was continually purſued by their Gallies, as one who had done them much prejudice. And truely he was afterwards an Inſtrument of much miſchief to Chriſtendom, and particularly to the State of *Venice*, as ſhall be made known by what ſucceeded.

At this time, for all theſe eminent dangers that threatned Chriſtendom, the Pope was notwithſtanding ſo intent, and more then ever fervent in his accuſtomed deſires, of exalting his Nephews, and his Family, as he had had ſecret Treaties with the King of *France*, of a Marriage between *Katharine*, to his Nephew *Lorenzo de Medici*, and *Henry* Duke of *Orleans*, the King's ſecond Son, to effect the which, he promiſed the King to come to *Nize*. The News of this interview being noiſed abroad, though the buſineſs which was there to be treated of was not certainly known, did much trouble the Venetians; chiefly, becauſe it was given out, that the Emperour was to meet there alſo. The actions of theſe Princes were therefore diligently obſerved by the Senators, who had learned by what had paſs'd at the Diet at *Cambrai*, and by more recent affairs, that all things ought to be apprehended, and ſuſpected, from the ambition of Princes. But the interview which ſhould have been in *July*, being put off to *September*, the true cauſe of this meeting was diſcovered; for the better ordering whereof, the Biſhop of *Faenza* met at *Nize* for the Pope, and Monſieur *Le Grand* for the King, which freed the Venetians of their jealouſies. The Pope acquainted them afterwards with his deſigne, and with the cauſe thereof; wherein not concealing his intention of his Neeces Marriage any longer, he thought to diſguiſe it in other colours; and that he did not look ſo much at his own particular intereſt in this Treaty, as at the common good, and the ſafety of *Italy*: Which he knew, and which the Senate had formerly well conſidered, did conſiſt in nothing more, then in keeping the Forces of theſe two Princes as equally ballanced as might be; ſo as the power of the one, might be counterpoyſed by the others; wherefore doubting leſt the King of *France* deſpairing of the Italian Princes friendſhip, might not give over all thoughts of the affairs of *Italy*, and ſo *Ceſar* might be confirm'd in his grandeſſa, and be made as it were Arbitrator of all things, he had deſired to tye himſelf in the band of allyance with him, as he had done with *Ceſar*; ſo as his authority might be ſtill the greater with both the one and the other of them, upon all occaſions. But

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though the Venetians knew theſe reaſons, yet thinking that they had diſcharged themſelves ſufficiently therein, by refuſing the new League propoſed by *Ceſar*, whereby the King of *France* might hope in time to alienate them wholly from him; and they deſiring quiet at this time, whereby the Common-wealth might take breath, after ſo long and ſo ſore moleſtations, and put themſelves into a better condition; all things muſt needs be troubleſome to them, whereby this quiet might too ſoon be diſturbed; which they thought might happen the more eaſily by this alliance between the Pope and King of *France*; for that having found by many experiences, that the deſire of aggrandizing his Family, prevailed with the Pope above all other affections, they thought he might eaſily be drawn by the King of *France*, to favour the affairs of *Milan*; the King promiſing him to do it for the Duke of *Orleans*, now become his Nephew. But though both the Interview, and the Marriage were had, the Pope not going to *Nize* to meet the King, but to *Marcelles*, to pleaſe him the more, where the Marriage was celebrated with a great deal of Pomp; yet theſe aſpiring thoughts which were ſuſpected, ſucceeded not; by reaſon of divers accidents which hapned both before and after the Popes death, which enſued not long after. Thus *Italy* remained quiet, and the Venetians free from being bound to take up Arms. The commotions in *Germany*, helped, as was thought, to keep the Pope from thinking of Novelties; for the Lanſgrave of *Heſſe*, having (together with many other Proteſtant Princes) raiſed many men, to reinveſt *Uſderick*, Duke of *Wittenbergh* in his State, it was ſaid, that they meant to paſs therewith into *Auſtria*, againſt *Ferdinand*, and to come from thence into *Italy*; a thing which the Germans did much deſire, and by the very name whereof, their Army became the greater. But theſe tumults were appeaſed, by the agreement made with the King of the Romans, againſt whom their chiefeſt quarrel was, for his poſſeſſing the Territories of the Duke of *Wittenbergh*.

Thus *Italy* enjoyd great quiet, and the Common-wealth was on this ſide free from trouble. But for the matters of Sea, they were at continual expence, and full of State jealouſies; ſo as ſhe could not be ſaid to enjoy the benefit of peace perfectly.

The next enſuing year of 1534. was not freer from the voyages of Fleets, and from theſe ſuſpicions, then were the preceding years; for a powerfull Fleet was prepared at *Conſtantinople*, which was likely to be the more formidable, in that it was to be commanded by one ſo valiant and ſo well experienced as *Cariadino* hath been ſaid to be. Great ſtore of armed Veſſels were likewiſe provided in the Weſt: for *Charles*, thinking that the *Turks* would turn their forces chiefly againſt his Territories, did all he could to encreaſe his Fleet, ſo as it might be able to reſiſt them; and the King of *France*, who grew dayly more impatient of being in peace, armed 30 Galleys at *Marcelles*, to what end it was not yet known. Many Frigats were alſo rigg'd on the Coaſts of *Barbary*, not onely to pillage, but to joyn with the Turkiſh Fleet, and to adhere to *Cariadino*; and amongſt other Pyrates, *Sinam Ciſſa*, a renegado, ſurnamed *Il Ginoeo*, was very famous, as being a bold man, and very well experienced at Sea affairs.

Wherefore

Wherefore the Pope, to ſecure his channels from theſe Incurſions, and, as ſome thought, out of other deſignes, armed ten Galleys. Theſe ſo many Fleets made the Venetians very jealous, and forced them to be at great expenſe in increaſing the number of their Galleys, and of their Garriſons upon the Sea coaſts. Wherefore being neceſſitated to uſe all helps, by reaſon of ſo many extraordinary expenſes, they had recourſe unto the Pope again, that they might be permitted to raiſe an hundred thouſand Duckets, for theſe publick, and important neceſſities, out of the revenues of the Clergie of their Common-wealth.

There were ſome, who having found the Pope to be very hard to be brought to this, adviſed, that either the State might raiſe theſe moneys of themſelves, or that they ſhould be a little more urgent with the Pope; alledging that great ſtore of wealth was appropriated to the Church in their State; which being free, and exempt from all publick contributions, the reſt of the Country was ſubject to inſupportable grievances, and yet the charges of Fleets and Souldiers was raiſed for the generall freedomes and poſſeſſions: and that it was not to be believed, that it was the intention of thoſe pious men, who had thus endowed the Churches, to deſtroy the Common-wealth thereby, by depriving her of making uſe of the revenues of any particular men, whereby the publick Treaſury was maintained: That they found the Pope to be ill affected to their Common-wealth, and the affairs thereof, which had made him often deny theſe ſo reaſonable requeſts, by ſtill interpoſing new delayes, and difficulties.

Yet ſuch was the Senators zeal to religion, and their reſpect ſuch to the Apoſtolick ſea, as ſuffering theſe to overcome all other conſiderations, theſe mens advice was not liſtned unto; but the major part of the Senatours did reſolutely affirm;

That it did not become that Common-wealth, which was borne and continued Chriſtian, and had been perpetually obedient, and kept joyned to the Church and Pope of Rome, *whereby ſhe had purchaſed great and exemplary glory; to do now any thing which might detract from her ſo many former meritorious actions, or to differ from what ſhe had been for ſo many preceding years, by ſeizing upon the Churches revenues, or by violating therein the Pope's will: That the Commonwealth had governed and ſuſteined her ſelf in harder times then theſe, without any ſuch means, or uſing any ſuch ſcandalous courſes: That they were not to diſtruſt, but that he who ſees the hearts of men, and who is able to do all things, would even in greater neceſſities, furniſh them by unknown wayes, with much more prevalent means, then thoſe weake ones, which they ſought to finde out by ſuch inhumane and dangerous counſels: That if the Pope ſhould continue in his wonted obdurancie, the wiſdome of the Venetian Senate ought to appear both before God and man, to be ſo much the more pious and mature.*

This opinion prevayling, and they continuing to proceed with the Pope with all humanity and reverence, they at laſt obtained a ſubſidie of one hundred thouſand Duckets to be raiſed from the Clergie; a thing

thing not of ſo much eſteem in it ſelf, as that divers difficulties being thereby overcome, it was thought, the like might be come by the more eaſily afterwards; as alſo, that it argued the Popes good opinion of the Common-wealth. Monies being raiſed by this means, and by many other wayes, the Senate minded the increaſe of their Galleys, (which were ſtill commanded by General *Capello,*) and the ſending of Foot into their Iſlands, and Maritime Towns, that their affairs might be ſafe, and that they might expect what the Iſſue of ſo many Fleets would be.

The Turks ceaſed not, whileſt their Fleet was preparing, to attempt the regaining of *Corone* by land Forces, wherewith they did beſiege it ſo cloſely, as the *Spaniſh* Souldiers growing impatient, and being almoſt deſperate by reaſon of their ſo great ſufferings in almoſt all things, ſallyed out to aſſault the Turkiſh Camp: but ſucceeding ill therein, (for they were worſted by the enemy) loſt many of their men, and were forc'd to retreat back into the Fort: They found themſelves by theſe loſſes, and by the peſtilence, reduced to ſo ſmall a number, as when the ſhips arrived which brought relief from *Cicily*, the Spaniſh Commanders deſpairing to be able to maintain the Fort any longer, got into the ſame ſhips, and left the Town in the power of the Turks. Yet it was a common opinion, and not unlikely, that this was done by expreſs order from the Emperour; who knowing, that he could not maintain that place, which was environed by the enemies forces, but by continuall great expence, and with ſmall hopes of further progreſs, reſolved to keep it no longer, to but little purpoſe. The loſs of *Corone* proved grievous to the Venetians in one reſpect, ſince they ſaw the little hopes which they and the other Chriſtian Princes had of keeping the Turks under; ſeeing they were not able to keep what they had got: But, on the other ſide, finding that *Corone*, though poſſeſs'd by the Chriſtians, not to be a ſituation ſufficient to overcome ſo many difficulties, nor to attempt any thing againſt the Turks, with any hope of conſiderable profit: and that, on the contrary, this place afforded occaſion of many ſcandals, and was apparently dangerous to draw them into another war, the Imperiall Fleets being upon this occaſion to frequent their ſeas, which would cauſe great jealouſies in the Turks, this did a little allay their ſorrow, for the loſs of that City. *Cariadino* being this mean while put to Sea with an hundred ſail, and come very near the mouth of our Gulf, the Venetian Generall, who watched his wayes, prepared according to the Senates former orders, to draw more inward, that he might not abandon the cuſtody, and ſafety of the Gulf: But the Turkiſh Fleet ſteering its courſe towards the *Tirrhen* Sea, made for the ſhore of *Calavria*, and landing ſuddenly, did not onely plunder the Country, but took two Towns on the Sea ſide, though of no great value; great was the fear which poſſeſs'd the mindes of all that were in *Naples*, and in *Rome*, by the Fleets coming into theſe parts. For had *Cariadino*, pleaſed to bend his courſe towards theſe Cities, the inhabitants wanting ſouldiers, and being in great confuſion, had neither power, nor will to withſtand ſo unexpected an aſſault. But the Turks taking many prizes, went to the Iland of *Ponts*, where taking in water for their

occasions, they went from thence to the *African* rivers, to effect their chief design, which was to assault *Amuleasses*, King of *Tunis*. *Cariadino* was very well inform'd of all the affairs of that Country, of the situations, places, the Prince his forces, and how the people stood affected towards him. Wherefore using both force and fraud, he hoped to compass his end easily, as he did. He gave out, that he brought along with him, *Rosette* the Kings brother, whose name he knew those people would be very well pleased with; and falling upon the Enemy, and upon the City, where he knew they were weakest, after some variety of fortune, at last he took *Tunis*.

At this time the other Fleets did not any great matters; but it happened that it behoved the Venetians Commissary to proceed with violence against some *Malta* Vessels, and to rebuke their Captains, who was *Phillippo Mazza*, Knight of *Jerusalem*; who having rashly not only passed through the Eastern Seas with armed Vessels, but even entred into the Gulf, pillaging not only the Turkish Bottomes, but those of the Christians also, was taken by the Captain of the Gulf, and sent to *Venice*; where his cause being to be heard before the *Consiglio di quaranta criminale* —— to whom the business was by the Senate referr'd, he, who had his liberty upon Bail, not waiting for his sentence, fled away with three Pinnaces, and with much arrogancy, and neglect of the Commonwealth, continued doing mischief. Wherefore the Commissary, who watch'd his ways narrowly, lighting upon him at unawares, caused his head to be cut off. The Turkish slaves were set at liberty, and sent to *Constantinople*, the Pinnace wherein *Mazza* was, was burnt; the other two were soon after sent to the Emperour, who desired them; who seeming at first to be somewhat troubled at this accident, because the Malteses had put themselves under his protection; being better inform'd of the action and of the occasion thereof, was pacified, and the great Master of *Malta*, blamed *Mazza*'s action, as done not only without his leave, but contrary to his orders.

Whilst these things went thus, the Pope had been troubled with long sickness, whereof he dyed in the height of all his prosperity.

He was a Prince of high, but unsettled thoughts; addicted beyond measure to his own affections, so as suffering himself to be master'd, sometimes by fear, sometimes by covetousness, he appeared various and inconstant in his actions; chiefly in his friendship with Princes, and with the Commonwealth, he preserved peace and union a long time, more for his own interest, then out of any good will; and because the Senate, according as the present condition of times required, would not give him any the least cause of breaking with them, by their being obedient to him in all things.

Alexander Farnese a Roman, and an ancient Cardinal, and one much esteemed in the Court, succeeded him in the Popedome, who took to him the name of *Paul the Third*. Divers were the conceptions which were had of the new Pope; but most were of opinion, that continuing to keep neutral amongst Princes, as he had done for fifty years together, whilst he was Cardinal, and which was no small cause of bringing him to this supream dignity, he would only mind the common good, without siding with any Prince, that he might

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the better intend the peace and quiet of *Italy*. Which the Venetians did not diſlike, who deſired to ſee a fair ſettlement made of all things, and perſwaded themſelves by reaſon of the good affection which he ſeemed always to bear to the Commonwealth before his being Pope, that if he ſhould forego this his neutrality, he would rather confirm the Leagues which they made firſt with his Predeceſſor *Clement*, then think upon any new affairs. They therefore reſolved to ſend him eight Embaſſadours; *Marco Minio*, *Tomaſo Mocenico*, *Nicola Tiepoli*, *Feronimo Peſaro*, *Jovan Badoaro*, *Gaſparo Contarini*, *Frederico Riniero*, and *Lorenzo Bragadine*: To whom they gave no other imployment, ſave according to the uſual cuſtome, to promiſe obedience to the new Pope, not thinking it fit to demand any thing till they might diſcover ſomewhat of his thoughts, ſince this his new fortune and dignity. But the Emperour being more deſirous to know what his deſigns might be, and being ſtill apprehenſive of the French proceedings, try'd the Pope preſently, touching the renewing of the League which he had made with his Predeceſſor: Whereunto that he might the more eaſily perſwade him, he uſed means likewiſe to the Venetians, that they would re-confirm their firſt capiculations with him; exhorting them thereunto out of the conſideration of the quiet of *Italy*, which they ſo much deſired. And the which, if they would joyn with him, they ſhould be able to make good againſt any commotions of the French, though the new Pope ſhould diſſent from it; and that nothing could prevail more to make *Paul* ſide with them in the beginning of this his Popedome, then to ſee this union and good intelligence between the Commonwealth and him; whereby it would behove the other Potentates of *Italy* to depend upon them. To the which the Venetians neither totally aſſenting, nor diſſenting, as being far from any innovation, they ſhewed firſt that there was no neceſſity to re-confirm the League, and then, that they would be very ready to do it, if it ſhould be needful; and thus ended the year 1534.

The next year the Pope, who diligently attended all weighty affairs, declared himſelf more openly, that he would interpoſe in making peace between *Ceſar* and the King of *France*, to whoſe Courts he ſent expreſs Legats. But he ſeemed to be chiefly mindful of the affairs of *Italy*, and particularly of the protection of the Commonwealth; notwithſtanding, (as all humane actions, eſpecially thoſe of Princes, are various, and accidentally changeable) an occaſion hapned of ſuddenly altering this good intention of the Popes, with danger of troubling the peace of *Italy*.

In the time of the vacancy of the Popedome, the marriage was celebrated between *Guido Ubaldo*, Son to *Franciſco Maria*, Duke of *Urbine*, and *Julia* ſole daughter to *Jovan Maria Varano*, Duke of *Camerino*, upon whom her fathers eſtate deſcended. This Match was at firſt approved of by *Paul*, and it was thought that affairs would paſs peaceably on. But ſoon after, the Pope being either perſwaded to the contrary by others, or falling of himſelf (as it is often ſeen in thoſe who are got to great proſperity) into greater and higher thoughts; began to think this a fit occaſion to exalt his houſe, to which this fee-farm of the Church was to be granted, as a beginning

to raiſe it above the condition of private men. He therefore declared openly, that he would not ſuffer that the Dukedome of *Camerino* ſhould be poſſeſs'd (as he ſaid) contrary to reaſon, by the Duke of *Urbine*, ſince it appertain'd only to him to diſpoſe thereof, as of a Fee-farm eſcheated to the Church. This did much trouble the Venetians, who had taken the Duke of *Urbine* into their protection, and who bare greet good will to him, and to his family, for the good ſervice he had done unto the Commonwealth: For the Pope, to boot with Eccleſiaſtical cenſures, prepared to take up temporal Arms, and had raiſed a good number of Foot, to hinder the fortifying of *Camerino*, and the Gariſon which the Duke was preparing to put thereinto. They therefore uſed all the means they could to appeaſe the Pope, and the rather, becauſe the Duke willingly condiſcended that the buſineſs might be decided by reaſon. But the Pope liſtening neither to intreaties nor to reaſon, ſaid, he could not govern himſelf herein, otherwiſe then reaſon of State did adviſe him; and not diſſembling his intentions, he ſaid he would regain that, by force of Armes, which was taken from him: A thing which was thought by all men to be of great concernment, the condition of theſe times being conſidered, by reaſon of the ſo many troubles of Chriſtendom, of the Turkiſh Forces, and of the new Hereſies, which did increaſe apace in many noble Provinces. Therefore the Venetians, not leaving any thing undone, to extinguiſh this ſmall ſpark, which might burſt forth into a greater combuſtion, repreſented it to *Ceſar*, intreating him to interpoſe his authority, in maintaining that peace throughout all *Italy*, of which, to his ſo great praiſe, he had been the chief Authour. This being liſtened unto by *Ceſar*, who interceded fervently therein with the Pope, helped very much to allay his very firſt heat; but it was thought he was the more pacified by other propoſals made by thoſe that favoured the Duke, and the Venetians, of greater moment for the advancement of his houſe; that he might give a noble fortune in *Romagna*, to his ſon *Pietro Luigi*, and reſtore the Cities of *Ravenna* and *Cervia* to the Venetians, to the end, that the State and perſon of *Piero Luigi*, might be taken into protection by the Venetians, whereby the new Prince might be in great ſafety; for it was not to be doubted, but that the Venetians, both in gratitude for the favour received, and for their own intereſts, (ſince it would be better for them to have a particular perſon be Lord of that State, then the Church) would upon all occaſions, maintain the greatneſs of the Family of *Farneſe*. This offer being willingly liſtened unto by the Pope, hoping to meet with ſome greater preferment for *Luigi*, did ſatisfie his ambition, till ſome better opportunity might be met withall to effect his deſire. He therefore began to value the Counſel of the Venetians the better, and in particular favour to them, was content, that the deciding of the difference concerning the ſtate of *Camerino*, ſhould be deferr'd to another time. But there were many greater things which troubled the cogitations of Princes at this time; not without ſome moleſtation to the Venetian Senate; For *Ceſar* prepared a great Fleet, to paſs therewith into *Affrica*, to recover *Tunis*. He was eagerly bent upon this enterpriſe, moved thereunto chiefly by reaſon of State, to ſecure the

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Kingdome of *Naples*; which *Cariadino* did insolently threaten to assault: and also not to suffer the Turks to grow more powerfull in these parts, whereby they might infest, and trouble the rivers of *Spain*: which made his Subjects much desire this enterprise. But he was hereunto incited also by a great desire of warlike honour; thinking it a thing becoming so great a King as himself, to assist the forlorne King *Amulcasses*, and to repossess him of the State whereof he was legitimate Lord: though others, seeking to detract from his glory, said, that he sought hereby to shun the renewing war in *Hungary*, and to evade the recovery of what the *Turks* had taken from his brother *Ferdinando*, fearing to encounter the Turkish Armies. He gave a particular account of all these his designes, to the Venetian Senate, seeming very zealous of the common good of Christendome, but particularly, a desire of assisting the Common-wealth, and of keeping friendship with her. Wherefore, to satisfie him, the League was renewed in the very self same terms, as was contained in that of *Bologna*, to remove all doubts, that it might be null'd or weakned by Pope *Clement*'s death. And their Embassadour *Mark Antonio Contarini*, the more to shew the continuance of their Amity, was commanded to follow the Emperour whithersoever he should go, as he accordingly did: and processions were made by all the religious orders, throughout *Venice*, and prayers poured out to God, for the happy success of this business. This so great preparation begot severall suspicions in the Turks, which were augmented by the sinister Offices done by *John Forreste*, the French Embassadour at *Constantinople*; who very falsly, but with efficacious reasons, went about to make the *Bashaws* believe, that the Venetians egg'd the Emperour on, to go with those so great forces into *Greece*, against *Soliman*'s dominions.

And notwithstanding the King proceeded otherwise by his Embassadour at Venice, *desiring the Senatours, out of great Zeal, (as he would have it believed) to their service, to be very vigilant in observing* Cesar's *wayes; saying, that they might very well be jealous of this so great preparation for a Fleet, and that many things might be said thereof, tending to the prejudice and eminent danger of the Common-wealth; that they might upon all occasions make use of his Forces, and promise unto themselves all things from his kingdome; and that he desired to witness this unto them again, to the end that they might relie upon these his offers, as might be most usefull and advantagious for them.*

The Senatours were not a little troubled herear, finding clearly, that all this tended only to make the Commonwealth mistrustful, and peradventure, to move them to open war, either with *Cesar*, or *Soliman*. wherefore they should be forced to have recourse to *France*, either for their intercession with the Turks, or for their assistance against the Imperialists.

Yet concealing these their suspicions in part, they returned thanks to the King, for these his friendly offers, which, though they did not think they should now need, yet they acknowledged, that thereby the Common-wealths obligations to that Crown were increased: But they complained much of the bad Offices done them by his Embassadour at Constantinople, *which were so contrary to what was true, and so destructive to their affairs.*

The King hearing this, ſought to free himſelf from fault, by denying, that he had given any ſuch commiſſion to his Embaſſadour. But it was very certain, that the King of *France* had already begun to hold ſome ſecret intelligence with the Turks, concerning things of great concernment, and very prejudiciall to Chriſtendome. And as *Solimans* being now buſied in the wars of *Perſia*, deferr'd the concluſion of this buſineſs, and the future evils, ſo was it foreſeen, that he would the more eaſily embrace the King of *France*, his propoſals; for, that being become more haughty by his having victoriouſly overrun *Perſia* with his Forces, he would be the more deſirous to abate *Ceſars* greatneſs and glory: as alſo, that finding how much his people had ſuffered by the length and difficulty of their march, and how much the *Perſian* Forces were to be vallued, by which he had been much indammaged in his return, he would ſeek to turn his war elſewhere. But the endeavours of the *French* could not yet prevail ſo much againſt the Venetians, as to trouble their peace; nay, *Soliman* (who was got ſo far with his Army into the confines of *Perſia*, as that he had plundered the City of *Tavris*, the Regal ſeat of thoſe Kings, and then paſſing into *Babylonia*, had driven the *Perſian* garriſon out of *Babylon*, and brought that City into his own power,) gave a particular account to the Senate of his proſperous ſucceſſes, and of his putting the enemy to flight; which though it were in high tearms, as concerning the enemy, exaggerating their loſs, and his victories, yet was it with great ſhew of good and continued friendſhip to the Commonwealth. But it was given out, that preſently upon his return to *Conſtantinople*, he would rigg out a very great Fleet, to which purpoſe he had ſent for *Cariadino*, and given other orders, which were evident ſignes, that he would not give over waging war. And in this Interim, the winter being over, *Ceſar* had diſpoſed of all things for the *African* enterpriſe, and had imbarked himſelf at *Barcellona*, whether his whole Fleet was come, conſiſting of three hundred ſail of ſeveral ſhips, commanded by Prince *Doria*, and wherein were forty thouſand fighting men, beſides a multitude of Mariners, and ſlaves, and he was accompanied by the chief Lords of *Spain*, and by the Infante of *Portugal*, who brought eighty ſail of ſhips to *Barcellone*.

The Fleet Sayled firſt to *Sardignia* and put in at *Caglieri*, where neceſſary orders being given for the adminiſtation of War, it paſs'd on to the Carthagenian ſhore (this Country is called *Martia*, famous for the ancient and noble ſeat of the Common-wealth of *Carthage*) where coming to Land neer *Goletta*, he ſuddenly landed his Army, & incamped before it; the taking of this place being thought requiſite toward the taking of *Tunis*. The Turkiſh Gallies in *Goletta* made valient reſiſtance; but the Fort being almoſt quite thrown down by Cannon ſhot, the Town fell into the Spaniards hands. Which is a Cittadel conſiſting of many Baſtions, lying almoſt in the mouth of the Channel, where the Sea water makes a Lake, upon which ſtands the City of *Tunis*, about twelve miles from the Sea. The Spaniards entring into this Lake, they took without any manner of conteſt, about 50 Saile of Gallies, and Flie-boates, which were put there by *Cariadino*, as a ſafe place. *Cariadino* was ſo diſcouraged

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at this loſs, as though coming at firſt out of *Tunis* with his Army, he ſhewed as if he would give the Emperour Battel, yet he ſoon retreated, into the Town of *Bona*; and not thinking himſelf ſafe there neither, for he heard he was purſued by *Doria*, paſſed into *Algiers*. The Cities of *Tunis*, and *Bona* though they were very well Garriſoned, when they ſay themſelves abandoned by their chief Commander, fell ſoon and eaſily into the power of the Spaniards. but *Cariadino* eſcaped all theſe dangers, being reſerved as a ſcourge to Chriſtendom for the ſins thereof; and he went ſoon after to *Conſtantinople*, whether he was ſent for, and meeting *Soliman*, before he was come thither with his Perſian Army, he excuſed the loſs of the Kingdom as well as he could, and was by him received into grace again, and made Governor of his Fleet. And *Ceſar* parting victoriouſly from *Affrica*, gave the Kingdom of *Tunis* which he had won (a noble gift) to *Amuleaſſes*, upon obligation of paying him every year as his Fuditory, 6 *Barbary* Mares, 12 Falcons, and 12000 Crowns, for the pay of 1000 Spaniſh Foot, to be kept as an ordinary Garriſon in *Goletta*, and ſo ſayled with his whole Fleet into *Sicily*: Where having tarried a good while in *Palermo*, and *Meſſina*, he diſmiſt the greateſt part of his Ships and disbanded his Army, keeping only 2000 Foot for his Guard; which things being done he wintered in *Naples* where he was received with extraordinary honour, and entertained with many Solemn ſhows; theſe demonſtrations of joy being made the greater, for that never Emperour was ſeen before in that Kingdom; and by reaſon of the marriage which was at this time there conſummated, between his natural daughter the Lady *Margeret*, and *Alexander de Medici* Duke of *Florence*. Divers Princes and Princes Embaſſadors, came to *Naples* to meet him; and the Common-wealth, as ſhe had done formerly ſent four Embaſſadours thither, *Marco Foſcari*, *Jovan Delphino*, *Vicenzo Grimani*, and *Thomaſo Contarini*, who were to congratulate his Affrican Victory, and acquiſitions; which truly were very acceptable to the Venetians: For though the increaſing of *Ceſar's* power, was, being conſidered in it ſelf, but bad tidings, and much to be ſuſpected in a Prince ſo highly ſpirited, and ſo powerful as was *Charls*, yet was it welcom, ſince thereby his greatneſs did counterpoiſe the like of the *Ottoman* family, and made for the good of Chriſtendom, and eſpecially for the Venetians, who were moſt expoſed to the Turkiſh forces.

Whilſt the Emperour was buſied in theſe affairs, *Franciſco Sforza* Duke of *Milan* died, leaving no Heirs male behind him, to inherit that State; who being dead, the Senate of *Milan* gave the care of that State to *Antonio da Leva*, who was to adminiſter it in the name of the Dutcheſs Dowager, till *Ceſars* mind might be known: Who graciouſly receiving the Dutcheſs, who went to meet him at *Naples*, ſeemed to be much troubled at the Dukes death, either for the love he bore him, or for fear leſt this accident might trouble the peace of *Italy*; or out of diſſembling, ſeeking hereby to ſhew that he did not aſpire unto that State. But the Venetians were much more truly grieved hereat; who having long, and with much expence, maintained war, to the end that that State might have a particular Lord of its own, and one who might be an Italian, ſaw that this their

deſire

deſire grew doubtful, and dangerous by the Dukes death: and that occaſion, and peradventure, neceſſity might thereby ariſe of reaſſuming Arms. Therefore when *Ceſar* was come to *Naples*, they acquainted him with their deſires, and with the affairs of *Italy*, deſiring him to find out ſome means of preſerving that peace which he himſelf had introduced, and ſeemed to deſire ſo much. To which *Ceſar* anſwered, That as the care of providing for that State which held in Fee of him, did belong to him, ſo he deſired to do what might be acceptable to the Italian Princes, and chiefly to the Venetians; that therefore he would willingly hear what they could inform him of, that ſo he might the better order things for the good of *Italy*, and according to their intentions. But the Senate deſiring exceedingly that the Dukedom of *Milan* might be ſtill governed by one particular man, and not knowing well what *Ceſars* intentions were therein, nor being willing (though peradventure little to their good) to offend either him or others, were reſolute in their propoſal, that ſome one ſhould be inveſted in that State, who ſhould be thought proper for the peace of *Italy*: therefore though the four aforeſaid Embaſſadors went to *Naples*, they committed nothing concerning that unto their charge: at which the Emperour marvelling a little, and deſiring to keep fair with the Venetians, as the occaſion required, he promoted new diſcourſe concerning it, concluding finally, as he had formerly ſaid, that not being as yet reſolved on whom to beſtow the Dukedom of *Milan*, he would willingly hear ſomwhat propoſed herein by the Senate, and that he would very well conſider what they ſhould adviſe him to therein: and afterwards growing jealous of the proceedings of the French, he deſired the Venetians, that as they had renew'd their league with him upon occaſion of the Popes death, ſo they would do the like now upon the death of the Duke of *Milan*; that he deſired this, for the better ſecurity of the affairs of *Italy*, and to take all occaſion away from any one that might have a mind to diſturb the quiet which ſhe now enjoy'd; and the Venetians deſiring the ſame, ſatisfied *Ceſar* therein, and confirmed the League upon the former conditions, wherein they reſerved a place for the Pope, and for him who ſhould be choſen Duke of *Milan*. They thought it good to yeild to *Ceſar's* firſt deſires, as well to ſhew their readineſs to pleaſe him, as likewiſe, to ſhun the treating hereof at *Rome*, whither *Ceſar* was ſuddenly to come, which would have given ſome ſuſpition to the Turks; by reaſon of the uſual propoſals made by all Popes againſt Infidels in their Leagues, though of a long while but of little advantage. Which reaſons being either not well known, or not well conſidered by the Pope, he complained of the Venetians, ſaying, that they had taken this reſolution too ſoon, and that they ought to have deferr'd it, till his pleaſure had been known therein, and till the Emperour had been come to *Rome*. By the Duke of *Milan's* death, the King of *France* ſoon renewed his ardent deſire of getting that State; preparing therefore for it, he reſolved firſt to try the Venetians minds concerning it, whoſe State and Forces were of all other things moſt requiſite to effect his deſires therein. He therefore ſent Monſieur *de Bioues*, Gentleman of his chamber, to *Venice*, *To know what the opinion of the Senate was, upon this occaſion, which* (as he ſaid) *was now offered, of ſecuring, and enlarging*

enlarging their Commonwealth. He ſaid, he had forces, monies, friends, and all things elſe, whereby this enterpriſe might be undertaken with aſſured hopes, for which he promiſed to reward them honourably, if they would declare themſelves his Friends and Confederates: which things it not being thought fit to liſten unto at this time, anſwer was made in general terms, That the Commonwealth had always deſired peace, and endeavour'd it, and that it ought now chiefly to do ſo, for that it had need of ſome reſt, after ſo long, and ſo ſore wars; and becauſe the preſent troubles of Chriſtendom, by reaſon of ſo many hereſies riſen in ſeveral parts, perſwaded rather to the extinguiſhing of them, then to the undertaking new Wars; yet they humbly thanked his Majeſty for theſe offers, and for this his confiding communication, which they would never be unmindful of, and that a fitter time might peradventure come of making uſe thereof.

But the King of *France*, not foregoing his thoughts of ſending his armies into *Italy*, to acquire the Dukedom of *Milan*, was very diligent in raiſing men, that he might aſſault it as much at unawares as he could: and to force his way the ſooner, and the more eaſily, and that he might therewithal revenge the injuries which he thought he had received from *Charls Philibert*, Duke of *Savoy*, he thought to enter his State in hoſtile manner, and to poſſeſs himſelf of his Towns. The King was ill ſatisfied with the Duke, for divers reaſons; becauſe he would not reſtore unto him the Towns of *Nice* and *Villa Franca*, which were formerly pawn'd by the Kings of *France* to the Dukes his predeceſſors: becauſe he would not conſent, being often deſired, that the pretenſions which the ſaid King had to the Dukedom, by his Mother, Madam *Lodonica*, ſiſter to the Duke, might be argued by Law: but chiefly, becauſe the Duke, adhering too much to his wife, who was ſiſter to *John* King of *Portugal*, and *Iſabella*, wife to *Charls* the Emperour, appeared in all things too partial to his wives brother.

It was hereby ſeen, that the next year 1536. would prove remarkable, by reaſon of the diſcords between theſe great Princes, which muſt prove the original of great evils. The beginning of this year, the King made the Admiral of *France*, *Philip Chabotte*, Captain General of his Army, and ſent him to aſſault *Piamont*; where finding the Country but badly provided for defence, he took *Turin*, *Foſſano*, and *Pinniorollo*, and had taken *Vercelli*, had not *Antonio da Leva*, who was in the State of *Milan*, ſpeedily advanc'd, with reſolution to ſuccour it, hindred him. The Emperour was exceedingly offended at theſe proceedings, and much incens'd againſt the King of *France*; ſo as preparing diligently to raiſe a powerful Army againſt him, he ſaid, he would aſſault him in his own Kingdom of *France*; and being not long after come to *Rome*, he complained of the King of *France* publiquely in the Conſiſtory; and exaggerating this new action as much as he could, he broke out into open rage, ſaying, he would challenge the King of *France* to fight a ſingle combate, that ſo they might once end ſo many quarrels, themſelves alone: which things cauſed much wonder amongſt all men, and detracted much from the praiſe of theſe otherwiſe ſage and generous Princes, ſince profeſſing never to give way to any thing, yet giving themſelves over to this affection, they ſuffered themſelves to be led on to many unworthy actions. The Pope laboured

boured exceedingly to reconcile them, who had formerly treated of many things to that purpose, but in vain: the chief difficulty lay, in finding out a means which might please them both touching the affairs of *Milan*. In which Treaties, though the Venetians interposed themselves (for by *Cesar*'s pleasure, all things therein were communicated to them) proceedings were had with great caution, by reason of the aforesaid respects, which were made the greater by these new accidents; which occasioned some doubts, that the Emperour to free himself of the troubles of War, and that he might restore the Duke of *Savoy* to his State, who being gone to meet him at *Naples*, entreated him continually to procure his restitution, would at last make some agreement with the King of *France*, who entring *Italy* again, would not suffer the injuries to pass unrevenged, which he thought he had received from other Italian Princes. This was the rather believed, for that the King of *France* had at the Popes perswasion, condiscended to send the Cardinal of *Lorain* to *Rome*, to treat of the conditions of Agreement; by whose coming, there was also a cessation of Arms in *Piamont*. And in these Treaties, *Cesar* was contented to yeild the Dukedom of *Milan* to the King of *France*, on condition, that Monsieur *d'Angulesme*, the Kings third Son, might be thereinto invested by him. But this business was not fully decided, because the King desired that this State might not be conferr'd upon *Angulesme*, but upon the King's second Son, the Duke of *Orleans*; which *Cesar* absolutely denied to do; alledging that this would not be to confirm the peace of *Italy*, which was his desire, but to make way for some other dangerous novelty, by reason of the pretensions that *Orleans* had by his wife *Katherin de Medici*, to the States of *Florence* and *Urbin*. Thus the business not being perfected, *Cesar*, who being gone from *Rome*, tarried some days in divers Towns of *Tuscany*, went forward to *Aste*; where having assembled all his chief Commanders, of which the most famous were, *Errando di Tolledo*, Duke of *Alva*, the Marquis *Guasto*, and Don *Ferrante Gonsaga*, he advised which might be the best way to carry on the War; wherein following rather his own desire, then the reasons and counsel of more experienced men, he resolved to pass with his Army into *Provence*; so as mustering all his men at *Nice*, whither *Doria* came also with fifty Gallies to back the Army with his Fleet, he himself came in person to the same place; from whence penetrating into the confines of *France*, he stay'd with his Camp about the Town of *Aix*, not being resolved whither to bend his course, but intending chiefly to assault either *Marcelles*, or *Ardes*; he spent many days in these his irresolutions, and gave the King (who was come for this purpose to *Lions*) time to gather together a powerful Army of Dutch Foot, and Switzers, to oppose his Forces, and likewise, to get divers Italian Commanders to side with him; who having mustered a good many men about *Mirandola*, prepared to attempt some novelty in *Genua*, and to bring it to the devotion of *France*; so as *Cesar* being now to think of defending his own affairs; and his Army being already much incommodated by the bad temper of the Ayr, where it lay encamp'd, he was forced to retreat, not having done any thing, but shewn a great desire to offend the King of *France*.

But

But before he went into *Provence*, he had ſent *Rodarigo Davilas* to *Venice*, to inform the Senate of his preparation for War, and of his deſign of falling upon *France*; and then to entreat them, that they would have thoſe forces in readineſs, which they were by their articles bound to have, that they might ſpeedily march, as occaſion ſhould require, to the defence of the State of *Milan*. To which the Senate gave this anſwer, that as they had been ready to renew the League, ſo would they be as ready to maintain thoſe things to which they were thereby bound; that therefore, for what appertain'd to them, the State of *Milan* ſhould not want for defence. So they reſolved to raiſe 6000 foot, to be commanded by *Antonio da Caſtello*, General of the Artillery, by Colonel *Babone Naldo*, and others: To which they added 500 light Horſe, armed after the Burgonian manner; ordering, that all theſe ſhould go to *Aſola*, in the Breſcian Territories; to the end, that upon occaſion, they might paſs into the *Cremoneſe*: and the Duke of *Urbin* was ſent for from his State, that he might be ready to go in perſon with the Army. But after the firſt Brunt of the French was over, by the Truce made by the coming of the Cardinal of *Lorain*, by which it was thought they would make way to greater Victories, it ſeemed that the Army, according to the cuſtome of the Nation, would be lazie, and idle, ſo as the Venetians were not neceſſitated to go out of their own Confines. Yet the King of *France* ſeemed ill ſatisfied with the Venetians; not that he knew he had any juſt occaſion to be ſo, becauſe they had not exceeded the bounds of the Confederacy, but becauſe he hoped by theſe complaints, to make them be more reſerved in obſerving thoſe things which they were engaged to do to *Ceſar*; and that they might abſtain from entring into any new, and ſtraiter capitulation with him: he therefore took occaſion to complain of all things. *Ceſare Fregoſo*, having the command of a Troop of Light Horſe, wherewith he was then in *Verona*, went from thence, without leave, to *Genua*, that he might adhere unto the King's party; wherefore he loſt not only his pay, and command, but was baniſhed out of all the Commonwealths Dominions. The King complained bitterly of this, and of other ſuch things, becauſe the Venetians went about (as he ſaid) to hinder his proceedings. And on the other ſide, *Ceſar's* Agents ſeeming to reſent that ſome Foot were diſmiſſed, who were taken into pay, more then needed, interpreted this, as done to increaſe the Enemies Army, which was gathering together in *Mirandola*. Thus jealous were theſe Princes the one of the other, in their having the Commonwealth for their Friend and Confederate.

The Emperour being parted from *Provence*, came to *Genua*, intending to paſs, (as he did afterwards) into *Spain*, having left the Marquis of *Guaſto* in *Italy*, with twenty thouſand Dutch, Spaniſh, and Italian Foot, in the place of *Antonio da Leva*, who was now dead. Other Embaſſadours from the Common-wealth came to meet him at *Genua*, as *Nicolo Tiepoli*, *Mark Antonio Veniero*, *Mark Antonio Cornaro*, and *Antonio Capello*: and he at the ſame time ſent Don *Pietro Gonſales di Mendoza*, to *Venice*, to give an account of the reaſons of his return, and of the deſire he had of Peace: Touching which, relating particularly the things which he Treated

of

of with the King of *France*, which Treaties were afterwards renewed, he ſaid, he had given the King three moneths ſpace to reſolve, whether or no he would accept of the Dukedom of *Milan* for Monſieur *d'Angouleſme*; who by this Agreement was to marry the Widdow Dowager of Duke *Sforza*: But that if the King ſhould not reſolve within that time, he intended to give that State either to Don *Luigi*, Infante of *Portugal*, or elſe, to *Emanuel*, Son to the Duke of *Savoy*; upon which he deſired the Venetians opinion. But he added, that for the eſtabliſhment of theſe things, it would be requiſite to make a new confederacy amongſt the Italian Princes, without the which, he ſaw not how he of himſelf alone could undergo ſo great a burthen; therefore if they ſhould not condiſcend to this, they could not blame him, if failing of this aſſiſtance, he ſhould be forced to betake himſelf to other Ayds, which would be little to their ſatisfaction.

But the Senate being conſtant to their firſt reſolution, of not declaring their minds concerning the Dukedom of *Milan*, unleſs they might be firſt aſſured of *Ceſar*'s pleaſure, nor to put themſelves into new and greater Obligations, more then thoſe of the confederacy of *Bullogna*, which had been oftentimes renewed; anſwered, As touching the new Duke of *Milan*, That *Ceſar* ſhould firſt nominate one, and that thereupon the Senate might the better conſider both their own, and the common Intereſt, and put on the better reſolution: and as for the New League, they alledged the ſame reaſons which they had formerly done, that it was not neceſſary: and the ſame reſpects concerning the Turks, which were now ſtrengthned by the fame of the preparations of the Turkiſh Fleet for the next year. The Venetians acquainted the Pope with theſe Treaties and conſultations, wherein they ſtill atteſted their ancient deſire of the peace and ſafety of *Italy*, for which they deſired the Pope to be fervent in interpoſing his authority: for he having reaſſumed the thought of the buſineſs of *Camerino*, ſeemed to appear ſomwhat cooler in this other important buſineſs: inſomuch as *Aſcanio Colonna* being left at *Rome*, after the Emperors departure from thence, with a particular charge of having a care of ſuch things as might concern the quiet of *Italy*: This Treaty was not purſued, ſo as the weight of the buſineſs, and the preſent condition of times ſeemed to require; the Pope pitching only on this, that amongſt theſe Princes, he would ſtand neutral. But at laſt, being warn'd both by the Venetians ſolicitations, by the ſtill encreaſing dangers of the Turkiſh Fleet, and by his being bound to celebrate the Council, which was declared to be in *Vicenza*, inſtead of *Mantua*, which was firſt choſen to that purpoſe, and whereunto the Venetians readily yeilded: he reſolved to ſend expreſs Legates to each of theſe Princes, to treat of the univerſal Peace amongſt Chriſtian Princes, of the League againſt the Turks, and of the celebration of the Councel. *Agoſtino Trivultio* was ſent to the King of *France*, and Cardinal *Caracciolo* to *Ceſar*: But theſe Embaſſies produced no better effects then many others had done, for none of all this could be effected, by reaſon of divers difficulties which aroſe.

The End of the Seventh Book.

THE HISTORY OF VENICE,

Written by PAULO PARUTA.

BOOK VIII.

THE CONTENTS.

THE *King of* France *indeavours to part the Venetians from the Emperour, and to incite the Turks against him. Losses received in the Common-wealth, by the subornation of* Solimans *Officers. Severall discourses touching the Turkish preparations; the Venetians prepare to resist* Soliman; *so does the Emperour.* Soliman *his Army and Fleet: the Venetians Fleet, and several difficulties touching the Government thereof. A speech made by* Mark Antonio Cornaro, *perswading not to desert the Emperour.* Leonardo Emoe, *his speech to the contrary.* Soliman *bears respect at Sea to the Venetians Territories: Accidents which alter him therein, and make him declare open war against them: The Imperiall, and the Venetian Fleet, and the successe of each of them. How the Senate resents the accident fallen out with the Turks, and their resolution thereupon.* Soliman *makes open war against the Venetians; and what is thereby done.* Corfu *described: The Senates actions in resistance of the Turks, against whom the Christians publish a League. Orders given to the Generall. The* Spaniards *fail therein; the Turks assault* Corfu, *but at ten dayes end quit it: They besiege* Naples, *and* Malvesia, *but in vain. Both these places are described.* Barbarossa *over-runs the* Archipelagus, *and takes many Islands therein: The Venetians besiege* Scardona, *which yeelds unto them. Severall thoughts of Princes, the year* 1537. *those of* Soliman, *of the Emperour, King of* France, *Pope, and*

Venetians, Germany, *and the condition thereof. The Senate consult touching the making, or not making League. Cesar's Embassadour solicits the Common-wealth to declare enmity to the Turks, but in vain.*

THe fire of War being rekindled hotter then before, between the Emperour, and the King of *France*, grew to such a hight, as the most barbarous and Foe-Nations, were called in to the prejudice and ruine of Christendom; and the very State of *Venice* behoved to be concern'd therein: all her Art and indeavours, whereby she had sought amidst the troubles and dangers of others, to preserve her selfe Newtrall amongst Princes, and to keep friendship and peace with all, not being able to free her. You may know, by what hath already been related, what the thoughts of *Francis*, King of *France*, were, and how he was bent to leave nothing unessay'd, to weaken the power of *Charles* the Emperour; and to revenge the so many injuries which he thought he had received from him. Wherefore he had oft-times tri'd the Venetians, and indeavoured by severall wayes to alienate them from *Cesar*. And lastly he had sent Monsieur *de Rhodes* to *Venice*, who filling the Senators with great hopes and promises, laboured to make them alter their resolution of continuing in League with the Emperour, but all to no purpose; the Venetians being as firm in their faith to *Cesar*, as they were far from desiring any thing which might disturb the quiet of *Italy*. Wherefore *Francis* failing of this hope, and his anger against *Cesar* increasing, for that he had assaulted him within his own Kingdom; and knowing that he was not able of himselt to effect the businesse of *Millan*, so long as it should be defended both by *Cesar*, and by the Venetians; He thought he could compasse this his desire by nothing better, than by pursuing the friendship which he had already begun with *Soliman*; whereby he hoped, either to get the Venetians to side with him, or else to make them forbear favouring of *Cesar*; the reasons being known to be very great, which made the Venetians highly value *Solimans* authority: And on the other side, the Emperours forces might be diverted, and the defence of the State of *Millan* weakned, by the comming of the Turkish Fleet into *Puglia*, or into other Rivers belonging to the Emperours Dominions. The King therefore turn'd all his indeavours towards *Constantinople*, where though he had his Embassador, *John Peresse* resident, he notwithstanding sent *Don Serafino da Gozi* of *Ragusa*, with new, and more efficacious orders, and with larger promises.

This man meeting often with the chiefest Bashaws, proposed many things to them, which being represented to *Soliman*, might make him comply the more easily with the King demands. *As, the greatness of* Charles *the* 5th, *the which if not moderated, would either become formidable, or at least suspitious to all other Potentates, to the diminution, if not of their States, at least of their reputation and dignity: the easinesse of the attempts that might be made against him, especially in the Kingdom of* Naples, *by the convenience of the Country; and since by a short cut at Sea, the*

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Turkiſh Armies might paſſe from Albania *into* Otranto *and at the ſame time draw near thoſe Rivers with their Fleet. The generall hatred which thoſe people bore to the Spaniards Government; nay, that the diſpair of ſome of the chiefeſt of that Kingdom, was ſuch as promiſed readineſſe to imbrace any occaſion which might tend to novelty and change of Government, whereby the way would be opened to the further abatement of* Cæſars *power.* *Agiace* and *Luſtebei*, were then of great authority in that Government, as thoſe who being in the firſt rank of Baſhaws, after they had with much praiſe diſcharged the place of *Belgerbei* of *Aſia*, which purchas'd them much reputation. *Luſtebei* being the grand Signors ſiſters Husband, and one of the ſix Baſhaws *della Porta*, and both of them great enemies to the name of Chriſtianity, and who often after *Ibraims* death, had counſel'd *Soliman* to turn his forces upon Chriſtendom, making uſe of this occaſion, and applauding the French Embaſſadours propoſalls, much amplifying alſo the reaſons promoted by him, indeavoured to ſet *Soliman* upon the Enterpriſe of *Italy*. They amongſt other things, minded him of *Mahomets* example, a wiſe and valiant Prince, who with a proſperous beginning, had eaſily taken the City of *Otranto*, and by the terrour of his Arms, put all that Country into great confuſion, and opened the way to his acquiſition of the nobleſt part of Chriſtendom, had not death interrupted his deſigns.

Theſe things being repreſented to *Soliman*, prevailed much with him, who was ambitious of Glory, exceſſive proud, and haughty, thinking that it made much for his honour, that ſo great a King ſhould have recourſe to him for aſſiſtance againſt another powerfull Prince, his Enemy; and thought he had a fit occaſion offered him to forgo his enterpriſes in *India*, and *Perſia*, wherein he ſaw he conſumed many of his men without any great advantage; without leſſening his honour, or the reputation of his forces. He therefore readily promiſed the French Embaſſadour, to moleſt the Emperours affairs the next ſummer, with powerfull forces both by Sea and Land: but thinking it of great concernment towards the effecting of theſe things, to take the Venetians from off their friendſhip and confederacy with *Cæſar*. *He reſolved to ſend* Janusbei, *one of the* Dragomani della Porta, *to* Venice, *to exhort the Senate, that ſince there was a powerfull Army and Fleet to go from* Conſtantinople, *the Common-wealth would ſhew her ſelfe a friend to his friends, and an enemy to his enemies, promiſing that he would ſee great reſpect ſhould be given to the affairs of the Common-wealth, and that he would preſerve peace inviolably with them.* To which the Senate did with mature deliberation return anſwer, *That the Commonwealth had alwaies fervently deſired peace with all Princes, and eſpecially with the* Ottaman *Lords, with whom they had had long friendſhip to the free and advantagious commerce of ſubjects; that they did ſtill continue ſo firm and conſtant in the ſame reſolution, as there needed no further declaration thereof.* *Soliman* ſeemed well enough pleaſed with this anſwer; a Prince, aſmuch as ſuch qualities can have place in a Barbarian, nobly minded, and for the moſt part friend to what was juſt and honeſt. But falſe complaints being made unto him, by many of his people, (who for their parti-

cular reſpects and intereſts, deſired an interruption of peace) of divers actions done by the miniſters of the Commonwealth, with little reſpect (as they ſaid) to the honor and advantage of his Empire; they perſwaded him to permit, that his Officers might alſo be allowed to do ſome novelties, which might ſhew a mind ill affected to the Common-wealth, and bring things at laſt to an open war. Thus many Venetian Merchants being at *Conſtantinople*, and in other parts of the Turkiſh Dominions, upon their private occaſions; ſome were impriſoned upon ſeverall falſe pretentions of delinquency, and had their goods forfeited into the Exchequer: two Venetian ſhips were imbargode upon various pretences, the one belonging to *Aleſſandro Contarini*, taken in the Seas of *Cyprus*, by the gallies of the guard of *Rhodes*, as a Pirates veſſel; and another in the havens of *Alexandria*; alleadging, that they were to make uſe of it upon important occaſions. There was alſo a new impoſt of ten in the hundred laid upon ſuch merchandizes as were wont to be brought by Venetian Merchants from *Soria*; the publick Letters of the Conſull were ſeverall times intercepted: and now no longer cloaking their intentions, *Muſtafa*, one of the chiefe Baſhaws, complaining, that the Common-wealth was too ſtraitly linkt to their Enemy the Emperour, ſaid, That ſhe had pull'd the anger, and the forces of the grand Signor, upon her.

Theſe things gave juſt occaſion of reſentment, and were a pretence of juſt war, if *Soliman* had a minde to take up arms againſt the Venetians; yet there were other reaſons and arguments, which perſwaded to the contrary. It was not at all likely, that ſince the Turks might make war againſt the Emperour onely, who was not very well provided at ſea, and might beat his forces, which they appeared very deſirous to do, that they would put a neceſſity upon the Venetians, of joyning with the Imperialiſts, and of uniting their forces, which being very ſtrong at ſea, might not onely be an hindrance to them, in their attempts upon other mens Eſtates, but might endanger their own affairs. That for the ſpace of thirty eight years, friendſhip and peace had been ſo conſtantly preſerved by the Turks, for theſe reſpects, with the Venetians; and that *Soliman* had alwaies ſhewed himſelf moſt deſirous thereof, both by his words and actions: That there had not as then been any injury done, or any occaſion given on the Venetians ſide, that he ſhould moleſt them with Arms; ſince the Venetian Senate had wiſely and juſtly, meaſured the forces of the *Ottaman* Empire, and accommodating their thoughts and actions to the condition of times, had proceeded with great temper and reſpect towards the Turkiſh affairs, ſo long as the dignity of the Common-wealth might not be injured, and did temporiſe as well as ſhe could, with ſo great and formidable a Potentate; whom not being able to quell, it would be wiſely done to preſerve his friendſhip, and to wait for the benefit of time, or for the Common-wealth's better fortune. At this time, *Tomaſo Mocenico* was come Embaſſadour from the Common-wealth to *Conſtantinople*, to congratulate with *Soliman*, according to cuſtome, for his proſperous ſucceſſe in the Perſian war, and for his

his happy return to that city; who having kiſs'd *Soliman's* hand, and preſented him with accuſtomed veſtures, was fairly received, and favoured by the whole Court, particularly by *Agiace*, the firſt Baſſhaw, who ſeveral times aſſured him, that the grand Signor ſtood very well affected to the Common-wealth, and deſired to continue the ancient peace with the Venetians, if they would correſpond with fitting reſpect, and with alike good intentions towards him. That it was *Solimans* inviolable cuſtome to keep his word, and that it muſt not be believed, that he could differ from himſelf. He therefore very modeſtly excuſed the buſineſſe concerning *Contarini's* ſhip, and the other novelties uſed towards the Venetian Merchants and Merchandizes, as done without any directions from the Grand ſignor, and which ſhould be ſuddenly remedied. It was likewiſe famed, that the *Sophi*, King of *Perſia*, was ready to march into the field with a powerfull Army, which would force the Turks to turn their forces upon the confines of *Perſia*; and that the news ſpread abroad, that the Turks were to fall upon Chriſtendom, tended rather towards the keeping up a certain reputation and eſteem amongſt Chriſtian Princes, than to any reſolution he then had of imploying his forces at that time againſt them. It behoved the Senators to be very jealous and doubtfull, by reaſon of theſe ſo differing reaſons, and ſo diſcordant within themſelves of the Turks proceedings, being drawn ſeverall wayes, ſometimes through ſuſpition of War, ſometimes through hopes of peace; which various affections were very cunningly fomented by the French Embaſſadour, who perſwaded himſelfe, that by this means, he might make the Venetians yield to his Kings deſire of ſiding with the French, and to forgo their friendſhip with the Emperialiſts, by which means, he ſaid, they might ſecure themſelves ſafely from the dangers threatned by the Turks. But ſeveral were the reports which were given out by the Souldiers and people at *Conſtantinople*, of this buſineſs; ſome affirmed, the grand Signor made this warlike preparation with a firm reſolution to paſs into the Rivers of *Puglia*: others ſaid, that the Fleet was to enter the gulph of *Venice*, and to attempt ſomewhat there againſt the Emperour: there were ſome alſo, who believed theſe forces were to go into *Barbary*, which counſell was known to be given by *Ariadeno*, Baſhaw, ſurnamed *Barbaroſſa*; and there wanted not thoſe that ſaid, it went againſt the Venetians, naming particularly the Iſland of *Corfu*. But whatſoever the intention was, it was moſt certain, that great preparations were made, and great care taken therein for men, both by Sea and Land. It was held for certain, that what of gallies, what of other Veſſels, there were above 300 ſayl to go to Sea, many Inſtruments and Engines to take Cities, great ſtore of Ammunition of all ſorts, that the *Belgerbei* of Greece was already gone with Orders from *Conſtantinople*; that very many Souldiers were raiſed in *Scopia*, and that the grand Seigneurs quarters were to be taken up there, who was ſaid to go himſelfe in perſon to *Valona*, where proviſion of Biſket, and of other things, were providing for the Fleet.

The Venetians being much troubled at theſe great preparations for

for War, and by divers accidents growing jealous of the Turks fidelity, though the Articles of peace made many years before, ſtood yet firm with *Soliman*, reſolved to arm themſelves as ſtrongly as they could; thinking they had no other way to ſecure their affairs, than to bereave the Turks of all wayes of moleſting them, if they ſhould have a mind to do ſo. The Senate therefore immediately took 8000 foot into pay, wherewith they increaſed their Garriſons on the Sea coaſts, and furniſhed them with Ammunition, that upon occaſion that might make their party good againſt the Turks. They gave order, that the old gallies in the *Arſenall* ſhould be caulked, and that 50 new ones ſhould be built; but they chiefly minded the re-ordering of their great Gallies, or Gallioons; they ſtayed ſome of their own ſhips, and ſome forrain veſſels, which were bound for ſeverall voyages, to make uſe of carrying Garriſons into their forts, and munition for their Fleet; which being to be numerous and powerfull, ſince the danger did increaſe, they reſolved to arm 100 Gallies, and to create a Captain-Generall at Sea; whereunto, according to the cuſtome of the Common-wealth, *Giarolomo Peſaro*, a man verſ'd in ſeverall imployments of the Republick, and principally in marſeline affairs, was choſen by the *Conciglio de Pegadi*, and confirm'd by the *Conſiglio Majore*; and there were ten Governours of Gallies elected by the councell of Ten, who were to ſit in councel with the Generall.

But amongſt other things, the want of Monies did much moleſt them, the publick Exchequer being much exhauſted by reaſon of the late long Wars. Wherefore they were forced to have recourſe to extraordinary means, to raiſe Monies ſufficient to ſerve their occaſions. There were three Procurators of St. *Mark* created, the ſupream degree of the Common-wealth, next to the Duke, *Andrea Capello*, *Girolimo Bragadino*, and *Jacopo Cornaro*, each of them having ſhifted at the preſent neceſſity, by the Lone of 12000 Duckets. Great ſuit was made to the Pope, that, the urgent neceſſities of the Common-wealth requiring it, he would give way to the raiſing 200000 Duckets out of the Venetian Clergy, by the way of Tenths, wherein the Pope made ſeverall excuſes, and pleaded difficulties. Sometimes ſeeming not to believe, that *Soliman*'s forces tended to the prejudice of Chriſtendom, ſometimes pleading the Prieſts poverty. And to make the expence of arming the Gallies in ſeverall places the more ſupportable, all the ſchools of Artificers (theſe are certain Congregations of men of ſeveral Trades, and Mechanick Arts, aſſembled together under fraternities, and heads, inſtituted by themſelves) were commanded to contribute a certain number of men, for the ſervice of the gallies; and that the Towns under the *Dogado*, ſhould be particularly obliged to arm certain Gallies; and that the weighty buſineſſes which were then in hand, might be more ſafely, and more maturely adviſed upon, to the number of the ſix Savy of the Councell (a Magiſtracy of great Authority, and the chief of thoſe whoſe office it is, to preſent the Senate with what they are to treat upon); three others were for the time added upon this occaſion; *Tomaſo Mocenigo*, *Nicolo Bernardo*, and *Mark Antonio* Cor-

Cornaro, three of the chiefeſt, and beſt eſteemed Senators. In this perplexity, the Senate forgat not, according to the religious and pious inſtitution of their Anceſtors, to have recourſe to divine aſſiſtance; whereupon ſolemn prayers were ordered throughout all the Churches, and 400 Buſhels of wheat were given in Alms to the poor Fryers, that they might pray for a bleſſing upon their Counſels, who did conſult upon the common good; but the Imperialiſts were no leſſe afraid of the Turkiſh Forces, nor leſſe carefull to ſecure themſelves from them. They ſent a great number of Spaniſh foot into *Italy*, wherewith to furniſh the Kingdoms of *Sicily* and *Naples*, and other places which lay expoſed to the Turkiſh Fleet. And *Andrea Doria*, Prince of *Melfi*, who was then Lord Admirall of the Emperours Fleet, was ordered to be very diligent in ſeeing his gallies put in good order; that he might joyn with thoſe of *Naples* and *Sicily*, and of the Knights of *Jeruſalem*, which were all to be commanded by him. But theſe proviſions came far ſhort of what was requiſite; for *Ceſar* was at the ſame time to think of defending his other Dominions, againſt which the King of France armed himſelfe ſtrongly. Being come himſelfe in perſon to *Lyons*, from whence he forthwith diſpatcht away 15000 Dutch, and Guaſcon foot towards *Italy*. To divert which deſigns, *Ceſar* prepared a great Army of 20000 foot, and 8000 Horſe in *Flanders*, to enter the confines of *France*: but the divulging, that the French would fall upon *Genua*, was amongſt other things, a great hindrance in making proviſion againſt the Turks; for the *Genueſes* being hereat much terrified, ſaid, They could not permit that *Doria* ſhould abandon his Country in ſo great danger, and go with his Gallies from thence, which were the very Nerves of the Imperiall Fleet; for the 22 Gallies which were at *Barcellona*, were in no good poſture to undertake ſo long a voyage.

Whilſt the Chriſtian Princes were thus ordering affairs for their own defence, the Turks taking occaſion from their diſcords, to trouble Chriſtendom (as they had often done formerly) and to increaſe their power and reputation, with aſſured hopes of rich booty, had prepared an Army, and a Fleet, to aſſault the Territories of other men. *Soliman*, who being gone in the beginning of *March* from *Conſtantinople*, had ſtaid ſome dayes to paſſe his time away in hunting at *Andrinopolis*, all requiſite proviſions for the army being in a readineſſe, began his journey, and towards the end of *June*, came to *Scopia*, a City in *Macedonia*, where having ſtaid awhile, and having tane his voyage through the confines of *Albania*, he went with all his men to *Vallona*, by the Ancients, called *Aula*. But the Fleet being already parted from the ſtraits of *Gallipoli*, was come at the ſame time to the Iſland of *Cerui*, being in number above 300 ſayl, of which there were 220 Gallies, the reſt Gallioons, flyboats, and other leſſer Veſſels; and all men ſaid, that of a long time, there had not been ſeen ſo great a Fleet upon the Sea, nor better appointed, and provided of all things, eſpecially of Souldiers, there being 12 Sangiacchi aboard, each of which commanded 800 valiant men, and moreover 4000 Janeſiers. *Ceriadino* commanded

manded this Fleet in chief, for what belonged to the Sea, but the Bashaw *Lufti*, who represented the person of the grand Signor, & who had the Imperiall standard assigned unto him, had the supream command over the Souldiers, and in ordering the undertakings. What these mens Commissions were, and what course they were to steer, was not yet known; some said, they had orders from *Soliman*, if occasion should offer it selfe to fight the Venetian Fleet: others affirm'd the contrary, that they were straitly commanded to bear respect to the Venetians, and their affairs; but the most common opinion was, that the Turks were to attempt somewhat in *Puglia*: this mean while, *Doria*, being first gone to *Civita Vecchia*, and not finding the Popes gallies in order to joyn with him, was gone to *Faro di Messina*, there to gather up the gallies of *Naples*, and *Sicily*, and other men of War, which he expected from other parts: which when they were come, he found his Forces notwithstanding so inferiour to the Turks, as he could by no means think of giving the enemy battel; he therefore resolved to re-inforce the greatest number of Gallies that he could, and leaving the rest of the gallies, and smaller Vessels, and six armed ships behinde him in a safe place, and one Gallioun, to advance with those select ones towards the *Levant*, to molest the Turkish affairs, according as he should finde occasion, shunning to meet the Enemies Fleet, joyn'd altogether. But the Venetians, when they understood the Turkish Fleet was come to *Modone*, not knowing whither they were to go, nor what to doe, the Senate had been very dubious in their Counsels, what the Generall *Pesaro* should do, who was already come to *Corfu*, and had about 70 Gallies under his Command: the 15 that were armed in the *Levant*, being come unto him, to wit, ten in *Candia*, one at *Cefalonia*, two at *Zante*, and two in the same Island of *Corfu*.

The Generall had not as yet received any commissions, save such as were universal, and answerable to the Senates intention, to keep Neutral, to wit, to indeavour to keep peace with the Imperialists, and with the Turk, and not to meddle with any, further then to keep the subjects, and the affairs of the Common-wealth uninjured; to grant victualls freely to all, to shun giving suspition, to keep far from all the Fleets, and not any waies to disturb their designes, nor meddle in any thing which either of the Fleets should have to do with. He therefore required some particular order touching either his stay, or whither he was to go. Some Senators were of opinion, that the whole Fleet keeping still together, the Generall should alwaies keep before the Turks, leaving them behinde him, alleadging, that their chiefe care should be to preserve the Cape, and not to leave the Gulph to the discretion of the Turks, when being gotten well within it with so great Forces, they might be hindred from being able to joyn the Gallies of *Dalmatia*, and others which were still appearing in *Venice*, with the rest of our Fleet. Others agreeing, that the Fleet should keep together, were of a contrary opinion touching where it should stay, thinking it neither honourable nor advantagious, to abandon the *Levant*, and to deprive themselves of the opportunity (if they should find it fit to do so) of joyning our Fleet with that of *Spain*; some blaming both

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theſe opinions, as extream, and which would produce ſome diſorder, propoſed that the Fleet ſhould be divided; commanding the Generall, that when he ſhould underſtand the Turkiſh Fleet did make for the Gulph, he ſhould chooſe out 40 of the beſt Gallies, wherewith himſelfe, and Commiſſary *Contarini* ſhould tarry about *Corfu*, and that he ſhould ſend the other Commiſſary *Paſquillio* with the reſt into *Dalmatia*. That he ſhould diligently watch the proceedings of the Turks; who if they ſhould make for *Puglia*, the Generall ſhould not ſtir from *Corfu*; but if, entring into the Gulph, and ſeeming to go for *Puglia*, when they were paſt the mount St. *Angelo*, they ſhould bend towards *Ancona* and *Romagna*, he ſhould follow them, but at ſuch a diſtance, as he ſhould by no means indanger his Gallies; and others were of opinion, that all accidents which might occur, not being to be foreſeen; and yet the Commanders being to govern themſelves thereby, they ſhould leave all to the Generalls diſcretion and diligence. Amongſt which diverſity of opinions, theirs prevailed, who were for the Fleets keeping in an intire body in the *Levant*. But it being ſoon after known, that the Turks advanced into the State, ſo as there was no open war declared, nor was there yet any certainty of peace, it behoved them to divide their Fleet; ſo they reſolved to create a new Sea-Generall in the Gulph, but who ſhould be inferiour to *Peſaro*; for that when they ſhould be together, he was to take down the ſtandard and Lanthorn, and yield obedience to him. And this imployment was given by almoſt all the votes of the Senate, to *Jovan Vetturi*, who by tryall given of himſelfe in the late Wars, had got a great renown for wiſdome and valour. He putting himſelfe ſpeedily in order, and parting from *Venice* with ſome armed Gallies, went to *Dalmatia*, whither Commiſſary *Paſquillio* came to meet him, with ſome of thoſe gallies which were at *Corfu*; *Nicolo Bondimiero*, Captain of the Gulph, and *Dominico Contarini*, Captain of the fly-boats. So as *Vetturi* had quickly under his charge 46 Gallies, beſides ſix fly-boats; and 54 Gallies, one Gallioune, commanded by *Battuzzi Contarini*, and a Frigate under *Jacopo d' Armero*, remained with Generall *Peſaro*. But the ſame doubt roſe ſoon again, which had at firſt divided them, in giving out theſe orders, which was made the greater, by the newes which encreaſed daily, that the Turks were comming in an hoſtile manner, to the Iſland of *Corfu*, and that their Fleet was already diſcovered from the Iſland of *Zantes*; ſome being of opinion, that the Fleet ſhould keep divided; others, that General *Peſaro* ſhould have liberty, to make one entire body of the whole Fleet, if he ſhould ſee occaſion for it; and *Vetturi* was ordered, that if *Peſaro* ſhould require it, he ſhould obey him, without expecting further orders from the Senate. This opinion was much withſtood by many, who mentioned the great danger, and little advantage, which would thereby accrue; for the Turkiſh Fleet being very numerous and ſtrong, in the Channel of *Corfu*, and therefore the weſtern Point being well guarded, how could our Gallies come near the Iſland? whereas *I Venti di Provenza*, which were wont to be conſtant in that ſeaſon, made the entry thereinto hard, and the abode

there unsafe. So as when they should know, that the Peace was broken, they were to think of the safety of *Corfu*, and of the rest of their Dominions by sea, by other more prevalent means. That the Emperour offered to joyne his Gallies with ours. That if Generall *Pesaro* should receive orders, to keep good intelligence with *Doria*, that this conjunction might speedily be made with more honour, and greater hopes of doing good. Yet the Senate being moved, either by fear of making the Turks jealous, and of accelerating the evill, which they sought so much to shun, if they should hold closer intelligence with the Imperialists; or else by the hopes of being able to do some good of themselves, the businesse was carried, though but by a very few votes, for leaving it in *Pesaro*'s power, to joyne our Fleet together, if he should see occasion for it, and therewith to defend the subjects and affairs of the Common-wealth.

The French, hoping hereby to bring the Venetians by new applications, to consent to those things, which they would not before listen unto, sent Count *Guido Rangone* speedily away to *Venice*, who having had audience in the Colledge, in presence of the *Capi del Consiglio di dieci*, without the Embassadour of *France* his intervening, who afterwards did of himself almost the same things. *Rangone* delivered the Kings credentiall Letters, and began in a very effectuall manner to relate the love, which his King bore to the Common-wealth, and the esteem he had of her, commemorating divers things done by the Crown of *France*, tending to the Venetians service. Then entring into consideration of the particular accidents of that time, he exhorted them to forego their confederacy with *Cesar*, and to joyne in friendship with *France*, *making great offers, by order from the King, and in the Kings name, of yielding up unto the Common-wealth, when the State of* Millan *should by their joynt forces be recovered, the city of* Cremona, *with whole* Giaradada; *and to assist them readily in repossessing them of* Cervia *and* Ravenna; *and also of the Towns in* Puglia, *as* Otranto Brandizzo, Monopoli, Puglinian, *and* Travi: *so as the Venetians should be made masters of all, that they possest before the late wars. But he insisted chiefly upon the present condition of times, which he knew would be of great force; promising, that by the Kings intercession and authority, they should be free from all the present dangers, which were threatned them by the Turks, to the honour and advantage of the Common-wealth; that the disputes which did yet remain between her and* Soliman, *should be ended, the new Impost laid upon the Merchants of* Soria *taken away, the Cantarinan ship restored, and that the Merchants who were imprisoned, should, together with their goods, be set at liberty.* The Auditory was much in doubt what to do concerning these proposalls; on the one side, they had great hopes, and large offers promised them, but which would draw on sore wars, and much trouble; on the other side, doubts of but small quiet, and no lesser difficulties, continuing still in the same danger, which would be made the worse by the King of *France* his indignation, if he should see his friendship refused and neglected, after so large offers. After long consultation, it was proposed to the Senate, by the joynt opinion of the *Collegio de Savii*, *That the same* Rangone *being desired to return many thanks to the King,*

King, for his favour, and for his ſo many and ſo loving offers, he ſhould tell his Majeſty, That as for the Union which was propoſed, the King might know, what eſteem the Common-wealth had of the Crown of France, *by what ſhe had often done formerly; and that as ſhe had not been hitherto wanting, ſo her actions ſhould ſtill be ſuch, when any occaſion ſhould be offered, as might confirm the King and all others in a good opinion of her. Mark Antonio Cornaro* was the onely man that oppoſed this, a man famous for eloquence, and of great reputation, though not very old, and who was then *Savio di Terra ferma*; he would have it freely told to *Rangone*, That to keep promiſe, was that which became a Prince, and was the antient uninterrupted cuſtom of the Common-wealth. Wherefore being tyed by a new confederacy to *Ceſar*, they could not think of any other agreement contrary to it. But that they were, notwithſtanding, confident, that the King, as a wiſe Chriſtian Prince, and a friend, would not give over the good offices, which he had begun with the Turks. He therefore ſpake thus.

He who will give his opinion in any weighty and important Affair, muſt be ſo free from paſſion, as his reaſon be not contaminated. Hope and fear, as evill conſulors, which keep truth concealed, ought alwaies to be baniſhed ſuch reſolutions. Theſe are the affections which I deſire may be chiefly driven from your boſomes, moſt worthy and grave Senators, that the reſolution which ſhall this day be put on, may be right and ſincere, agreeing with the publick good, and with the opinion which the world hath of this Senate's wiſdom. The offers made unto us by the King of France, *to make us ſide with him, and take up arms againſt our friend and confederate* Ceſar, *are very great; and truly he ought to mention great things, to make us by a new and deteſtable example, break our publick faith, without any juſt occaſion, and undertake a no leſſe unjuſt, then weighty and dangerous war. Two things are at once propounded unto us, to make war with the Emperour, and the keeping peace with* Soliman; *and this very cunningly, to work upon us by theſe inventions, to the end, that ſome of us moved thereunto by our own ſtrength, and by his aſſiſtance, and out of hopes of great acquiſitions, being allured by what is very uſefull and deſirable, may forget what is honeſt and feaſable, and may eaſily enter into troubles, which we ſhall not ſo eaſily get out of. And others, blinded by the deſire of preſervation from preſent dangers, and of freeing themſelves from the fear of war with the Turks, without finding any better ſecurity for our preſent affairs. We muſt look upon theſe things with eyes, uncontaminated by theſe affections, with the pure and ſincere eyes of our ſoules, and conſider, with what intention they are propoſed; for by ſo doing, it will eaſily appear what we ought to do therein, and by what anſwer we may free our ſelves from thoſe ſnares, which are covered over with an appearance of liberty; and from that infamy, which goes concealed under the cloak of glory. It was the generoſity of our fore-fathers, readily to embrace any occaſion of enlarging our confines, whilſt the condition of times adviſed thereunto. It was the conſtancy of our fathers, and hath been ours, to ſeek to preſerve things, which were got by the worth of others, not being overcome by the tedious troubles of war. But certainly, it was no leſſe wiſdom, nor leſſe praiſe-worthy, to accommodate our ſelves to the preſent fortune of the Common-wealth, to lay down Arms, and to wait for better times, when we had found all experience in vain. We did then*

poſſeſſe the greateſt part of thoſe territories, which now are promiſed us in reward of new troubles and dangers; and notwithſtanding, becauſe we know, that the keeping of them would nouriſh perpetuall diſcords, we, being deſirous to purchaſe peace to the Common-wealth at laſt, did reſolve to quit them. We parted willingly, and by agreement, with Ravenna and Cervia to the Pope, and with many Towns in Puglia to the Emperour. We ſhould not now think of theſe things, ſince it will be harder for us to repoſſeſſe our ſelves of thoſe cities, then it would have been to have kept them; and for that Ceſar's power is much encreaſed, and confirmed in Italy. So as to change the preſent condition thereof, is a thing rather to be deſired than to be expected; and if this be any waies to be hoped for, paſt experience, & the ſame courſe which we ſtill keep, teacheth us, that it may be had, not by arms, but by negotiation and dexterity; by inſinuating our ſelves into Ceſar's favour, and by keeping him in ſome jealouſie of our friendſhip, which he doth ſo highly value at this time; by which means, he may be brought as he hath been formerly, and hath now promiſed to yield, that a particular Duke of Millan be named. But certainly, he who thinks, there is any good grounds, of joyning part of that State to our Dominions, may be ſaid, to take pleaſure in willingly deceiving himſelf. It is too apparent, that the bare newes of this confederacy with France, or the diſcovery of any ſuch thoughts in us, would be ſufficient, to make all the Princes of Italy joyne againſt us; nay, the very King of France, who is now ſo free of his promiſes, would be hardlier perſwaded to grant theſe things, then others would be, if there ſhould be any occaſion of doing it. Is it poſſible, that we can ſo ſoon forget what is paſt? or if we remember them, can we with patience give ear to theſe negotiations? What counſell did ever prove more unfortunate to this Common-wealth, then the thinking of getting of Cremona, and Giaradada? What, but this, was the firſt and true originall cauſe, of making all the Princes of Chriſtendom conſpire againſt us, to almoſt the totall ruine of our affairs? And who was the firſt author of this conſpiracy, and of our ſo many miſchiefs, but that very King of France? who, aſſiſted by our forces, in his getting the Dukedom of Millan, was bound to keep us in the poſſeſſion of that part thereof, which was given us in reward of our ſo much expence and labour. And I pray you, what was it that forced us to joyne at firſt in confederacy with this preſent Emperour, whoſe greatneſſe we did ſo fiercely oppoſe, taking upon us the defence of the Dukedom of Millan, but the French-mens ſo oft failing in their promiſes? Did not we keep conſtant in our friendſhip to the King of France to the laſt? but the French have often abandoned us, we never them, unleſſe upon great neceſſity. Aſſuredly, though we ſhould liſten to theſe propoſitions, their actions would not correſpond with their promiſes, which have alwaies been very large, I will not ſay ſo much to abaſe us, as by the cuſtom of the Nation; but their actions have alwaies come ſhort of their obligations, ſlow, uncertain, inconſtant. And, not to mention things further off, the King hath uſed the ſame importune delay, in furniſhing his Captains with men and mōnies, to maintain the war in Italy, for the advantage of the common good; and ſoon after, when he diſcovered his own intereſt, and the hopes of recovering his ſons, and of making peace, how eaſily did he agree with Ceſar, not onely without including our Common-wealth, but without making us acquainted with his counſells, leaving us in the perplexities and dangers of war, who did ſo readily take up arms, firſt,

for

for the freeing of his own perſon, then of his ſons, made a potent and victorious King our enemy, and undergone great expence and danger. If the King cid ſo eaſily forget our intereſts, when he could finde nothing in us but good turns, favours, and merit; why ſhould we think, he ſhould prove more conſtant or faithfull in his friendſhip, now that he may have conceived hardly of us, and may think, we have injured him? for he will alwaies interpret our confederacy with Ceſar *to be ſuch, though it were done upon urgent neceſſities. The King would now flatter us, and by ſo many, and by ſo large promiſes, would allure us to aſſent to his deſires, becauſe he knowes, he ſtands in great need of our friendſhip. He is infinitely deſirous to regain the State of* Millan; *he ſees, he hath no leaning ſtock in* Italy; *that his Armies are ſtaied in* Piedmont; *that he muſt fight for his paſſage longer then he had thought to have done; and when he ſhall have overcome this obſtacle, not having any one who will receive or aſſiſt, ſo as he is to meet with no leſſer difficulties, he would by all means make us forego* Ceſar, *and bring us to make a new confederacy with him. But ſay, I beſeech you, who is it that does believe, or who indeed can with reaſon believe, by the yet recent example of this very Kings actions, when* Ceſar, *ſeeing thoſe forces turned againſt him, by whoſe aſſiſtance he thought, he ſhould have been the better able to defend the State of* Millan, *when he ſaw his territories aſſaulted at one and the ſame time, by the King of* France, *and by the Turks; that he ſhould reſolve, as it is well known he did, to enter into a treaty of ſurrendring the Dukedom of* Millan, *becauſe the Kings third ſon ſhould not be inveſted thereinto. Who is it, I ſay, that can perſwade himſelf, that the King would not preſently have laid down Arms, without any thought of our concernments, and have made an agreement, not onely without us, but it may be againſt us, to aſſiſt* Ceſar *in repairing himſelf upon us, and to our prejudice, for what he had granted unto him? But I ſee it will be anſwered, Theſe hopes, as being far off, ought not to be much valued. And why ought we not all take in conſideration, the ſecuring of our ſelves, from the ſo great and eminent dangers of the Turkiſh forces? This is a thing certainly as much deſired by me, as by any others; but yet, though I have the ſame deſire, I cannot be of the ſame opinion concerning it, for I ſee no reaſon, to truſt our ſecurity upon theſe promiſes; nay rather on the contrary, me thinks, that the danger remaining ſtill the ſame, we ſhall, by waiting upon theſe negotiations, weaken much our own defence. The Turks by nature, and by their proſperous ſucceſſes, are proud, imperious, as thoſe who deſpiſe all others, and put a value onely upon themſelves, and upon their own accommodations: and ſhall we believe, that they will govern their thoughts according to the perſwaſion or deſire of the King of* France, *rather then according to their own particular objects? If the antient friendſhip and commerce which we have with them, yea, even to their advantage, ſhall not avail to make them ceaſe, from making war upon us; of what authority, I beſeech you, do you think, the King of* France *his perſwaſions will be with him?* Soliman *requires nothing of the French in reward whereof, to grant peace unto us upon their ſcore; the French are they who pray aſſiſtance from the Turks. It is more reaſonable therefore, that they ſhould accommodate themſelves to the Turks will, and not the Turks to theirs. So as the more I know, that we ought to deſire the confirmation of peace with the Turks, the leſſe hope I, to obtain it by this means. But I am afraid it may ſo fall out, as being unable of our*

ſelves,

ſelves, long to hold out againſt the Turks, we ſhall unſeaſonably deprive our ſelves of thoſe aids which are ready, and wherein onely we can promiſe any good unto our ſelves; I ſpeak of our Fleets joyning with the Imperialiſts. And 'tis this, believe me, that both the Turks and French, do look upon; the Turks are jealous of this uniting of our Fleets, they fear nothing but this, as being that alone which can diſturb their deſignes; and perhaps it is to hinder this, that they uſe this means with the French, who will willingly ſerve them, as well for their own intereſts, as to requite them for the good which they receive by their Fleet. This therefore may ſufficiently teach us, what we ought to do in this point, and what our anſwer ought to be, ſince it is a clear caſe, that we ought to ſhun and abhor that which is deſired, and endeavoured by our enemies: The more therefore they deſire to ſevere us from Ceſar, the cloſer ought we to cleave to him, and to avoid all occaſions, which may make him ſuſpect we intend otherwiſe. And certainly, when we ſhal have duly conſidered all things, we ſhal be of this opinion, that we cannot look for greater, nor for more certain help, for theſe our threatning dangers, from any where elſe, then from this our joyning with the Imperialiſts; or at leaſt, from nouriſhing an opinion in the Turks at the preſent, that very good intelligence is held between Ceſar and us; and ſuch a union may eaſily be had, if we have a minde to it. But let us take it for granted, that Soliman does not at all intend to trouble us now, but aims onely upon the Emperours Dominions; is it a good, is it a wiſe, is it a uſefull or Chriſtian-like counſell, to give him occaſion of encreaſing the good will he hath already, of making enterpriſes upon Chriſtendom, of getting his foot into Italy, of weakening that Prince his forces, who may counterpoiſe the Turks power? If Otranto, Brandizzo, or any other ſuch place, ſhould fall into the Turks hands, (which God forbid) what would become of Corfu, and the reſt of our territories? To part from the confederacy which we have with Ceſar, what is it, but to draw on thoſe evills, which we ought chiefly to ſhun? For who knowes not, that more forces being to be employed in defence of the State of Millan, our Garriſons will be the weaker, to defend our maritime places from the Turks? Since the condition of our Common-wealth doth not permit, that we declare our ſelves enemies to the Turks, unleſſe we be enforced ſo to do, ſince the diſcords and weakneſſe of the Chriſtian Princes neceſſitates us, to ſtand idle ſpectators of the evills of Chriſtendom, let us endeavour at leaſt, to cloak this our reſolution as much as we can; if we cannot otherwiſe aſſiſt the common cauſe, let us not be wanting in the favour it may receive, by the reputation of our forces, by keeping ſtill, as we now are, in Arms, and by keeping the Turks ſtill jealous, that we may, and will aſſiſt our friend and Confederate the Emperour. We ſee, that the courſe taken by the French is blamed by all men, and ſhall we be guilty of the ſame fault? The miſerable cries of thoſe unfortunate people, who ſhall be enſlaved by theſe Barbarians, will call aloud for vengeance from God upon us, if we ſhould be any occaſion of their calamity. And this appearing ſafety which is offered us, will be a means to deprive us both of humane and divine help. But as theſe are powerfull reaſons, to keep us from agreeing to theſe things, which are propoſed unto us, ſo do they perſwade us totally to break off this negotiation, not to nouriſh ſuſpicians in the Imperialiſts, and hopes in the Turks, that we are to forego Ceſar's friendſhip, which would at the laſt incenſe the King of France more againſt us, when he ſhould finde himſelf cheated and deluded by

by vain words and Treaties; and following the counſell propoſed unto us by the Colledge of the Savij, we ſhall, without any advantage to our ſelves, purchaſe diſgrace, and ill will from all men.

Cornaro was with great attention liſtned to by all, and his ſpeech commended; after whom *Leonardo Emo*, *a Salvio del Conſiglio*, a grave man, & who had had the management of many weighty affairs both at home and abroad, ſtood up, and ſpoke thus.

I have obſerved in the long and learned Oration, made by Mark Antonio Cornaro, *that to finde matter wherewith to oppugne that opinion which he underſtands not; he hath indeavour'd to interpret it, or to make it be underſtood, if not clean contrary, at leaſt very far from the intention of the propounder. I will not therefore oblige my ſelfe to anſwer particularly to every thing that he hath alleadged, becauſe I think it not neceſſary, and I hope, that by that little which I ſhall ſay, it may be clearly enough ſeen, what might be further ſaid, by one who would diſcourſe more thereupon. But I have ever thought, that to urge more conſiderations, than the buſineſſe that is treated of requires, is to confound, not to inlighten the judgement in point of reſolution. His intention then, who propoſes the giving a more modeſt and reſerved anſwer to ſo affectionate an offer made in the King of* France, *is not to give himſelfe totally up unto him, nor quite to abandon* Cæſars *amity, and to make a new confederacy with the King of* France: *but not to move him to greater indignation againſt us, to keep him from precipitating into any pernitious reſolution, which may be prejudiciall to our affairs. What greater injury can be done to a mighty Prince, than to ſeem not to regard him, not to value his friendſhip, or care for his enmity? if we cannot ſatisfie this Kings deſire, or accept the offers made by him, for ſome reſpects of our own, we ought notwithſtanding to procceed ſo, as he may have reaſon to believe we have refuſed his friendſhip, rather out of being diſ-affected to him, than out of any obligation we have to* Cæſar, *or out of other reſpects concerning our ſelves. If we will not ſatisfie his deſires in our actions, let us not be ſo ſparing of words, as that the injury of our denyall may be increaſed without any advantage to us. We may know by a notable and late example, what good is got by this too open and too ſincere dealing, if not ſevere. The Emperour* Maximilian *being alwaies refuſed and neglected by us, when he deſired friendſhip and peace with our Commonwealth, upon advantagious terms for us, joyn'd at laſt with the ſame King of* France *againſt us; in whoſe behalfe, and that we might not forgo his friendſhip, we, out of peradventure a generous, but certainly no wayes uſefull, reſolution for our affairs, would not liſten to any thing that* Maximilian *could offer. I am affraid, Gentlemen, that the ſame may now befall us; and ſo much the rather, for that we know there are ſeveral indeavours at this time of agreement between theſe two Princes; which though it be to be deſired for the good of Chriſtendom, yet we muſt be carefull and wary, that it be not done to our diſadvantage; and that it be not onely done without our knowledge, but againſt us. The way to ſecure us from this, is that which is now offered us; to wit, by nouriſhing the King of* France, *in ſome hopes of our friendſhip and aſſiſtance, who will never condiſcend to any agreement with* Cæſar, *whom he hates to death, unleſſe out of high neceſſity, when he ſees no hopes of purchaſing his deſires by force. And as the benefit is great, which we may reap by this way of proceeding, ſo many other effects may follow,*

which

which will be very usefull for the present condition of times and affairs. we shall retard the comming of the King into Italy: for putting an high esteem, as it seems he doth, upon the advantage he may receive by our friendship and assistance; it is very likely, that he will defer the enterprise of Millan, when he may hope to attempt it with greater likelihood of prosperous successe, being therein assisted by us: and who knows not, how many conveniencies we may receive by this delay? we shall free our selves from the expence, which will be at this time very troublesome and unseasonable, of sending our men to defend the State of Millan, as we are tide to do by our confederacy with Cæsar; and we shall procure better security against the Turkish Forces, and the present danger thereof, whilst the Imperiall forces being free from the fear of the French, will grow greater, be better united, and more able to defend their Dominions, and ours also, if there be occasion of joyning our Fleet with theirs. But say all these particular considerations were laid aside; tell me, I beseech you, is it not certain, and a thing confirm'd both by reason, and by experience in us all, that the keeping of these two Princes powers, as equally ballanced as may be, doth much concern the safety and liberty of all Italy, and particularly the reputation and grandure of this Common-wealth? not to secure the one altogether, nor to make the other totally dispair of our friendship, which is the onely means of keeping the one from over-much exceeding the other, and from securing their affairs in Italy: which most weighty consideration, hath made us not stick to side sometimes with the one, sometimes with the other, as hath stood most with the times, and with our interests. It is now 13 years since, that being then in League with the King of France, and seeing the Emperours forces increase so fast in Italy, and the French succours come on so slowly, as it was thought impossible to uphold them any longer; we followed Cesar's fortune, did what our own safety and service advised us to do, and adhering unto Cesar, did help him to drive the residue of the French Army out of Italy: but soon after, the French faction growing powerfull, by King Francis, passing over the mountains with a strong Army, we forewent our new Confederacy made with the Emperour, and did re-establish our ancient League with the King of France; whose affairs proving afterwards unfortunate, and contrary to the first hopes, his Army being routed, and himselfe taken prisoner; we, to preserve our selves early from being injured by the Conqueror did side again with Cesar; whose greatnesse growing suspitious, and seeing our selves then free from the former danger of his forces, as soon as we found the King of France, who was now set at liberty, minded to make war with Cesar; we took up Arms with him, to drive the Imperialists out of the Dukedom of Millan. All these things hapned within lesse than two years space; and I my selfe was present in many of them, as Commissary of your Armies; and certainly it was wisely done to sute our selves to the various conditions of times; by doing which, we have preserved the Common-wealth, and reduced her at last to peace. Then, since the same respects continue, shall we proceed otherwise? why shall we, by seeming inseparably united to Cesar, force the King of France to give over his thoughts of Italy, and leave the Emperour sole Arbitrator thereof? by doing thus, we shall at one and the same time purchase hatred from the French, neglect from the Imperialists, lessen the reputation of our Common-wealth, and make the way easie for Cesar to inthrale whole Italy. To what purpose is the uncon-

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ſtancy, and uncertainty of the King of France urged, if we do not at all now treat of relying upon his word? And ſay we ſhould treat thereof, ſuch a confederacy could not occaſion us ſo much trouble or danger, but that our appearing to continue ſo conſtant to Ceſar, might be cauſe of more. Nor do I ſay, that we ought to treat with ſome reſervation with the King of France, for any reſpect of the King himſelfe, for any ſervice that we have received by him, or out of hope of what we may receive; though if I ſhould ſay ſo, it is not ſo long ſince we recovered Verona, by the aſſiſtance of his forces, but that it might procure me ſome belief. It is our own ſervice and good which makes me adviſe thus, which ſhould perſwade us to take this courſe. Therefore as I ſhall not eaſily adviſe (ſince the preſent times do not permit it) that we ſhould enter into aſſured and preſent troubles of a new War; ſo ſhall I not counſell quite to forgoe the thought of the Emperour's too immoderate greatneſſe, which hath coſt us ſo much labour in the hardeſt times, preferring the ſecurity of our Common-wealth, and our poſterity (for which the Senate is much to be praiſed) before any accommodation we could receive by peace. We may by this time know what Ceſar's intentions are, and that it is now more to be feared than ever, that he will ſubjugate all Italy: He hath drawn us into confederacy with him, by giving us good words, and by promiſing to put a Duke into the State of Millan: But do not his actions ſhew, how careful he is to make good this his promiſe? If then we do deſire to bring him to this, ſince we cannot now uſe open violence, let us at leaſt make him ſomewhat jealous of our friendſhip and aſſiſtance; for it may very well fall out, that fearing leſt by our alienation, he may ſhamefully loſe that State, he may reſolve to leave it with honour and praiſe, by ſome fair way of accommodation, as he lately did, when he was contented that Franciſco Sforzza ſhould be repoſſeſſed thereof. The reſpect of our preſent troubles and dangers of the Turkiſh Forces, being added to theſe conſiderations, I think we ought not to forgoe the gravity and maturity, with which the Senate is wont to proceed in matters of much leſſe moment: for it is evident, that the too much haſtning of this our reſolution, and the too ſoon declaring of our ſelves, will increaſe the Turks jealouſies, that we are joyn'd with Ceſar to their prejudice, and cannot but much injure our affairs, and bring us upon ſome precipice: Moreover, I know not why we ought to value the interceſſion of a puiſſant Prince, and one ſo highly eſteem'd by the Turks, as is the King of France, ſo little. I am not perſwaded, that a treaty of Peace and Agreement, propounded by a perſonage of great power, would be diſpleaſing to us, if we were in open War with Soliman. And now that our buſineſſe is depending, in my opinion more inclinable to peace than war; ſhall we not believe, that the French may by their indeavours the more eaſily divert it, be it but by acquainting them with the eaſineſſe of the enterpriſe, wherein their intentions and deſigns againſt the Imperialiſts, and us, will be aſſiſted? Much more may be ſaid upon this occaſion, ſo as my diſcourſe thereupon muſt be long, though contrary to my cuſtome; but I forbear to ſay many things, purpoſely that I may not ſeem to diſtruſt the wonted wiſdome of this Senate, to which it may ſeem very conformable to keep the more certain determination of our will therein undetermined; as alſo the opinion that the King of France, or any others may have thereof, who may Comment upon this our anſwer, we ſhall have time for a better grounded, and more mature reſolution; the waiting for which in difficulties, hath alwaies been thought to be-

come a wiſe and prudent Prince. According to this mans opinion, the Senate took time to deliberate upon an anſwer, and upon diſmiſſing Count *Rongone.*

This mean while, certain news came to *Venice*, that *Soliman* was come with his Army to *Vallona*, and that his Fleet paſſing by *Corfu*, had ſaluted the Fort by ſhooting off their Guns, according to the military faſhion, in token of friendſhip, and were with like ſhot, amicably anſwered by our men; and that they had committed no hoſtile act, neither in that Iſland, nor elſewhere; but that ſome of his men having taken away certain goods from ſome of our men by violence, the Captain, to terrifie others, had made them be hanged at the main maſt of his gallie. Wherefore to correſpond with ſome ſign of friendſhip, and peace, and to diſcover ſomewhat of his intentions; ſome of the Senators were of opinion, that Generall *Peſaro* ſhould be ordered to ſend ſome Governour of his gallies to this end, to *Soliman.* But this reſolution was ſuſpended, leſt the Turks might interpret this, as a ſign of fear, and might conſequently leſſen the opinion of our forces in them, or peradventure afford matter of new diſlikes amongſt them, and of making ſome immoderate or inſolent demand. But this thought was totally laid aſide afterwards, by reaſon of news that *Jacopo Canale*, who going to be reſident at *Conſtantinople*, in the place of *Nicolo Juſtiniano*, as Miniſter of the Common-wealth for the publick affairs, and for our Countries occaſions, (which imployment is commonly called *Bailo*) when he came to *Nicobazer*, was ordered by the grand Signor to turn back, and come to him to the Camp, ſo as he might do there whatſoever was to be done.

Thus ſtood the affairs of the Venetians at this time, having neither open War, nor ſecure peace; all things full of jealouſie, great preparation of Fleets and Souldiers, but no open injury yet done, nor occaſion given of making uſe of thoſe forces: but loe ſome ſuddain and unexpected accidents afforded matter to the Barbarians, of venting that fury againſt the Venetians, which they intended againſt others; the conſtant and reſolute will of the Senators, to keep peace with the Turks, not being able to avoid this misfortune of war, nor yet the diligence which they had at firſt uſed, in charging their Sea-Captains, and which orders they had often reiterated, to ſhun all occaſions whereby they might come to open war with the Turks, but to behave themſelves ſo, as that they might give them no occaſion of jealouſie. *Simione Naſſi Laratino*, commanded one of the gallies of *Dalmatia*, who unfortunately meeting with a ſmall Turkiſh Veſſel loaded with Victuals, bent for *Vallona*, which not ſtriking ſayl unto him, according to the maritime cuſtome, *Naſſi* ſhot at the Veſſel, and ſunk it. Though *Soliman* and his Baſhaws were much troubled at this, yet bearing with it, that it might not impede their other deſigns, they reſolved to ſend *Janaki Dragomano* to *Corfu*; the ſame man who had been the year before at *Venice*, with order to acquaint Generall *Peſaro*, how that the peace between them and the Common-wealth, was violated by the inſolence of one of his Captains, and to crave that the delinquent might be

be puniſhed and reparation made for the damage done, which he ſaid came to 30000 Duckets. Four gallies of the Fleet lay in the Channel of *Corfu*, to guard the ſame, commanded by *Giuſto Gradenico*, *Michiele Grimani*, *Giacomo di Mezzo*, and *Jerolomo Michiele*: Theſe men when they ſaw armed ſhips draw near them (which were two gallies, and one fly-boat, which conducted the Embaſſadour) not taking any notice who they were, they fell ſo furiouſly upon them, as the Turks fled, and not thinking themſelves thereby ſafe, they put to land at *Cimera*, where they were ill dealt with by thoſe fierce people, who were naturally Enemies to the Turks, many of them taken Priſoners, amongſt which, *Janusby*'s ſelfe. Generall *Peſaro* was exceedingly diſpleaſed hereat, ſo as to make ſatisfaction in part, and to mitigate the anger which this might beget amongſt the Turks, he preſently ſent Captain *Franciſco Zeno* to *Cimera*, to ranſom *Janusbye*, which he obtain'd gratis immediately from thoſe people, who though they be otherwiſe rude and ſavage, bear a particular affection to the Venetians.

When *Soliman* heard this news, he was adviſed by ſome of his men to take ſuddain revenge; but he not being willing for the preſent to make any other reſentment, ſent for the *Bailo Canale*, and complained bitterly of what the Common-wealth's Miniſters had done, contrary to that ſo great deſire of peace which the ſaid *Bailo* had affirm'd the Commonwealth ſtudied to have, and keep with him; and at laſt he was content, that the *Bailo* ſhould ſend one of purpoſe to *Corfu*, to be truly and particularly inform'd of the fact, to which purpoſe the *Bailo* did immediately diſpatch away *Aleſſandro Orſino* to *Corfu*. But *Soliman* continuing his intention of aſſaulting the Rivers of *Puglia*, had landed good ſtore of Horſe in flat-bottom'd boats about *Otranto*, which over-running the whole Country, and ceazing on both men and beaſts, and all things elſe, infuſed terrour into all; and at the ſame time *Luſtebeio*, and *Barbaroſſa*, paſt by with 80 gallies, who being informed that the chiefe Cities in *Otranto* and *Brandizzo*, were well furniſh'd with Souldiers, and with all things elſe, bending his courſe from the head of *Otranto*, to the gulph of *Taranto*, had unexpectedly aſſaulted the Town of *Caſtro*, in the poſſeſſions of *Mercurio Gattinara*, a petty Lord, and took it upon Articles; which were but ill kept; for the ſouldiers, deſirous of prey, not obeying their Captains commands, did miſerably plunder it. *Brabaroſſa* thought it good, to fleſh his ſouldiers at firſt, and to win them reputation with ſlight enterpriſes, and to affrighten the Enemy, but haſtned notwithſtanding to greater things.

Doria having in this interim reinforc'd 28 gallies, as well as he could with ſouldiers and marriners, whereby his gallies were very fleet, and fit for action, went with them towards the Iſlands of *Zante*, and *Saſſalonia*, took divers Turkiſh ſhips, which being loaded with Victuals, went for *Vallona*, whereby he much incommodiated the Army; and then ſteering his courſe towards the gulph, came into the waters of *Corfu*, almoſt at the ſame time, that *Jannsbei* being

ing chaſed by the Venetians, (as hath been ſaid) went on land upon the ſhore of *Cimera*, where he took, and brought away the Turkiſh Veſſels empty of men, which did much increaſe the Turks hatred againſt the Venetians, and the ſuſpition that they held intelligence with the Imperialiſts: and certainly it ſo fell out, as thoſe things through misfortune hapned at that time, which were deſired to be ſhun'd; ſo as occaſion of injuries being given, open war was to inſue thereupon. Generall *Peſaro*, hearing that *Barbaroſſa* was gone from the waters of *Zante*, to ſecure the Victuals which were ſent from *Conſtantinople* to the Camp, and that he came toward *Corfu*, thought it fit to make uſe of the liberty the Senate had given him, of uniting the gallies all together: wherefore he reſolved to enter the gulph, and to joyn with Generall *Vetturi*, intending, above all things, to ſhun meeting with the Turkiſh gallies. But whilſt he was upon his way, he was carried by a croſs winde Lee-ward, where he met with thoſe dangers which he had ſtrove to avoid. For the whole Fleet being now ſo near land, and part of the night paſt, the Marriners adviſed to caſt anchor, to the end that the Rowers might have ſome reſt; and not being able by reaſon of a ſuddain ſtorm, and of the darkneſſe of the night, to diſcover afar off, from the top-Maſt, for the ſecuring of their voyage; it hapned that the Van, which conſiſted of 15 gallies, and was commanded by Commiſſary *Alexander Contarini*, fell at unawares upon a Turkiſh gallie, (which was the Imperiall gallie, prepared for the grand Signor, if he himſelfe ſhould come to Sea, and which was then commanded by *Baſſan Rais*) and thoſe of that gallie asking our men what ſhip theirs was, anſwer was made, it belonged to the Venetians; and they being asked by thoſe of *Contarini*'s gallie, who they were, they made no anſwer, but ſeeking to fall Room-ward, did preſently let fly their greateſt Guns at her. Then *Contarini*, moved either by anger, or by the zeal he bore to the honour of that Fleet, ſet upon the Turkiſh gallie, which had declared her ſelfe to be an Enemy; and after a long diſpute, having received ſome harm, for there were above 300 ſouldiers in her, he took her, and put all the Turks to death, except ſome few, who being underneath the deck, were not found till the buſineſſe was over. *Contarini* was much blamed for this by ſome, as if ſway'd out of a deſire of particular revenge, he had done what he knew was contrary to the publick ſervice, by doing an hoſtile act upon the Turks, by whom he had been much injur'd, his ſhip having been before fraudulently detain'd by them. Yet others excuſing him, ſaid, That he had fore-ſeen theſe diſorders more than any other, and had indeavour'd to remove the occaſion, by going with the whole Fleet into *Candia*: ſince the Turks being paſt as friends through the channell of *Corfu*, there was no neceſſity of ſtaying there, which was nothing elſe but to give occaſion of real dangers, ſo to keep free from vain ſuſpitions. After this, the Generall purſuing his courſe, and being come very near the coaſt of *Puglia*, they diſcovered many fires on land, and hearing many guns go off at the ſame time, they at firſt thought it was, that

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thoſe of the Country ſpying our Fleet, and not knowing what Veſſels they were, had given ſigns to the Inhabitants, to betake themſelves to ſtrong holds; but they knew afterwards, that they were ſigns given by the Turks, to call thoſe that were Landed back to their gallies, with which putting to Sea, they came to incounter us; for they had been advertiſed of our comming, by the convoy of the gallie which was taken, who had tarried ſomewhat behinde. Our men were greatly confuſed by the unexpected comming of the Turkiſh gallies. On one ſide the danger was very nigh at hand, and the doubt very great, whether they ſhould ſeek to ſecure themſelves from it, by flight, or by preparing for combate: to fly away, ſeemed diſhonourable, and not very ſafe. The Senates expreſs orders forbad them fighting, and reaſon ought to keep them from it, leſt they upon diſadvantagious terms might hazard thoſe gallies upon the uncertain event of battel, on which the defence and ſafety of their Eſtate by Sea, did in a great part depend. No good order being taken, by reaſon of theſe uncertain Counſels, neither for ſtaying nor for retyring: it hapned, that when the Generall gave order to the other Sea-Captains to turn back to *Corfu*, it was done diſorderly; ſo as all of them haſting as faſt as they could, to free themſelves from danger, five of our gallies, either being too late in tacking about, or elſe not ſo ſwift of ſayl as the reſt, tarryed far behind; four of which fell into the Turks hands, whoſe Captains hands were afterwards barbarouſly ſtrucken off, and open war declared. But the fifth, which was commanded by *Jovan Baptiſta Mirchovich, de Pago*, though it were behinde the reſt, had the good fortune to eſcape. For bearing the halfe Moon for its flagge, it was taken to be a Turkiſh gallie, and was not moleſted by the enemy, but paſt ſafely on to *Otranto*, and went from thence to joyn with Generall *Feſturi*. This laſt buſineſſe, though it was we that was injured, was notwithſtanding a great occaſion of the Turks breaking into war with the Venetians; for *Soliman* having conceived an ill opinion of the Common-wealth, by reaſon of the other accidents which you have heard of, was the eaſilier perſwaded by others, that our Gallies lay there, to hinder the deſigne of his Fleet, by falling at unawares upon them, or to ſet his Fleet on fire. This ſuſpition was much encreaſed by a Letter of *Doria's*, (as was afterwards known by certain ſlaves) which came to *Soliman's* hands, wherein he advertiſed Generall *Peſaro*, of the Turks voyage, putting him in minde, that this was an opportune time, to ſuppreſs the Turkiſh Fleet, which was divided, and feared no ſuch thing. This Letter was thought to be artificially written by *Doria*, and that it was ſent in a little Frigat, ſuch a way, as it might fall into the jawes of the enemy, as it did, to the end it might nouriſh jealouſie in them, that he held ſome ſecret intelligence with the Venetians, and ſo neceſſitate them to joyne their Fleet with his, for the common ſafety. To which purpoſe it was likewiſe believed, that paſſing much about that time neer *Corfu*, he met with Generall *Peſaro* and had often long diſcourſe with him.

The Venetians were generally very much diſpleaſed at theſe pro-

proceedings, thinking it a hard and grievious thing, that the imprudency and raſhneſſe of a few, ſhould trouble the tranquillity of all, by giving occaſion of a dangerous war, contrary to the intention and reſolution of the Senate; which troubled them the more, and made them be the more blamed by others, becauſe they might be ſaid, to have been themſelves the cauſe of their own miſchief. Yet there wanted not ſome, who both abroad, and in the Senate, approved what was done, and defended the authors of it; they ſaid, *It was fit to have reſpect to their honour, to maritime diſcipline, and to the reputation of the Fleet. To what purpoſe was it to be at ſuch expence, in ſetting forth ſo many armed veſſels, if every one might be permitted to do what they pleaſed? If all injuries, all inſultings were to be ſuffered, what credit, what obedience would be given to the ſea-Captains? What hopes would the ſubjects have, of being protected and defended by thoſe forces, which would prove nothing but a vain appearance, if they ſhould ſuffer, that unarmed veſſells, ſhould not give obedience to ſuch as were armed; and that our Gallies ſhould be ſhot at, and ſuffer other ſuch like indignities, without any reſentment? Would not the Turks conſter this done, not out of friendſhip, but out of fear? which at laſt would be no better, than inſtead of appeaſing them, to make them more bold and inſolent. What would it be to puniſh theſe men for what they had done, but to confeſſe, it was done unjuſtly, and againſt the Articles of peace, and conſequently to oblige our ſelves to make reparation, and to pay the Turks* 30000 *Duckets, that they might employ it againſt us? But, which is worſe, if we ſhall grant, that the peace is broken by our Miniſters, how ſhall we ever hope to do any thing, which may ſatisfie the haughty Turks, but by doing ſomething of great ſhame and indignity? That it was uſuall for Princes, to lay their own faults upon their Officers. And that if* Soliman *ſhould not be herewith ſatisfied, but ſhould continue to make war, how would the depriving our ſelves of the ſervice of theſe valiant men redound to the diſſervice of the publick? and, which is worſe, would it not make all others be poorly ſpirited and cowards? ſo as when they ſhould have occaſion to confront the enemy, they ſhould be more troubled, in thinking, how to defend their honours at home before our Magiſtrates, then their own and the common ſafety, againſt the eminent danger of war made by the enemy. And that if theſe were to be proceeded againſt by the way of juſtice, they muſt have more certain and particular information of the fact, by way of proceſſe. That they were likewiſe to tarry for advertiſment from the* Bailo, *to know how theſe things were underſtood by the Turks, in what condition our affairs were, either for war or peace; without which conſiderations, all reſolutions that could be taken hereupon, would be unſeaſonable, unjuſt, and injurious, both to the private, and to the publick.* The earneſt diſputing of theſe things, was the occaſion, why the buſineſſe oft-times propoſed to the Senate, of committing the Commiſſary, and Maſters of the ſhips, to the office of the *Avogaria*, to give an account of the actions whereof they ſtood accuſed, was for many daies deferred. But the newes of the Turks complaints encreaſed ſtill, and how they prepared to revenge themſelves; which was more clearly known by the comming of *Alleſſandro Orſino*, who was ſent by the *Bailo* to *Venice*, he being commanded ſo to do by *Soliman*, that he might let the Senate know, that theſe men were

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to be ſeverely puniſhed, who had violated the peace; and that they were to acknowledge, that what had been done, was done without their conſent or good-will. This being done by *Aiace*, the firſt Baſhaw, made the Senate hope well in the continuance of peace; wherefore they reſolved at laſt to ſend orders to the Generall, that he ſhould ſend *Giuſto Gradenico*, who was chief of thoſe Gallies that chaſed *Jannsbi*, and ſuch others as he ſhould find guilty of the ſame fact, in Irons to *Venice*; but Commiſſary *Contarini* was ordered, to go with his Gally to *Zara*, and that leaving it at the diſpoſall of Generall *Veturi*, he himſelf ſhould come to *Venice*, and preſent himſelf before the Magiſtracy of the *Avogaria*. There were ſome likewiſe that were of opinion, that Generall *Peſaro* ſhould give up his Commiſſion, alledging, that all other things would be but in vain, and give no ſatisfaction to the Turks; it being to be ſuppoſed, that all the diſorders of the Militia muſt ariſe from him, who had the ſupream authority; and that the Generall, by leaving *Gradenico* unpuniſhed, had been the occaſion of the other inconveniences which enſued, and conſequently, that he partook of the ſame fault. That peace with the Turks was of ſuch concernment to the Common-wealth, as nothing was to be conſidered in compariſon thereof. Moreover, that the Fleet being to keep united, there was no need of ſo many Generalls, which in important affairs, and chiefly in the Militia, do rather breed diſorder, then do any good. But notwithſtanding, the Senate, having an eye to the preſervation of the publick dignity, did not onely not conſent to the recalling of the General, but ſending *Orſino* back to the *Bailo*, would not that any account ſhould as then be given to *Soliman*, by any publick order, of their reſolution taken concerning the Commiſſary, and the others, that they might not ſeem to have done it, rather to pleaſe the Turks, than to do juſtice. The *Bailo* was therefore ordered, that he ſhould aſſure *Soliman* of the Senates good-will in generall, and of their deſire of preſerving friendſhip and peace; for the better aſſurance whereof, they would ſpeedily ſend an expreſſe meſſenger, with particular inſtructions of all that had been done, and to aſſure him of the Senate's good-will; to which effect, Commiſſary *Vicenzo Grimani* was afterwards choſen.

But before *Orſino* could come to *Vallona* with theſe orders, *Soliman* being highly incens'd, and being chiefly provoked thereunto by *Barbaroſſa*, though he had promiſed the *Bailo* not to attempt any novelty, till *Orſino* ſhould be returned, gave command, that his Fleet, which lay then in the waters of *Puglia*, and which, after the ſacking of *Caſtro*, was gone to beſiege *Otranto*, ſhould return to *Vallona*, with ſtedfaſt reſolution, to bend all his forces both by ſea and land, againſt the Venetian territories, and particularly to aſſault the Iſland and the Fort of *Corfu*, which at this time made moſt for his purpoſe. It is ſaid, that *Aiace* uſed many reaſons, to diſſwade *Soliman* from declaring enmity againſt the Venetians, ſaying, *That it was nothing elſe, but unſeaſonably to encreaſe the Imperialiſts forces, who were perpetuall enemies to the* Ottaman *family, by neceſſitating the Venetians to joyne with them, for their own defence. Beſides, that the year was already*

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ſo far ſpent, Auguſt *being now almoſt over, as it would not permit any long and difficult enterpriſes, wherein the Fleet was to be made uſe of; and that there began to be ſome want of victualls in the Camp, by reaſon of the ſo many ſhips which* Doria *had taken.* But *Barbaroſſa* being much enraged, becauſe twelve of his Gallies falling at this time upon *Doria's* Fleet at the *Merlere*, had been but hardly dealt with by him, part of them being taken, part ſunk; that he might work ſome revenge, and much more to ſave himſelfe, went about to lay the fault upon the Venetians, ſaying, *That by their aſſiſtance and advertiſment, the Imperialiſts had found the opportunity, to fall upon his Gallies at unawares, almoſt in the Channel of* Corfu, *and in the face of the Venetian Fleet; who, if they had been true friends, ought not to have ſuffered ſo great an outrage to be done, to a Prince in amity with them, almoſt at their own homes, they having forces ſufficient to have hindered it. That the dignity of that Empire, ought not to be ſo injur'd and ſcorn'd; nor that the Venetians, holding cloſe intelligence with their enemies the Imperialiſts, receiving them into their havens, giving them advertiſment, and all other accommodations, ſhould be tolerated to make war by this means underhand with the Muſſelmans, without being injured.* Thus the reſolution was taken, of making war with the Common-wealth, and orders were forthwith ſent to all parts of the *Ottoman* Empire, where great ſtore of Venetian Merchants were wont to frequent for traffick, that they ſhould be detained, together with their goods; and particularly, three great Gallies were arreſted in *Alexandria*, who had the publick faith for their ſurety in thoſe Havens. *Soliman* marched with his Army to *Butrintro*, juſt over againſt *Corfu*, that he might the more commodiouſly convey his men over into the Iſland, whither *Barbaroſſa* was gone on the 28th of *Auguſt*, with his Fleet, and with certain Shallops, wherein were about a thouſand Horſe, to over-run and pillage the country at unawares, as he did. When the newes hereof came firſt to *Venice*, all mens minds were very much moleſted, eſpecially theirs who ſat at the helm of government, though they did very much ſuſpect it before: For though it was thought, the Fort of *Corfu* was able to withſtand the Turks aſſault, without any danger, they judged, it would be very hard for them long to withſtand the forces of ſo potent enemies, and to defend their Dominions, expoſed in ſo many ſeverall parts to their injuries. That therefore this was likely to be the beginning of great troubles to the Common-wealth, which began but then to repair her ſelf, from the ſo many evills ſhe had ſuffered in the late wars in *Terra ferma.*

The Iſland of Corfu *is ſeated on the utmoſt part of the Venetian Gulph, between the* Ionick *and the* Adriatick *ſea: It hath on the north ſide the Rivers of* Albania, *from whence it is not above two miles divided; but it is diſtant by land from the head of* Otranto *ſixty miles on the Eaſt. The Iſland extends it ſelf from the Eaſt to the Weſt, in almoſt a Lunary form; except that the Rock whereon the Fort is placed, makes as it were two ſemi-circles on the inſide. The waters between the Iſland, and the* Terra ferma, *are commonly called the Channell of* Corfu, *which though it be not above two miles over on the Eaſt end of the Iſland, where the Port* Caſopo *is, yet the*

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Island enlarging it self more from landward on the other side, called Levidimo, *it is above ten miles over. The Island is of an excellent aire, as is witnessed by the Orange Trees and Cedars, which grow there in great quantity, and very beautifull, which peradventure afforded the Poets occasion, of so highly celebrating the Gardens of King* Alcinous, *who kept his Court there. The ground is fruitfull, very fit for corn, having on the North side many pleasant plains. The city is placed almost in the midst of the Island, upon the root of a mountain, which is almost surrounded by it. The Suburbs are sufficiently great and capacious, and were at this time inhabited by above* 8000 *persons. The Fort was but of a very small circuit, and capable of not many men; but so seated, as it was secure from being injured by any enemy, having two Castles scituated very high, upon steep Rocks, which are not onely a defence to the walls of the Fort on all sides, but discovering the sea, vallies, and neighbouring mountains, afford means of keeping the enemies Fleets and Armies afar off, which cannot approach near it without much dammage. One, and the antientest of these Castles, is wholly environed by the Fort; the other of later structure, stands part within the Fort, the greater part serving for a wall or rampire thereunto. There are no other cities nor forts in the Island, but onely many straggling villages; and on the South-side stands the castle of St.* Angelo, *stronger by scituation, then by art. The whole Island is about* 120 *miles in compasse, and it was antiently much more inhabited, and the inhabitants esteemed for sea-affairs, which they did so industriously study, as it may be gathered from what* Thucidides *relates, in the war of* Morea. *They had many maritime forces, and were well esteemed by the other Grecians. This Island had been under the Venetians dominion for* 150 *years last past, and was kept by them with great expence and care, being thought to be very fitly scituated, to preserve the Empire of the Sea; for there being in it good and capacious havens, their Fleets may with great safety keep about it, and be ready to defend other eastern Islands and Dominions, and also keep in any enemies, from entring with their Fleets into the Gulph, which could not safely advance, leaving an enemies Fleet behind them, in a strong scituation. This Island is therefore with reason held to be the bulwark of* Italy, *against the Barbarians forces. So as the danger being increased of later years, by reason of the Turks power, the Venetian Senate taking into consideration, together with their own safety, the common service of Christendom, have by stupendious art, and much cost, brought this Fort into such a condition, as it may truly be thought impregnable.* It was at this time governed by severall Magistrates, sent thither by the Common-wealth, *Simone Lione* was Consul, *Luigi da Riva* Commissary, & *Andrea Falliero* Commander of the old Castle; but *Jacopo di Novello* was chief Governour of the Militia, a man wel experienced in matters of war, who falling sick just at this time, dyed, and *Babone di Naldo* was chosen to succeed him, who had purchased the repute of great valour and fidelity, in the last wars on *Terra ferma*, and who at this time was a Collonell. The Senate being willing to gratifie him, for his ready acceptance of this employment, allowed twenty Duckets a month in his life-time to his son *Paule*. *Naldo* carried with him Letters from the Senate, to the Governours of the Island, wherein they were ordered to exhort the Commanders and Citisens, in the name of the Common-

wealth, to behave themselves valiantly and faithfully, promising them rewards, and speedy succours; to which purpose, they were preparing great store of Gallies and Souldiers, and that the Senate had a great care of their safeties, and of preserving the Island. In the Fort there was a Garrison of about 2000 Italians, and as many Islanders, many whereof being trained up to be Cannoniers, did excellent service. There was great store of Artillery, and sufficient Ammunition for them. The charge of the Militia was particularly given to divers, according as need should require; the keeping of the Haven was committed to the care of *Nicolo Semitecolo*, *Zaccheria Barbaro* had the charge of the Victualls, and *Luigi Sanuto* of the Artillery; all these three being Governours of the Gallies of that Guard: So as the Governours and Captains did undauntedly expect the enemy. Yet the Venetians being jealous, by reason of the importancy of the place, that some evil accident might befal it, or at least, that the enemy, if they were not disturbed, might lay a long siege to it, set all their thoughts upon freeing *Corfu* from danger, by fighting the Turkish Fleet: There were many things which advised thereunto; the knowledge, that as long as the Turkish Fleet remained entire, whereby the Camp might easily be furnished with men, which they abounded in, the Island of *Corfu*, and the other Islands also, must be exposed to many dangers; and that the Common-wealths forces being wasted, though with nothing else, by the length of war, some of her Dominions must at last fall into the Turks hands. Moreover, that the Common-wealth had then a great and strong Fleet ready, consisting of 100 Gallies, and conveniency to encrease it, and make it greater, by arming good store of great Vessels. That they had a fit occasion to try the fortune of a Battle, not suffering the expence of so great a preparation for war, to be consumed with certain losse. But they were hereunto chiefly incited, by their hopes of being assisted by the forces of other Christian Princes, in whatsoever enterprise they should undertake against the Turks, according to the so many offers made by the Pope and Emperour; which if they should not accept of, they might seem, not without some infamy, and apparent prejudice to the Commonwealth, to have abandoned both themselves, and the cause of Christendom. There were then about 50 nimble Gallies, and as many great Vessells of the Emperours upon the sea; the Pope had armed four, and the Knights of *Jerusalem* some; which forces being all united, they hoped to be not onely able to beat the Turkish Fleet, and to free *Corfu* from siege; but to do some egregious act, by way of noble conquest. Newes being therefore brought, of the Armies being gone to the Island of *Corfu*, and war being openly made, *Mark Antonio Contarini*, Embassadour at *Rome*, was ordered to acquaint the Pope therewith, and with the Senates resolution; to let him see, in how great danger the common cause of Christendom was, and how ready they were to employ all their forces, to defend it and themselves, against the potent common enemy. They thought it fittest to do this first with the Pope, not onely because this care did chiefly belong unto him, as to the head of Christianity, but for

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that he having been very desirous, that the Christian Princes should joyne against the Infidells, had often offered the Churches Treasury, and all his forces, and authority, towards so pious and necessary a work. It was also very fit, in respect of the present businesse, to treat thereof at *Rome* rather then in *Spain*; it being then thought, by what themselves had given out, that the Emperour's Ministers in *Italy* had commission given them, to joyne his Fleet with the Venetians, if occasion should so require. As soon as the Pope heard this the Senates resolution, he seemed to be very much joyed thereat, saying, That he had never desired any thing more fervently since he was Pope, then this; that God could not be more gracious unto him, then to suffer him to see the mindes and forces of Christian Princes, joyned together against those enemies, who, through the so much encreased discords of Christendom, did now threaten them ruine. He did not therefore onely confirm, but encrease his promises made to the Venetians, when he perswaded them to make this union. And truly the Pope's exhortations were of no small moment, to excite in them these thoughts, and hopes of a League, he being esteemed a wise man, very zealous of the common good, and very well affected towards the Common-wealth. A beginning being thus given to a treaty of League, it was concluded by all, that mighty forces at sea were to be put together, since they had to do with an enemy, whose power, nay, whose very name, was become so formidable to all men. They discoursed therefore of arming 200 Gallies, and as many Ships, and other great Vessells, as they could, wherein 50000 Foot were to be embarcked, and 4000 Horse. But because there arose some difficulty about the distribution of this expence, and the time and necessity pressing very much, to go with that Fleet which was already ready, to the relieve of *Corfu*. The Pope confirming the preparation and union of these forces, as a thing already certainly agreed upon, would have the League to be presently published, for the greater reputation thereof, and to invite the Christian Princes to embrace it, reserving the conclusion of the particular Articles to a better conveniency, and till some orders were come from *Spain*. This publication was made with great solemnity in *St. Peter's* Church, *Gaspero Contarini*, a Venetian Cardinall, singing the Masse, wherein he was assisted by the Pope, and by the whole Colledge of Cardinalls; which being done, the Pope entertained the Emperour's Embassadour, the Embassadour of *Venice*, and the Venetian Cardinalls, and Cardinall *Santa Croce*, a Spaniard, at dinner with him in his Palace. The like publication was also solemnly made in *Venice*, thanks being given to God by *Orisons*, and Processions in all the Churches, for this union of the Christian Princes against the Infidells.

To do somewhat in relation to this, the Senate writ to their Generalls, that they should leave the Captain of the Gulph to guard the places of *Dalmatia* with four Gallies, and that they should go with the whole Fleet to *Brandizzi*. They afterwards took many souldiers into pay, to make good the promised number; they created the Governours of the greater, and of the bastard Gallies,

which were with all diligence put in order; and it was resolved, that when these should be out at sea, they, and all the other armed ships, should be under the command of *Bondumiero*, Captain of the Gallioune. So in a short time, all things were disposed of, on the Venetians side, so as the Fleet might go finde out the enemy. But *Andrea Doria* having received orders, and being desired both from *Rome* and *Venice*, whilst he was yet at *Naples*, to go to *Brandizzo*, and joyne with the Venetian Fleet, finding out many excuses; sometimes, that he must go to *Marcelles*, against the French Fleet; sometimes to *Genua*, to recruit his Gallies with men, and to provide for many things which he wanted, would not tarry, no not the least while there, though *Gasparo Basalu*, Consul for the Venetians at *Naples*, did all he could to perswade him: He oft-times told *Doria*, of the importancy of the Island of *Corfu*, which was now to be freed from danger, and would make for the Emperour's service; how great the glory and reputation was, which he might hereby purchase. He moreover minded him of his own particular obligation, by his word so often given, and promise made so oft to the Venetians, which had made the Senate put such confidence in him, as much to his honour, they had consented, that the Commonwealth's Fleet, which was so potent, and whereon the safety of her Dominions by sea did depend, should be guided and commanded by him as supream Captain. But *Doria* being nothing at all moved herewith, said, They should have accepted of his offer, whilst there was an opportunity of suppressing *Barbarossa*, when he passed with but part of his Fleet through the Channell of *Corfu*. And presently after, going with all his Gallies from *Naples*, he steered his course towards *Genua*, where when he should have given an account of all that had past to the Emperour, he said, He would expect new orders from *Spain*. So as neither Letters from the Pope, written by his own hand, wherein he prest the same desires more fervently then before; nor the Emperour's Embassadour, who went in person to this purpose to *Naples* from *Rome*, came time enough to do any good; for he hoisted sail with such speed and resolution, as if it had been to have escaped some great danger. The Venetians were hereat very much troubled, not onely for that they saw, they had lost their hopes of beating the Turkish Fleet, but because they thought themselves deluded by the Imperialists vain promises. Yet, though *Doria*'s departure, and the newes, that *Barbarossa* was about to enter the Gulph with 100 Gallies, might have counselled them to revoke their order, which they had given their Generalls, of going with their Fleet to *Brandizzo*; the Senate, to shew their constancy in what they had once resolved, and to preserve the reputation of their Fleet, which they thought might be lessened very much, if they should seem to depend so much upon *Doria*'s counsells and actions; after the businesse had been long and diversly discuss'd, they resolved, not to alter any part of their former orders, but renued their desires to the Pope, to give orders to the Count *d' Anguilara*, of going with his Gallies belonging to the Church, to *Brandizzo*, according to the first designe.

Whilst

Whilſt theſe things were in treaty amongſt the Chriſtian Princes, the Turks having conveyed 25000 men, and 30 pieces of Artillery, over into the Iſland of *Corfu*, had built four Cavalliers about the Forts, to equall thoſe within, and obviate their defence. And the mean while, they with barbarous cruelty deſtroyed the country, cut up the Cedar and Olive plants, burnt houſes, took cattle away, and carried the men away priſoners. Many of the inhabitants of the ſubburbs had with-drawn themſelves into the Mandracchio, to ſave themſelves; but not having wherewithall to be nouriſhed, nor to defend themſelves from the rain, which fell in great abundance at that time, the moſt of them periſhed moſt miſerably there; Some few of them got into the Fort, being drawn in with ropes. The Caſtle of *St. Angelo* preſerved many of the villages, it being able by the ſituation thereof, to defend them from the enemy. But the Turks having begun their battery, were aware, that by reaſon of the great diſtance of place, wherein they were bound to build their Cavalliers, that they might fit themſelves to the ſituation, and keep themſelves ſafe from the Cannon within, their ſhot did little hurt, or none; and the Fleet being approached near the ſouth-ſide of the Fort, where *la Purporella* wanting, and the walls were lower, ſo as they hoped they might come nearer, and do moſt good. *Barbaroſſa* was with much loſſe beaten back, and amongſt other things, had the Stem and Rudder of his own Gally ſhot off. The firſt Baſhaw went twice from *Butrinto* to the Iſland, and comming even to the ditch of the Fort, that he might the better diſcover the place, at his return, he told *Soliman*, *That the Fort was ſo ſeated, and ſo defended, as it would hardly be taken in a long time. Wherefore he counſelled* Soliman *to raiſe his Army, and remove his Fleet, whereinto a grievious ſickneſſe was got, and great ſcarcity began to be in the Camp. He told him, how that winter drew on, a very unſeaſonable time for that enterpriſe, wherein the longer his men ſtaid, the more reputation would they loſe, if they muſt afterwards riſe without effecting their deſire. That by reaſon of this enterpriſe, and raſh accidents, his forces and thoughts had been diverted, from more eaſie undertakings againſt the Emperour, for which that warlick preparation was intended. That therefore it being a thing inconſiderately undertaken, he met not with that proſperous ſucceſſe therein, as was wont to wait upon the wiſe and generous counſells of the* Ottaman *Lords. That therefore both the Army and the Fleet were beſt to return to* Conſtantinople, *to refreſh both the one and the other, much weakened by ſeverall inconveniencies, to the end that they might prepare greater forces, whereby to atchieve more certain glory the next year.* This was the firſt Baſhaw *Ajace*'s counſell; yet to keep up reputation, and feigning to have other ends, and it may be out of envy to *Barbaroſſa*'s glory, deſirous to keep him idle, he ſent for the Venetian Conſul, who was yet in the Camp, and told him, That if his Maſters would make reparation for loſſes and injuries done to *Soliman*, and behave themſelves ſo, as it might be made known, that theſe things had not been done by any publick order or conſent, he would work it ſo, that the Army and Fleet ſhould riſe from before *Corfu*, and return to their former friendſhip and peace with his Maſters. Which words, *Januſby*, the

the chief Interpreter, affirmed, to have been ſpoken by the knowledge and conſent of *Soliman*, as was ſoon ſeen. The Conſul being ſuffered to ſend a man of his to this purpoſe, to *Venice*, who was accompanied by two *Chiauſi*, and ſecured as far as *Caſtel Nuovo*. And at the ſame time almoſt, without expecting an anſwer, *Soliman* and his Camp removed towards *Conſtantinople*, and the Artillery & Souldiers being embarcked, the whole Fleet removed from *Corfu*, where they had not ſtaid above ten daies. The whole country was deſtroyed, the villages ruin'd and deſerted, the Turks having carried away 15000 men, and made them ſlaves. *Pacſu*, an Iſland lying on the Eaſt of *Corfu*, and not far diſtant from thence, to which, as it is ſaid, it was antiently joyned, did undergo the like calamity; as alſo *Butrinto*, a maritime country of *Albania*, (juſt over againſt the Iſland of *Corfu*) wherein was a Caſtle, which fell into the Turks hands, at the very firſt appearance of the Army, *Corſiatto*, who was Captain thereof, having carried the keyes to *Soliman*'s ſelf, from whom he received a golden garment, and his liberty. *Barbaroſſa* being gone with all the Fleet from *Corfu*, made towards *la Pereveſa*, (not being able to obtain leave of *Soliman*, to tarry in thoſe ſeas) with 100 Gallies, to commit piracy in the waters of *Puglia*, and *Sicily*, as was earneſtly endeavoured by *Brancardo*, Captain of 12 French Gallies, who being juſt then come to the Turkiſh Fleet, hoped by the favour of *Barbaroſſa*, to accompany him, to the prejudice of the Emperour. It was thought, that advertiſment, come to *Soliman*, of no ſleight commotions raiſed in the confines of *Perſia*, was the cauſe of his ſo ſuddain raiſing his Army; for two daies before, two Olachi came to the Camp, with great diligence from thence; and no occaſion of their comming being divulged, it was held for certain, that they brought bad newes; it being the cuſtom of that Nation, to publiſh and enlarge all things, which may win them reputation, and to conceal ſuch things, as may produce a contrary effect. But really, the great difficulties that were diſcovered in the enterpriſe, and the reaſons alledged by *Aiace*, was the true cauſe of this change of reſolution. The Venetians were mightily rejoyced at the newes, of *Corfu*'s being freed from danger at that time, when being abandoned by *Doria*, and conſequently deprived of all means of ſuccouring it by their own Fleet, the hopes of its defence lay onely in the ſtrength of the ſcituation, and in the defendants valour: Nay, it appeared, that the Common-wealth, and that Fort in particular, would in the future win no little reputation, by this the Turks ſo ſuddain departure, who are not wont to give over any enterpriſe, without the victory. To ſo ſad an age are we grown, as not to loſe by ſuch enemies, is reputed a kind of victory. The Venetians therefore paid their thanks to God, ſinging Maſſes and Pſalmes throughout all their Churches, making ſolemn proceſſions, and giving much alms both in publick and in private, to poor Monaſtaries, and other religious places.

But *Soliman* ſeeking to moleſt the Venetians in ſeveral places, had commanded *Caſſin Sanghiacco* of *Morea*, that aſſembling the ſouldiers of the neighbouring parts together, he ſhould beſiege *Napoli di Romania*,

mania, and *Malvesia*. The Common-wealth had long had the Government of the chief Towns in *Morea*, a fruitful Country, and more famous than any other part of *Greece*, for the number and worth of her Inhabitants, and which was very convenient for the Venetians, by reason of her many Havens wherein her ships have safe receptacle. But having lost *Modene* and *Corone* in the last Turkish Wars made against *Bajazet Ottoman*, Grand-father to this *Soliman*, she kept yet those two Towns, strongly seated and inhabited by people who were very affectionate to the Venetians. *Napoli* stands upon the head of a little Promontory, which thrusting it self out from the land, makes a large and safe Haven, and is inviron'd on three sides by the Sea, and hath a steep and difficult ascent by the Mountain called *Palamide*, on the side towards the Land, so as there is onely a very strait way which leads to the City, lying between the side of the mountain and the Sea; and on the out-side, the banks are so high and steep, as no gallies can come to batter the walls, or land men. The entrance into the Haven, is likewise so strait, as the Gallies cannot enter thereinto but by one and one, so as they may easily be kept from entring by the Artillery, especially by those of a little Castle, seated upon a Rock, about some 300 paces in the Sea, just over against the mouth of the Haven, so as it may play on all sides upon any Vessel that shall approach. It cannot be assaulted by land-forces, being it lies in midst of the Sea, nor by gallies, as having so many shelves about it, as none but very small Vessels can come unto it.

Malvasia is likewise seated in the same place, nearer *Cape Malio*, upon a mountain or Rock, divided for the space of 80 paces from a point of land, which in a long and very narrow shape, thrusts it self into the Sea: so as this City being seated very high, is wholly inviron'd by the Sea, having no passage to land but by a bridge, nor can it be waded to on any part, so deep are the waters round about. And as it is strong and secure by naturall situation, so hath nature furnisht it with fountains of spring water, and with good and fruitfull land; for there is a fair plain upon the top of the Mountain, bearing Corn sufficient for 50 or 60 men, which are enough to defend this strongly seated City against any whatsoever forces. *Vittore de Garzoni*, had the Government of *Napoli*, with the title of *Bailo*, a man very aged, and well experienced, by reason of his imployments both by Sea and Land. This man did not onely defend the Fort free from all danger by his wisdome, valour, and by the fidelity of those men; but making his Cavalry make out many sallies, he secured the Country, and did much indamage the Enemy; therefore *Cassin*, who in obedience to *Soliman*, was come thither with his men, having tri'd the Inhabitants of *Malvasia* both by promises and threats, and finding the difficulty of the enterprise, and not being sufficiently furnisht with any thing to use violence, or to besiege the Town, after having staid some few dayes about *Naples*, went from thence, disbanding some of his Army, and carried the rest into the neighbouring Country, about six miles from the City.

But

But *Barbaroſſa*, *Luſtebei*, being entred with the reſt of the Fleet into the Streit of *Gabipoli* to diſarm, ſtaid abroad with 70 Gallies, and 30 Galliotte, and other Fly-boats, ran over the Iſlands of the *Archipelagus*, which belonged to the Common-wealth: ſome whereof having no means, neither by ſcituation nor Garriſon, to defend themſelves; otherſome through fear, yeelded at the firſt appearance of the Fleet. As *Scire*, a great Iſland, but little inhabited as then, which looks upon the *Pegaſean* Gulph. *Pathmos*, a place of no great note in it ſelfe, but rendred famous by St. *Johns* devotions, one of Chriſt's Diſciples, who being confined to that Iſland, writ the Apocalyps there. *Legina*, of ſmall circuit, but ſo well inhabited, as the Turks were ſaid to have carried above 6000 priſoners from thence: it was likewiſe of better eſteem, by reaſon of the Haven; wherefore there remained uſually a Venetian Magiſtrate there, who at this time was *Franciſco Suriano*. There were alſo ſome Iſlands which belonged to the particular jurisdiction of divers Gentlemen of *Venice*; *Nio*, appertaining to the *Piſan* family, an Iſland of about 40 miles about, noted for the admirable quality of the ſoyl thereof, which whitherſoever it be carried, it drives away all venemous creatures. *Stampalia*, an Iſland of greater circuit, & well inhabited, which belonged to the Houſe of *Quirina*. *Paro*, one of the *Cyclades*, much ſpoken of by Poets, and famous for the excellent Marble which is fetcht from thence; it is about fifty miles about, extending from the Weſt to the Eaſt; and the remainders of many noble buildings, ſhew how much it hath been anciently inhabited; and on the North ſide, it hath a little Caſtle, with a Haven and Wharfe; this belonged then to the family of *Veniero*, but being by ſucceſſion to come to *Bernardo Segredo*, he was gone thither himſelf to keep it. Wherefore this alone, of all the reſt, made ſome reſiſtance, and chiefly by his valour; but the defendants wanting powder, they were forc'd to ſurrender themſelves to the diſcretion of the Enemy, who gave them all their lives, but made many of them priſoners, amongſt whom *Segredo* himſelfe, who by great good fortune was afterwards freed by the means of one of *Raguſa*, a Renegado, who had been long in his gallie, and remembring how well he had been uſed by him, made him this return at his great need; and the Iſland of *Tine*, although it had a Fort, and was both by natural ſcituation, and art, able enough to have held out, took example of the reſt, and followed the Victors fortune: but ſoon after, the Inhabitants repenting that they had ſo ſoon yielded, and deſirous to continue under the Government of the Venetians, free from the Turkiſh Tyranny; they rebelled, and of themſelves ſent into *Candia*, to deſire a Garriſon of ſouldiers, and a Venetian Magiſtrate; and this Iſland doth till this day, keep in loyalty and obedience to the Common-wealth, though it lies in the very jaws of ſo potent Enemies. The Iſland of *Nicſia*, or rather *Naſſo*, with ſome other Neighbouring Iſlands, whereof *Jovanni Griſpo* was Lord, kept ſtill under his Dominion, for he yeelding to the Turks, at the very firſt appearance of their Fleet, agreed to pay 5000 Duckets yearly, by way of tribute to *Soliman*, which he for the firſt year ſent ſpeedily to *Barbaroſſa*: but yet

he

he could not keep his people from being plundered, wherein the ſouldiers behaved themſelves ſo inſolently, as they carried booty from thence, worth more than 25000 Duckets. This is the chiefe Iſland of the *Cycladæs*, amongſt which it is numbred for one; and the ground thereof is ſo fruitfull, as it was formerly called, *Little Sicily*. Thus did *Barbaroſſa* ſtrive to win the love of his ſouldiers, by the ruines of theſe miſerable people, and provided great preſents for the chief men of the Court, hoping thereby to win their good will, that he might go to Sea the next year with greater forces and authority. Some of our Captains were of opinion, to have followed the Enemy with their whole Fleet, when they went from *Corfu*, to hinder theſe miſchiefs which were foreſeen by every one, and to keep poſſeſſion of thoſe Iſlands, from whence they reaped great convenience, and eſpecially, great ſtore of men for their Gallies: yet conſidering the ſeaſon, and the enemies ſtrength, whence ſome bad accident might befall them; but chiefly minding the Senates order, and intention of uniting the forces of the Colleagues, which they could not do, and go ſo far off with their Fleet; they laid aſide the thought thereof, and reſolved that Generall *Peſaro*, drawing a good many men out of the Garriſons of *Dalmatia*, ſhould go with ſome gallies to the taking in of *Scardona*,; and that *Vetturi* ſhould go with ſome other gallies to *Obrovazzo*, but he not being able to go thither himſelfe, by reaſon of his indiſpoſition of health, ſent ſome Governours of the gallies thither, and Colonell *Gabriele dalla Riva*, who was then in *Zara*; and theſe were afterwards accompanied by *Nicolo Buondelmiero*, Captain of the gulph, with ſome other gallies, and fly-boats, to aſſiſt the enterpriſe. The Town of *Scardona* is near *Sebenico*, and therefore of great eſteem, for the ſafety of that Fort, and for the inconveniency which the neighbouring parts may receive from thence, it being in the Enemies hands. The Town was walled round about, but weakly, and had in it two ſmall Caſtles. As ſoon as the Venetians drew near it, after ſome ſmall reſiſtance, the Turks ſurrendred upon diſcretion, to General *Peſaro*, who though he had a good will to ſave the lives and goods of the Inhabitants; yet his commands being neither hard, nor obey'd amidſt the fury, the firſt that entred the Town fell to ſacking; and the Turks, who retired to within their confines to ſave themſelves, meeting with a number of people in Arms, belonging to the Territory of *Sebenico*, they were all cut in pieces by them. *Francisco Salmone*, was left Governour of the Town by the Generall, who thought then to have ſecured it by a new Fort; but better conſidering the difficulty, and the expence of maintaining that place, ſeated in the midſt of the Enemies forces, and the damage which they might receive, if it ſhould fall back again into the Turks hands; it was thought better to ſlight the Caſtles, and to content themſelves with having deprived the Enemy of ſuch a receptacle. The Turks, who were in *Obrovazzo*, though they were but a few, did for a while defend the Town valiantly, but being forc'd at laſt to yeeld, they retreated into the Caſtle, which whilſt they were ordering their affairs how to take it, the gallies were ſent for back by the Generall, by reaſon of new orders ſent

from *Venice*, to go with the Fleet towards *Corfu*. Touching the preservation whereof, the Senate had had very great care, being awakened by the past dangers, and by those eminent ones which were yet threatned. They therefore sent Captains, Ingineers, Monies, and Men, to reduce the Fort to greater security. They likewise desired to comfort the people that were there, by the presence of the chief Sea-commanders, and by restoring their losses as much as they could, by furnishing them with wood, and other Materials, to re-build their houses, which were destroyed by the enemy. Thus (the winter comming on) ended the war for this year, the effects whereof were no waies answerable to the so great preparations; and mens minds were quieted, who stood expecting to what side the fortune of War would lean.

The Princes bethought themselves in this interim, what was to be done the next year 1537, wherein their ends were various, & not well known. *Solimans* seemed to desire peace with the Venetians, whereof the first Bashaw had, by *Solimans* consent, some discourse with Consul *Cavale*, desiring him, that the Embassador might come to *Constantinople*, who was already chosen to that purpose, promising he should have a safe conduct, and all fair entertainment. But the greater the unaccustomed civility of these haughty men was, the more were their proceedings suspected; fearing that they did not intend peace by this Treaty, but to take the Commonwealth from off friendship with *Cesar*, and to break the Treaty of League. *Charles* the Emperour seemed to be wholly bent upon making war with the Turks, saying sometimes, that he had a great desire to go himselfe in person to that enterprise, and that he very much coveted so great glory, which was all the reward which he desired: and that what Territories soever should be taken from these Enemies, should by his consent be added to the common-wealth of *Venice*, calling her the true Out-bulwork against the Turks, and that therefore it was a great service to Christendom to increase their power. *Cesar* made these outward appearances, and his Officers in *Italy*, that they might agree with their Princes outwardly appearing sense, and to make it be believed that he did really intend it, seemed to be very solicitous in preparing for War. *Doria* promised to have his gallies ready to put to Sea very early, and that he would joyn with the Venetian Fleet; saying, that he very much desired to do some signall service in this War to Christendom, and particularly to the Common-wealth. And Marquis *Guasto*, Governour of *Millan*, seemed as ready to lend his helping hand to the businesse in all things that were requisite; he sought, upon all occasions of discourse, especially when he met with the Secretary of the Common-wealth, to advance any thing whereby *Cesar* might be believed to be well-minded to the League, and zealous of the good of Christendom; yet there were those that doubted, lest *Cesar* by these outward shews might seek to conceal his other more secret thoughts; and that he either had other ends, or was not well resolved either upon War, or Peace, but would observe what others did, and pitch upon what might be best for himself; but in the interim, by seeming

ing ſo deſirous of War, he made the Venetians liſten more eagerly after the League, and repoſing their truſt therein, to break off the Treaty of Peace which was propounded to them by *Soliman*; ſo as neceſſitating them to adhere to him, and to continue War with the Turks, he thought to reap ſome advantage to himſelf, by making the Common-wealth his Bulwork, and ſo with ſafety to himſelfe, prolong time for other reſolutions. His chief intentions being to minde his war againſt the French, and to ſettle his poſſeſſion in the State of *Millan*. There were many ſigns that theſe were *Ceſar's* aim; his delay in giving anſwer to the Letters written unto him many moneths before from the Senate touching the League; whence it was conceived, that he would neither be bound to any thing, nor yet declare himſelfe ſo fully, as that his own hand-writing might be a witneſſe; likewiſe his not comming with the King of *France* to a generall Truce; his continuall raiſing of new difficulties, and impediments in the treaty of Peace, wherein the Pope and Venetians had often interpoſed themſelves, though to little purpoſe, he ſtill laying the fault upon the French, but not being able to conceal his ill will towards them, and his being ill ſatisfied with their actions; to which was likewiſe added a certain common report, that he indeavoured to make *Barbaroſſa* his friend, by the means of a Spaniard, who was Nephew to the Vice-roy of *Cicily*, then priſoner amongſt the Turks: and that he held other intelligences in *Conſtantinople*, to ſecure his Dominions from being invaded by the Turks. And it was well known, that *Barbaroſſa* (paſſing through the narrow Seas of *Meſſina*, when there was none to withſtand him, if he had had a mind to have attempted any thing) had not done any prejudice to *Ceſars* affairs. The King of *F.* appeared to be really more deſirous of Peace, for he might expect more advantage thereby: he deſired to ſee the affairs accommodated between the Turks & the Common-wealth, to free her from being inforc'd to joyn with *Ceſar*, & to fence himſelf by the common Arms, from the danger of the Turkiſh war, & becauſ having a ſhare in the buſineſs, he hoped, if war were to inſue between him and *Ceſar*, ſhould the more eaſily draw the Venetians to ſide with him, when they ſhould be free from other ſuſpitions and impediments, knowing that they were troubled at *Ceſars* too much greatneſſe. He likewiſe deſired peace with the Emperour, h[illegible]ing by that means to obtain his deſire, that the Dukedom of [illegible]*lan* might be releaſed by *Ceſar*, to his ſecond Son, the Duke of *Orleans*, which he ſaw he was every day leſſe likely to get by force of Arms. He had alwaies liſtned therefore to all propoſalls of peace; and *Franciſco Juſtiniano*, being ſent to that Court by the Senate, not as an Embaſſadour, but as Gentleman of *Venice*, to that purpoſe; he was very well received by the King, who thanked the Senate, and intreated them to continue their indeavours of mediating an accord with *Ceſar*, to whom *Luigi Badoaro* was ſent at the ſame time in name of the publick. Nor did the Pope ceaſe to do the like; who, though he had oft-times intereſſed himſelfe in this buſineſſe, and done no good; had laſtly ſent the Cardinall *de Carpi*, to the Emperour, and Cardinall *Jacobaccio*, to the King of *France*, to uſe his Holi-

neſſes Authority and intreaties to both of them, in making peace between them, ſo as they might afterwards unite their Forces againſt the common Enemy of Chriſtendom. To which the King of *France* anſwered, that he was very willing to make peace, as he would witneſſe to the world by his actions. Wherefore underſtanding that the Emperour had propounded a meeting of Commiſſioners on both ſides at *Narbonne*, he forthwith ſent the Cardinall of *Lorein* thither, and Monſieur *Legrande Maiſtre*, with power to conclude the Peace: to aſſiſt the which, and for the quicker and more eaſie reſolution of ſuch doubts as might ariſe; his Brother in law, the King of *Navar*, his wife, the Queen of *France*, and his ſiſter, the Queen of *Navar*; were by his direction come very near *Narbone*, with larger Commiſſions, and greater power to confirm the Agreement. But as none doubted, but that the King of *France* was well inclined to peace, ſo all men believed, that he would govern his actions and counſels onely according to his own ends and particular Intereſts; ſo as it was likely he might alter his minde, if he ſhould diſcover any thing which might make for his advantage, though it were to the prejudice of the reſt, as he had lately done; nothing elſe being able to keep him, from making the Turks make War againſt *Ceſar*, from whence aroſe another War againſt the Common-wealth. For theſe reaſons, it was thought that the other Princes could not build any firm foundation upon the reſolution of the French, eſpecially not the Venetians, whoſe actions did admit of no delay, nor irreſolution. But the Pope and Venetians proceeded very candidly in this buſineſſe, having an eye not onely to their own peculiar intereſt, and preſent advantage, but to the common ſervice of Chriſtendom, and to the preſent threatning dangers, which if they were not remedied, would daily grow greater. The firſt thing that *Paul* the 3d did, after he had aſſumed the Popedom, was, to indeavour the uniting of the Chriſtian Princes againſt the Infidels; wherefore appearing alwaies neutral in the diſcords which hapned between *Charles* the Emperour, and the King of *France*, he [illegible]d ſtudied very much to make them friends. But being in better hope to effect this his deſire, now ſince the Venetians waged war with the Turks, their forces by Sea being held to be of very great moment in ſuch an enter[illegible]ſe, though they could not be drawn to do ſo before, for many go[illegible]ſpects, nor now, without this urgent neceſſity, he uſed his utmoſt indeavours to unite the Chriſtian Princes in a League againſt the Turks; and knowing by the late experience of *Doria*'s unſeaſonable departure, that no good could be done without a certain limitation and firm tie; as alſo hoping, that a firm union being made between theſe three prime Princes, the reſt would be the more eaſily perſwaded to imbrace the League: he readily offered all that the Apoſtolick ſea was able to do, remitting himſelfe therein, to the Venetian Senate. But the Venetians finding that they were at open war with the Turks, and thoſe reſpects ceaſing which had formerly made them be very cautious, though they had alwaies been very deſirous to oppoſe the *Ottoman* greatneſſe, began now to forego their former fear, and to have better hopes, and were confi-

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dent not onely to maintain their own Dominions, but to ſuppreſſe the Turkiſh forces, if the Chriſtian Princes would joyn with them. There was a certain neceſſity likewiſe, which made them think of continuing the war, and of imbracing the League, ſince the danger of ſo potent Neighbours did increaſe ſo faſt, as to delay oppoſing them, was rather a ſeeming, than a true ſecurity to the affairs of the Common-wealth. But they were chiefly perſwaded to believe well, out of a firm opinion, that whole *Germany* would move joyntly againſt the Turks; for being awakened by *Solimans* laſt attempts, they might know that the danger of the Turkiſh forces were greater and nearer hand, than they were before held to be by many. So as it was not likely that they would let ſlip ſo good an occaſion of revenging the injuries which they had received, of recovering the honour of military glory, ſo much valued by that warlike Nation, and of ſecuring themſelves from greater dangers, but that the Princes & Hauns-Towns would readily wage war with the Turks, with powerfull forces, whilſt being buſied at Sea, they could make but ſmall reſiſtance, on that ſide: nor would they want a head, who would incite them thereunto, ſince *Ferdinand* of *Auſtria*, brother to *Charles* the Emperour, and who was to ſucceed him in the Empire, having been much moleſted by *Soliman*, ſeemed greatly to deſire ſuch an occaſion, as was now offered, promiſing to adhere unto the League; and *Ceſar* named him, to be one of the chief contractors, whereat the Venetians were very well pleaſed. They therefore willingly gave way, that it ſhould be referred to the Pope and Emperour, to nominate what ſhare of expence he ſhould be at, with the other Colleagues, and did earneſtly endeavour to confirm him in this reſolution, by their Embaſſadour *Marin Juſtiniano*, who was then reſident with him. *Ferdinand* had often had occaſion, and much to his prejudice, to ſuſtain the fury of the Turkiſh forces, who having poſſeſt themſelves of that part of *Hungary*, which lies between the Rivers *Sava* and *Drava*, were become his very formidable neighbours, and had thereby free and open ingreſſe into *Ferdinando's* territories, whoſe ſubjects were vext by the continuall inroads and pillagings of the Turkiſh Garriſons, [illegible] thoſe confines, even in time of Truce. Therefore *Ferdinand* [illegible]nd his ſubjects appeared very deſirous and willing, both for their ho[illegible] and ſafety, to ſuppreſſe the Turkiſh forces, and to drive them out of that Province. Great, and very convenient were the forces of *Germany*, a country abounding in men, horſes, monies, and victualls, and in all things belonging to war; but being perpetually troubled with domeſticall diſcords, by reaſon of ſo many diverſities in Religion, and Government, ſhe was but weak, and unfit for great enterpriſes. Bearing the rather with the injuries of the Turks, and with ſome diſhonour ſuffering her dangers to encreaſe, becauſe ſhe hated the too much greatneſſe of the Houſe of *Auſtria*. It being therefore thought moſt requiſite, for the doing of any thing againſt the Turks, that *Germany* ſhould joyntly reſolve to take up Arms, without which, the Turkiſh Armies, and thoſe forces, which are the true foundation, of the power and grandure of their Empire, would

remain

remain safe and entire, or but little prejudiced. The Venetian Senate, that they might leave nothing unattempted, resolved to send expresse Embassadours to the Electors of the Empire, and to other Princes, and Hauns-towns in *Germany*, to perswade them to make war, holding out unto them the opportunity which was then offered, of regaining the antient honour, and military glory of the German Nation; and promising, that the Common-wealth would and should make use of all her forces, to keep the common enemy busied else-where; so as being assaulted both by sea and land, the way would be made plain for famous victories for Christendom. *Jovan Veniero*, and *Luigi Bembo*, who being gone (as hath been said) to that Court, upon occasion of the peace of *France*, had received orders to stay there, till he should receive new orders from the Senate; treated often with the Emperour, touching the conclusion of the League, exhorting him to send free and sufficient Commissions, to his Agents at *Rome*, and witnessing the firm and constant resolution of the Senate, to joyne with him, and willingly to undergo the charge and danger of the war. They excited him likewise, to solicite provisions for the Fleet, for the effecting of what was resolved upon, and concluded at *Rome*. *Cesar* listned very well to these things, and seemed very desirous to bend all his forces against the Turks, in the Eastern parts; affirming, as he had often done before, that he would go thither himself in person, and that he should be exceeding glad, that the Common-wealth, which he did much love and esteem, might encrease her greatnesse and reputation, by the recovery of the Towns, which the Turks had usurped from her. The Senate therefore sent forthwith to their Embassadour, *Mark Antonio Contareni*, who was at *Rome*, particular information of their good-will to the League, with orders, to endeavour the speedy conclusion thereof, though he might give way unto some things.

Thus was the time protracted, without making any answer to the Consuls Letters, the Senate not being resolved what to do, touching the propositions of peace made by the Turks, and to the particular discourse which the Bashaw had had with the Consul; which many of the Senate being displeased at, they oft-times opposed when any new commissions or orders were spoken of, to be sent to the Embassadour at *Rome*, concerning the League. They considered, *That it was not expedient, the Common-wealth should bind her self so fast upon this Treaty of the League, as they should debar themselves all negotiations of peace. That they were first to examine well the present state and condition of affairs, and see how they could make war; with what forces, what monies, with what helps it was to be maintained; whether they would be so constant, in persevering in trouble and danger, as they appeared ready to undertake it, whilst yet afar off. That the publick Exchequer was much exhausted, by the so long wars in* Terra ferma, *their subjects weak and poor. That their cities did rather require rest, then to enter into a more dangerous war then the former were. That the former successes might shew, how uncertain and ill-grounded the hopes were, which were reposed in assistance from forrain Princes, since unlesse the strong situation of* Corfu,

and

and the inconveniencies, or diſ-accommodations of the enemy, had not preſerved that Fort, and freed the Common-wealth from ſo great a loſs, Doria had ſuffered it to fall into the hands of the enemy, deluding all the Common-wealth's hopes and deſignes. Nor were the weighty intereſts of ſo many citizens to be deſpiſed, who being to ſuſtain the heavy burthen of publick taxes, had their eſtates in the hands of the Turks, which they might hope to recover by treaty. That not to liſten to any propoſition of peace or concord, was to contend with the Barbarians themſelves in Barbariſm, to exceed them in thoſe things, whereof they were moſt to be blamed. That it would be a great diſadvantage, if things ſucceeding unproſperouſly in the progreſſe of war, we be forc'd to ſeek for that peace from the Turks, which is now voluntarily offered by them. That if no other good might be got by ſuch a treaty, it would not be amiſſe to delay thoſe dangers, which were threatned by ſuch an enemy, that they might prepare the better to defend themſelves. That if theſe things were well weighed, as they ought to be, why ſhould the occaſion of any good be let ſlip? Wherefore ſhould the anſwer, expected by the Baſhaw, ſo long be deferred? Wherefore ſhould not the Baile be made acquainted with the Senate's will? That delay could produce nothing but miſchiefe. That Soliman's *anger would not be a little encreaſed, by the refuſing his offers, who held himſelf ſcandalized by what the Fleet had done, and (as was ſaid by the Grandees of that Court) by the ſmall account that was made of his perſon, no Embaſſadour being ſent to him, when he came ſo near the States dominions, as was uſually done upon like occaſions to other Princes. Moreover, this ſilence would make the Turks more diligent, in making the greater preparation for war, ſince they muſt needs finde, we had no minde to have peace. In fine, that to advance ſo far in the treaty of League, without propoſing any thing of peace, had no other aſpect, but of enforcing the Senate to embrace the reſolution, of continuing in war; which, if well weighed, was of all things moſt to be abhorred.* But theſe things were thus anſwered by thoſe, who thought it the ſafer ſafer way to treat of League, then of Peace: *That they were not alienated from the thought of peace, but did endeavour to provide ſo for the emergencies of the preſent times, as they might be able to ſuſtain war. That therefore they did not without juſt cauſe, forbear writing at the preſent to* Conſtantinople, *leſt they might make the Chriſtian Princes jealous, whereby they might ſlacken their providing for war. That there remained many things yet to be conſidered, before the League could be concluded, wherein time might be protracted; and when things ſhould be drawn nearer to a head, they might have better occaſion to know the Turks mindes, and ſo bear both the League and Peace in hand at once, and pitch upon what might be thought beſt for the Common-wealth. That too much haſte could onely diſcover their weakneſſe the more unto the Turks, and make them more inſolent in their Articles of Agreement; the which the more they ſhould ſeem to deſire, it would be had upon the harder tearms. That no matter of expence was to be had in conſideration, ſince howſoever, they were to arm themſelves, and to treat of peace with their weapons in their hands; not to prejudice the conditions of peace, and not to commit themſelves too raſhly, to the diſcretion and faith of their perfidious enemies.* Theſe reaſons were alleadged for the League, and the buſineſſe at *Conſtantinople* was de-

deferr'd. But at laſt, many being deſirous that ſomewhat ſhould be written, and that the buſineſſe ſhould not be totally given over, it was propoſed unto the Senate, *That the Conſul might tell the Baſhaw* Aiace, *That the Common-wealth had great reaſon to complain of* Soliman, *who, unprovoked by any publick injury, had broke the peace, and ſent his men in hoſtile manner to* Corfu, *without expecting* Orſino's *return, ſent by his conſent, nay, by his order, to* Venice, *and with promiſe, not to attempt any novelty, till by his return it might be known, what the truth of thoſe paſſages was, which the Turks took ill, and who was really in the fault. That it had alwaies been the ſtedfaſt intention of the Senate, to preſerve peace and amity with that Empire; and that upon occaſion of ſo many wars made by* Soliman, *they had never diſturbed his enterpriſes, but had alwaies kept their word inviolably, and kept conſtant to their neutrality. That at this very time, Generall* Peſaro *dreamt of nothing leſſe, then of impeding his Captains deſignes, no not of giving them any ſuſpition; but that he was come into the Gulph, to joyne with the other ſea-Captains, and ſhun ſuch accidents; but that being driven by the winds, he was forc'd to paſſe into the Rivers of* Puglia, *where the Turkiſh Fleet lay. That they did believe,* Soliman *ſtood well affected to the Common-wealth, (as he was affirmed to do) and well inclined to peace, ſince being a juſt and a wiſe Prince, he knew it became him, to preſerve friendſhip with the Venetians, who had given him no occaſion to the contrary. Nor was it fitting, that good intelligence between Princes ſhould be broken, by the inconſiderate actions of any particular Officers. That therefore they were confident, he would reſtore the goods of private Merchants, which were detained, who, upon the faith of ſo great a Prince, were perſwaded to trade in his Dominions.* Their intention hereby was, that the Conſul ſeeking by ſuch diſcourſe as this, to ſift ſomewhat more particularly into the Turks thoughts, ſhould begin, if he ſhould find any good hopes, to commence the Treaty of peace. This propoſall being made in the Senate, three daies were ſpent about it, which being over, there wanted two votes to make the buſineſſe be reſolved upon; ſo as there was nothing decided in the point, though it had been long diſputed by perſonages of great dignity and authority. The promiſes of theſe Princes had made ſo great an impreſſion in the minds of all men, as confiding very much therein, and being therefore deſirous to ſhun any the leaſt ſuſpition, that the League was not really intended by them, they would liſten to nothing which might perſwade to the contrary.

Don Lopes, the Ceſarian Embaſſadour, hearing of this irreſolution, he hoped, that the Common-wealth might be brought to a nearer conjunction with *Ceſar*: He therefore renued the motion of uniting the Fleets, which had formerly been made by him and *Doria*. He appeared in the Colledge, and laboured much to perſwade, that for the common ſervice, no longer delay ſhould be made, in giving order to our Generalls, to go to *Meſſina*, and joyne with *Doria*'s Gallies, who, he ſaid, had ſufficient commiſſion from the Emperour in that point; and that he ſhould not be wanting in any thing, which concerned the good and ſafety of Chriſtendom, and in particular, that of the Common-wealth. He ſhewed, *That the Em-*

perour

perour ſtood very well affected to the common good, and that his forces ſhould be anſwerable to this his affection; for beſides the Fleet now in being, other ſhips of all ſorts were arming in the Spaniſh Havens, and great proviſions of men and monies were raiſing, throughout all his dominions. That the Emperour Charles *deſired to juſtifie himſelf alwaies, before both God and man, that he had diſcharged his part gallantly, not having ſpared either expence or labour, to quell the pride of the enemies of Chriſtendom. That he had therefore at all times ſolicited other Princes, whoſe intereſt was concern'd in this common cauſe, to know the dangers which grew daily greater, tending to the ruine of Chriſtianity, which he, by reaſon of his greatneſſe, might live freer from, then any other; but that he did more value the common good, then his own particular concernment. That there needed no new examples to ſhew, that the weakneſſe of Chriſtian Princes, and the exaltation of their enemies, proceeded from their own luke warmneſſe. That the laſt unfortunate ſucceſſe of* Rhodes *might be conſidered, which being aſſaulted by this very* Soliman, *and not ſuccoured by any Chriſtian Prince, fell miſerably into the power of the Turks, to the ſo much loſſe, prejudice, and ſhame of all Chriſtendom. But that there was ſome excuſe for thoſe ſucceſſes then, ſince thoſe Princes, from whom they might expect beſt aſſiſtance, were diſarmed; which would not prove ſo now, when the Emperour and Common-wealth had two powerfull Fleets at ſea, to fall upon the enemy. What was there more to be expected? That forces were to be made uſe of whilſt they were entire, and loſſes obviated before they happened, and not to ſuffer the one and the other Fleet, to run peradventure ſome haſard, become weaker, (ſince mens deſignes do oft-times miſcarry, by ſeverall unthought-of accidents) or that the Turks ſhould begin to get footing in* Italy, *and ſo theſe miſchiefs prove too late to be remedied.* By theſe and the like reaſons, the Embaſſador ſtrove to make the Senators leave their Neutrality, and declare enmity to the Turks. But they being grave and conſiderate men, would not be moved by theſe majeſticall words, and ill-grounded promiſes, continuing their reſolution of not taking up arms, unleſſe enforc'd by neceſſity, againſt ſo powerfull an enemy, and who might prejudice the dominions of the Common-wealth in ſo many ſeverall parts, ſhe not having forces of her ſelf ſufficient to defend them, nor having reaſon to confide much in others. It was therefore reſolved to anſwer in generall terms, *That they returned thanks to* Ceſar; *but could do no more at this time, out of many weighty and well known reſpects, eſpecially, ſince their friendſhip and neerer conjunction being deſired, by the French, and by the Turks, they had anſwered them, they could not give them ſatisfaction; for that it was the ſtedfaſt reſolution of the Venetian Senate, to keep their plighted faith to all men, as it became all Princes to do. That they would notwithſtanding keep in arms, for any chance that might occur, having alwaies, together with their own ſafety, an eye to the common good of Chriſtendom.* The Embaſſadour ſeemed ſatisfied with this anſwer, replying nothing as then; but returning ſome few daies after to the Colledge, he made an other demand, which was, That ſince the French threatned danger to the State of *Millan*, they would raiſe 6000 Foot for the defence thereof, and ſend their *Gens d' Armes* thither, according to the

Articles of the last Agreement. Wherein shewing themselves to be very ready, necessary orders were forthwith given out for it. But the Commanders being come with their Horse and many Foot, to those Confines, the Duke of *Urlin*, who commanded the Venetian Militia in chief, put them in minde, that they were to passe no farther, they being onely to defend the State of *Millan*, whereof there appeared no need at the present, since the French were held play as yet in *Piemont*. That if they should passe the River *Sesia*, and enter the Dukedom of *Millan*, that then their tye of confederacy would take place; and that upon such an occasion, the people of the Commonwealth should be ready.

The end of the Eighth Book.

THE

THE HISTORY OF VENICE,

Written by PAULO PARUTA.

BOOK IX.

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The Colleagues retreat, and are prejudiced by the Turks. Severall diſcourſes againſt Doria: *his ſhame. The Leagues Fleet adviſeth to aſſault the Enemy again. The Generalls ſeverall opinions. They aſſault* Caſtel-Nuovo, *which ſurrenders, and is ſackt by the* Spaniards. *The Turkiſh Fleet is ſcattered and ſorely rent by ſtorm; the Colleagues part, and diſarm. The Duke of* Urbines death.

ALl treaty of Peace being laid aſide, and the hopes of the ſafety and defence of the States Dominions by Sea reſting in Arms, the Venetians are very diligent in providing all things neceſſary for War. They prepare a great Fleet, Souldiers, Ammunition, and Victuals for the ſervice of the Iſlands, and other Maritine places. Thoſe of *Napoli* and *Malvaſia*, deſired that their Garriſons might be increaſed; but eſpecially to be furniſht with Victuals, for want whereof *Napoli* had been in danger of falling into the Enemies hands; they promiſed, (if aſſiſted and ſuccour'd,) to undergo the greateſt dangers of War, and to continue conſtant to the Common-wealth, even to the laſt extremity. The Iſland of *Candia* made the ſame requeſt; wherein there having been ſome commotions and ſcandalous ſpeeches given out, that they would ſurrender unto the Enemy, when their Army ſhould approach, by reaſon of the terrour which the ſacking of the Iſlands in the *Archipelagus*, had infuſed into the generality of the chiefeſt cities in the Kingdom, they had ſent Embaſſadors to *Venice* to purge themſelves of that fault, which they ſaid was occaſioned by the errour of ſome few, of mean condition, rather out of their indiſcretion and cowardlineſſe, than out of ill will. They therefore offered to ſerve the Common-wealth with their lives and livelihoods, promiſing to give good teſtimony of their Loyalty, and humbly deſiring that they might not be abandond; for that they were ready to defend themſelves to the laſt, & would never go leſſe in their affection to the Common-wealth, whereof many of them were members by an ancient Colony, and therefore the more intereſſed in this cauſe. The Senate liſtned very attentively to theſe things, and diſmiſt the Embaſſadors with gracious words and promiſes; and ordered the Generall to ſend forthwith 25 gallies towards *Candia*, under the command of Commiſſary *Paſqualigo*, who was likewiſe to ſend ſouldiers and victuals to *Napoli*, and to leave four gallies to guard it. The Iſland and Fort of *Corfu*, were likewiſe furniſht with neceſſaries, and had 1000 foot ſent from *Venice* to add unto the Garriſon, conducted by *Valerio Orſino*, who was to be the chiefe head of that Militia, the Senate not being well ſatisfied with *Naldo*'s actions. *Dalmatia* was furniſht with ſeverall Troops of light Horſe, choſen out of ſtout men of *Greece* and *Crovatia*, to defend the Country from the inrodes of the Enemy; but the uncertainty of what the Enemy would undertake, did increaſe the expence and difficulty, whereof the diſcourſe was very various, ſo as they were neceſſitated to ſecure all their Territories by Sea, which were expoſed to the ſuddain aſſaults of the Enemy. Nor was the de-

defence of *Friuli* to be neglected; for it being ſaid, that *Soliman* would march with his Army himſelfe in perſon; there was no ſlight ſuſpition, that he would approach on that ſide, and enter on thoſe confines. There were at this time 50 gallies in the Fleet, which was in the Eaſt, whereof Generall *Capello* being come to *Corfu*, had tane the Government, and Governours were already choſen to arm two and twenty more, and all other fitting things were taken order for: three baſtard gallies were likewiſe prepared, and ſix great ones, which were to be commanded by one particular Captain, ſo as they amounted in all, to the number of 80 gallies. But the Generall finding many of the gallies in ill condition, in point of men, by reaſon of a great mortality which had hapned in the whole Fleet: he was ordered to go to *Zantes*, and to *Cefalonia*, where he was to uſe all means poſſible to reinforce them, that they might be ready and well provided at all points againſt the time: that it was thought the joyning of the Fleets would be determined by the Articles of the League, wherein the greater diligence was uſed, that it might be an inſtigation to the ſlowneſſe of the reſt. This mean while, the firm and finall concluſion of the League, was ſolicited of the forces, whereof there was ſo generally a great opinion conceived, as it huſht the Treaty of Peace, though in the progreſſe of the Treaties, divers difficulties were diſcovered to be greater then were at firſt imagined; ſo as this indeavour was a while laid aſide, and undetermined. The Venetians had pleaſed the Emperour, in the choice of the Captain Generall, giving way that that high dignity ſhould be confer'd upon *Andrea Doria*, and the Pope, to gratifie the Venetians, had choſen *Marco Grimani*, Patriark of *Aqualegia*, for his Commander; a Venetian, of a noble and rich Family, and one in whom the Common-wealth did therefore much confide; but the proportion of expence, which every one of the Colleagues were to be at in the common enterpriſe, was not yet determined: for it being known, that the third part of the whole, would be an inſupportable burthen for the Apoſtolick Sea, the Venetians were content to bear a part therein, *Ceſar* being to ſupply the reſt. But his Agents, though they acknowledged the Pope ſhould be aſſiſted, would not notwithſtanding give way that his proportion therein ſhould exceed the Venetians. But at laſt, *Ceſar* doubting leſt, that the longer the concluſion of the League ſhould be delay'd, their minds who were ſet moſt hotly upon the war, might grow cool, and that thereby the Senate might at laſt liſten to a treaty of Peace, whereby he himſelf were to ſuſtain the whole force of the Turks: he gave leave to his Miniſters in *Rome*, to ſtipulate all things agreed upon, and particularly to conſent, for matter of expence, that the Pope ſhould not be charged with above a ſixt part, and that for the remainder of the Popes ſhare, *Ceſar* ſhould pay three ſix parts, and the Venetians two.

Whilſt theſe things were in treaty at *Rome*, *Geneſino*, one of *Pera*, who ſerved as interpreter for the Common-wealth at *Conſtantinople*, came unexpectedly to *Venice*, and brought Letters form the Conſul, a meſſage from the firſt Baſhaw, and Captain of the Sea: *Which propounded, adviſed, and invited to a treaty of Peace, and then gave a particular*

ticular account of the great preparations of the Fleet, and ſouldiers, which were a making in ſeverall parts of the Turkiſh Empire: he told them in the name of Aiace, *the chief Baſhaw, that he did much wonder, he had not all this while, received any anſwer to his firſt propoſalls: that notwithſtanding he did ſtill continue the ſame good wiſhes for the Common-wealth, and that the way to peace was not yet altogether ſhut up, if they would indeavour to paciſie* Solimans *anger, by ſending an Embaſſadour to that Court, who might juſtifie their late actions, and make reparation for the laſſes that had been had, which otherwiſe was not to be allay'd, but would thunder out to the great prejudice of the Common-wealth.*

Theſe Propoſitions of Peace were the rather believed, by reaſon of a ſpeech which was given out at *Conſtantinople*, and which grew ſtill hotter and hotter, that *Soliman* would bend his forces either againſt *Perſia* or *Hungary*: either of which, proving alwayes ſharp to the *Ottamans*; and that, he having thereby greater deſigns to penetrate into *Germany*, he muſt give over all other Enterpriſes, which was thought to be the reaſon of *Geneſino*, his being treated ſo civilly, and of his being extraordinarily favour'd by the attendance of two *Olacchi*, to *Caſtel-Nuovo*, and from thence to *Cattaro*, by the ſervants of one of thoſe *Sangiacchi*, to the end that his paſſage might be the more ſpeedy and ſafe. His comming, and theſe new offers, wrought much with ſome of the Senators, who were before hotteſt for the proſecution of war, and confirm'd others in their opinion, who were firſt inclined to a treaty of peace. Wherefore the Senate meeting oftentimes, to reſolve ſomething hereupon, *Mark Antonio Cornaro*, who had formerly oppoſed this opinion, ſpoke thus in oppoſition to the propoſall.

I confeſſe, I know not why we ſhould now be of another opinion, than we have hitherto been, ſince the ſtate of affairs, or the reaſons which prevailed with us then, are either the ſame, or if any new accidents ought to be had in conſideration, they are ſuch as ought to confirm us more in our former minde. It was not out of free will, nor election, not out of hopes of inlarging the confines of our Empire, that we took up Arms, or declared war againſt the Turks: but we were compell'd thereunto to defend our ſtate and liberty. When at the raiſing of the Campe from before Coriu, *propoſitions of peace were offered us by Baſhaw* Aiace, *we, having reaſon to ſuſpect this his propoſition, and being perſwaded that the Authors of the war could not at the ſame time deſire peace, did not value ſuch an invitation, but continued in our providing for war, and in a treaty of League. Soon after we received Letters from our Conſull, which told us of a new indeavour of Agreement, which was promiſed him after the comming of the Grand Signeur to* Conſtantinople. *The Senate was herewith acquainted again, it was argued and diſcuſt maturely by the chief Senators; and it was concluded, that we ſhould continue our reſolution of not giving ear to any ſuch diſcourſe, fearing that this propoſall was nothing elſe, but to lull us aſleep by theſe vain hopes of peace, and to make us negligent in providing for ſo weighty and dangerous a war as we are entred into, and muſt of neceſſity continue, unleſſe we abandon our ſelves. Wherefore to witneſſe this our conſtant reſolution, of making league with the Chriſtians, and no peace with the Turks, and to put a neceſſity upon us of keeping to this reſolution, we communicated our*

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Conſuls advertiſements, and the things which were held out unto us therein, to the Pope and Emperour, inciting them by our offers, and by our example, to provide for all things neceſſary, not onely to defend themſelves, but ſtoutly to make war upon the Turks. Shall we now, four months after the firſt propoſall, after having permitted our Fleet and ſouldiers, to aſſault and take the Turks towns, when we have reaſon to believe, that Soliman *is more incenſt againſt us, for the ſcorn which he may think is put upon him, by our ſo long delay, in returning an anſwer, after having ſo conſtantly affirmed, that we would ſecure our dangers onely by war, after having refuſed the Popes and Emperours advice, who were firſt inclined to peace, and did modeſtly perſwade us to embrace it. After, I ſay, having thus block'd up all waies, of comming to any agreement by theſe our proceedings, and quite cut off the thread of this treaty, ſhall we re-aſſume this diſcourſe, as if it lay in us to make peace, and that by altering our opinion, we could eaſily ſecure our ſelves from danger, and return to our former condition of peace and tranquillity? Such thoughts might peradventure prevail, when we might appear driven to make this treaty of Agreement, by the powerfull reaſons of* Doria's *unſeaſonable departure, by the Pope's heſitation, of aſſiſting us with ſubſidies from the* Clergy, *by the heat of the war in* Piemont, *wherein the forces of the two greateſt Princes of Chriſtendom were employed; and by having many of our Towns unprovided of ſufficient Garriſons. Then ſuch an action would have been praiſed, and juſtified by all men. But to dream of any ſuch thing now, whereunto all theſe contrary reaſons were not able to perſwade us, when the ſtate and condition of affairs is altered, when the Emperour is willing to ſuſtain the war together with us, when the Pope hath condeſcended to all our deſires, when the League is brought to ſo near a concluſion; now, when Truce is made between the Emperour and King of* France, *with hopes that peace may enſue; when (God be praiſed) our ſea-Forts are well provided of men and ammunition, would certainly be too unſeaſonable an advice, too mean, and too miſ-becomming the conſtancy and gravity, wherewith this Senate is wont to proceed. But I beſeech you, ſay there ſhould be no ſuch reſpects as theſe, which do notwithſtanding really concur in this our reſolution, and are very weighty, and of great concernment; let us conſider what hope there is, of bringing this treaty to a good end; and grant it might be had, what ſecurity, what true quiet can ſuch a peace bring with it? On the contrary, what prejudice may our affairs ſuffer, by this vain undertaking? We ſee how ill the Turks are minded towards us, they having taken occaſion to bereave us by war, of ſome part of our dominions; they have without any occaſion detained our ſhips, our Merchants, and contrary to the Law of Nations, uſurp'd their goods, violating thereby the publick faith. Are not the immoderate taxes encreaſed upon the Merchandiſe, which are brought from their countries to this city, their detaining two of our Conſuls, who were ſecured by the Articles of peace; their impriſoning them amongſt the meaner ſort of men, their having ſo barbarouſly cut off the heads of the Maſters of our Gallies, taken in the diſorder of that night, no open nor publick breach of peace having preceded that act; evident ſignes, that they deſpiſe our Nation, and our Commerce? But why do I inſtance in theſe things? did not* Soliman *promiſe to expect* Orſino's *return, who was ſent unto us by his conſent, nay, by his order, to know, how we could*

could justifie our Officers actions, and what the Senate's minde was, concerning war or peace? yet not staying for an answer from us, he sent his Fleet against Corfu, making open war against us, and exercising his arms against our poor subjects, in a scornfull and enraged manner; and shall we now think, that we may trust the security of our affairs, upon the faith of these barbarous Infidells? Shall we believe, that they propound peace unto us, with a desire of being our friends, and with a sincere minde to observe it? Certainly, their designes are otherwise, and much otherwise their thoughts: They have set their minde upon this our State, they would suppresse this Common-wealth, which they think doth somewhat counterpoise their forces at sea, and doth not a little hinder their designes, of being Monarchs of the world. But to humble us the more easily, they seek by all means possible to separate us from the friendship of other Christian Princes, that they may afterwards assault us, when we shall be destitute of all help. They therefore leave nothing unattempted, which may cause jealousie and distrust in those Princes, with whom they very well know, we are treating of a confederacy against them, and to hinder those unions, which is the onely thing they dread: For there is no Prince in Christendom able of himself to counterpoise their forces. We hear, that great preparations of an Army and Fleet, are making at Constantinople; that Barbarossa is ready to put to sea, as soon as the season will suffer him; that the whole publick discourse is of nothing but war, of assaulting Candia, and of returning to besiege Corfu; and shall we esteem these to be actions becomming one, who propounds peace in sincerity, and that they are not rather true signes of abuse and ill-will? And if the Turks (as it is clearly seen) do not intend peace, but war, what fruit can we perswade our selves, that this our Treaty can produce? wherein, if what we say shal be believed, our enemies will think we are very weak, which will encourage them the more to oppresse us; and if they shall suspect us, they will be the more incensed against us, thinking themselves deluded by a vain Treaty, which intends no conclusion. When Mahomet, when Bajazet, waged war with our Common-wealth, they conceiving some suspicion and fear, that the Christian Princes would joyne, had recourse to this very remedy, to disturb their union; they were the first that profered us discourse of agreement, and seemed desirous of friendship and peace; but at last, the cheat was too late discovered, and without having reaped any security to our affairs, by listning to such a treaty, nor yet kept off offences, we were left our selves alone to sustain the violence of the Turkish forces, with alike misfortune, but not with alike forces; in the one war, we lost the Island of Negraponte, and in the other, most of what we possest in Morea. But suppose (which for my part I cannot bring my self to believe) that we might now have peace, what peace, I beseech you, would it prove? what security, what quiet should we get thereby? we must be still at the trouble, and at the expence of war, for fear of the Turkish forces at sea, and for their doubtfull fidelity. We must have Fleets every year, Garrisons, Fortifications, be still in jealousies. And say, they should for a while keep their words to us, shall we believe, that these perpetuall enemies to peace will sheath up their swords, and not make use of them else-where, to the prejudice of Christendom? They will keep peace with us, that they may the better make war upon the Emperour, whilst he is busied in other wars with the King of France, and shall

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want our assistance, that so they may assault Puglia; *and meeting with no resistance, possesse themselves of some strong hold, and get sure footing in* Italy. *So as by deferring war for a while, we shall onely encrease the Turks power, and draw greater and more certain ruine upon our selves. Since then the League is so far proceeded in, since it is hoped, that there may be a firm and sincere union, of the minds and forces of Christian Princes; since we find such willingnesse in our own subjects, and in forrainers, to make this war; and that powerfull and warlike Transalpine Nations, the* Polacks *and* Bohemians, *(as we are now given to understand) offer to assist us both with men and money; Why are we still doubtfull? why seem we to be afeard of our own shadowes? Shall we not once put the valour and fortune of this Common-wealth to the tryall? We may already know, that our standing idle spectators of other mens dangers, as we have done for these many years, may for a while have prolonged our dangers, but hath after made them greater. And certainly, till this enemy be weakened, and bereft of his maritime forces, we shall never have true peace and safety. The Turkish power, and their victories obtained in Christendom, ought not to affrighten us so much, but that we may rouze up our selves, and hope for good; since we know, it hath not been done by true warlick valour, but by the numbers of their souldiers, wherewith, to their great good fortune, having to do but with one sole Potentate, they have gotten to a great heighth; and that it is therefore, that this otherwise base and vile people, have proved victorious and formidable. But when they shall be fought withall by equall, nay, I may say, by much greater forces; when they shall be enforced to defend themselves at home in severall places, their weaknesse and our errour will be discovered. And say, these happy successes shall not correspond with our hopes; we may treat of peace at another time, with more advantage and honour, when we shall be armed by our own forces, and by those of others. And if the friendship of other Princes cannot sufficiently avail us to make war, it will give us credit to make peace; and if by misfortune we prove not victorious, we shall at least have shewn our generosity; so as our country and Senate may be wish'd, to have had been more successfull, but not more wise nor valiant; wherein having answered the opinion, which the world hath of our wisdom and generosity, the honour and dignity of the publick will be sustained, as far as the condition of these times will permit.*

This *Cornaro*'s discourse wrought very much upon the mindes of those, that were already that wayes inclined; but when he had done, *Marco Foscari*, one of the Savii, who propounded the business, a man of great authority, both for his learning, and for his worthy carriage in many employments, which he had past through, replied thus.

I cannot say, I have altered my opinion, for I was alwaies minded, that the Consuls Letters should be answered, and that the treaty of peace should not be neglected. But I may truly say, that though I had thought otherwise before, I now finde such new accidents, if we shall consider them according to truth, and not according to our own desires, as would make me embrace these offers, which I had formerly refused; but being already setled in my opinion, they do confirm me the more therein. I believe it fares thus with

the moſt of this Senate, ſince the buſineſſe having been often brought to the queſtion, it hath been carried but by two voices onely. Nor can I ſee, from whence this ſo great and ſo extraordinary confidence, in our ſelves, and in our own forces, can ariſe; whence this great belief, which is given to the words and promiſes of Princes, who uſually ſay rather that, the belief whereof makes more for their advantage, then what they do really intend. And yet the buſineſſe is of ſo great concernment, as if we commit an errour therein, we may repent too late, with loſſe and ſhame. I fear, Gentlemen, that we are by a certain evill fate drawn to our ruine. We know, that our Fleet is viſited with ſore ſickneſſe, and brought to a weak condition; that, if we will recruite it, we muſt draw ſouldiers out of our Garriſons, and thereby weaken the defence of our chief Forts by ſea: And yet they may be all ſaid, to be in danger at once, and that they all ſtand in need of many men to defend them, ſince we do not know, to what part the Turkiſh Fleet will betake it ſelf. We have but too few ſoldiers to reſiſt the enemy in ſo many places; and yet we can ſcarcely give them their pay, which enforceth us againſt our wills, to ſuffer our Captains to give injurious ſpeeches againſt the Common-wealth. Do not you remember, what Camillo Orſino writ unto us, too boldly the other day to this purpoſe, complaining of the delay of pay to his ſouldiers? That if we cannot maintain war, we may do well to make peace. We muſt every day lay on more taxes, which we ſee will quickly be not to be gotten, let us uſe what rigour we pleaſe. It is too great an errour to believe, that a War, which coſts above 200000 Duckets a month, can be maintained out of the purſes of private men. And yet we are pleaſed ſo to flatter our ſelves, as not to appear to want power, we believe we ſhall do impoſſibilities. But let us go a little further, how can we ground our ſelves upon the aſſiſtance of other Princes, who are of ſeverall opinions, and who govern themſelves by reaſons, contrary to ours? I believe, the Pope means well; yet, be it either for his great age, or out of any other reaſon, he is ſo irreſolute in all his proceedings, as we finde no good by his good will. Many months have been ſpent in deſires, that the Common-wealth may make uſe of (what I may call their own) the Tenths of our Clergy, to employ theſe monies in ſo pious an uſe, and in time of ſuch neceſſity. Yet, though we have good words given us, we can find no diſpatch, nor do I yet know what will become thereof. And if I muſt confeſſe the truth, I fear, he appears to be more forward in this buſineſſe of the League in ſpeech, that he may ſeem to do what becomes the place he holds, than he really is in his heart. And we ought to call to minde, that it is very uſuall of late for Popes, to propound Leagues and Cruſado's againſt Infidells, and to ſeem very deſirous thereof; yet how many of them have we ſeen made, ſince the Turks power is growne ſo great? So likewiſe, I perceive, we meaſure the Emperour's intentions more according to our deſires, and to what may make for us, then to what they are. But why ſhould we not alſo conſider many other actions, which do plainly ſhew, that either his thoughts do differ from ours, and from our intereſts; or at leaſt, that he hath not ſo great a deſire for the exaltation of our Common-wealth, nor ſuch a zeal to the good of Chriſtendom, as ſome believe; truſting too much to the zeal, which ſome perſwade themſelves he bears to Chriſtendom, when they would flatter themſelves with a confederacy, which turns to his advantage, forgetting ſuch things as may make them believe the contrary.

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For being overcome by the force of truth, he hath oft-times confeſſed, he can onely make a defenſive League this year; but that notwithſtanding, the Common-wealth ſhall ſuffer leſſe prejudice thereby. Hath not he himſelfe told our Embaſſadour, when he heard of Doria's *proceedings, and how he parted quickly from* Naples, *that* Doria *was no friend to the Common-wealth; yet he propoſeth him now to be the head of a League, which he ſaies he makes chiefly for her ſake. I will not now trouble you with mentioning his vaſt and ambitious thoughts, wherein, as it hath been plainly diſcovered, he aimes at the Empire of whole* Italy; *ſince all men know, how much the greatneſſe and proſperity of our Dominions is, contrary to theſe his machinations; and how many waies he may receive advantage, by keeping us employed in this war, to ſave his own expence, and that by our weakneſſe he may increaſe his power, and finally, make himſelf the ſole Arbitrator of all the affairs of* Italy. *And how ſtands* Ferdinando *King of the Romans affected now, think we, who ſeemed ſo fierce at firſt in taking up Arms, to revenge the ſo many injuries he had received from the Turks? what hopes hath he, of making his people fall upon ſuch an enterpriſe, after having received ſuch a rout in* Hungary, *wherein he loſt the flower of his people, and (which is of no leſſe importance) his own reputation, and his ſouldiers courage? Which may make it eaſily be believed, that he may rather think it a happineſſe for him at this time, to repoſe a while, and to minde the repairing of his loſſes, whilſt his enemies forces ſhall be employed againſt us, then to be bound to continue a new war. And, I beſeech you, whence is it that we ſuppoſe, peace may ſo eaſily enſue between the Emperour and the King of* France? *The meeting was had with great hopes of Agreement; but all endeavours proving vain, we ſee it now at an end; and the ſhort Truce for the affairs of* Piemont, *aroſe rather out of neceſſity and wearineſſe, then out of a deſire of quiet and reconciliation. And certainly, if we will weigh the importancy of this buſineſſe conſiderately, we muſt think this the chief ground of that our reſolution. For as it hath been alwaies confeſt by all men, the greateſt, and moſt aſſured hopes of any good ſucceſſe of this League, lay in the agreement which was to be amongſt Princes; it was this that made us advance ſo much in the Treaty of the League: So now, the ſtate and condition of affairs being altered, we have juſt reaſon to alter our mindes, and to keep from concluding the League. Shall we forget what the Pope ſaid upon the like purpoſe, that the League would be but of a pale complexion, unleſſe peace were made between* Ceſar *and the King of* France? *And do not* Ceſar's *chief Miniſters ſay the ſame? Did not Count* Agilar *at* Rome, *and* Don Lopes *here with us, take it for granted, that peace amongſt Chriſtian Princes was requiſite, to the making of war againſt the Turks? Nay,* Ceſar *himſelf hath confeſt as much, letting us know, that he had not forces ſufficient, to conteſt with the King of* France, *and with the Turks at the ſame time; and therefore it was that he propounded, the League might now be onely defenſive. If then it be lawfull for theſe Princes to nouriſh diſcord, for their own ambitious ends, not caring for what we ſuffer, nor for the ruine of whole Chriſtendom; why ſhould it misbecome us to think, upon preſerving our Common-wealth, and how to ſtave off greateſt dangers, by ſuch means as we may? But if it be ſaid, It is neceſſity which makes us have recourſe to forrain help, to maintain war, becauſe ſuch a peace*

as were to be wiſh'd for, is not to be had. I cannot deny, but that on what ſide ſoever we turn, we are to meet with many difficulties; but I will boldly affirm, that the having of peace is not ſo hard, as that it is to be deſpaired of, nor that it is likely to bring ſo ſmall ſecurity, but that it may be very well compared with our preſent dangers. We know, that the chief Baſhaw, on whoſe advice the Grand Signiur doth much rely, hath been always well affected to this buſineſſe, and we ought to believe very much in what he ſaies, becauſe of his own intereſt; peace making for his advantage, who cannot by war accumulate more riches nor honours. And we now hear, that Barbaroſſa, not being in too great favour with Soliman, deſires rather to return to Algiers, where he may enjoy his own ſtate, then to be at any further trouble, ſince he ſees the face of fortune alters. I will ſay further, that I know not how we can ſo abſolutely affirm, that Soliman doth ſo much deſpiſe us and our Common-wealth, ſince we ſee how conſtantly he hath obſerved the capitulations of peace with us, for theſe thirty five years; and we alſo, if we will conſider all things aright, we muſt confeſſe, that he hath not turned his forces againſt us, till he was firſt provoked by us; ſoas peradventure we have more reaſon to complain of our ſelves, and of our Offices, than of him and his actions. If the Turks (as it hath been ſaid) did aim ſo much at our ruine, when could they have had any fitter occaſion to have expreſſed it, then in theſe late years of our ſo great calamities, when all the Princes of Chriſtendom had conſpired againſt us, when we wanted both forces, aſſiſtance, and counſell, by reaſon of ſo many adverſe fortunes? And yet they did not onely not trouble us, but ſupplyed us with victualls and ammunition, in our greateſt neceſſities, ſuffering us to carry all ſorts of grain out of their Countries, and freely ſending us whole ſhips loaded with Salpeter. whence then do we imagine this ſo great fear, this ſo dubious peace, and theſe ſuppoſed ſuſpitions? which ſay they be true, how can we think it wiſely done, how does it agree together, that to ſhun war, we ſhould make war; that to avoid an uncertain and far-diſtant danger, we ſhould chuſe a danger that is preſent and certain? who is there amongſt us that does not know, the many conveniences we reap by peace, and the as many inconveniencies which ariſe from war? it may ſuffice to ſay, that in time of our ſo long troubles, we were able to maintain war in Terra ferma, for the ſpace of almoſt twenty years, becauſe we had the ſea open, which ſupplyed this city both with publick and private wealth; but that being now ſhut up, our traffick is hindered, our taxes leſſened, every one of whatſoever condition ſuffers, and there is want of all things. And what is there to be ſaid of the Turks power? a great Empire, numerous Armies, ſtore of gold, abundance of all things requiſite for war, and that which I am ſorry I can ſo truly ſay, ſuch obedience and military diſcipline, as is rather deſired, then obſerved amongſt Chriſtians. What have we therefore to do in the condition we are in, but to temporiſe, and wait for better fortune, againſt ſo powerfull an enemy. Great is the viciſſitude of humane affairs, which hardly keep in the ſame poſture any while at all. And it is the part of a wiſe man, to know his advantages, and his diſadvantages, and to wait the friendſhip of time. If we call to minde paſt things, we ſhall finde, that war with the Turks, hath always been a buſineſſe of too great weight for us to bear. we would not have peace with Mahomet, after the loſſe of Nigroponte, hoping to

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regain it; yet at last, we were forced to agree with him, upon the yielding up of Scutari *and* Brazzo di Maina *to the Turks. After the Commonwealth was almost wasted by long war with* Bajazet, *we came at last to peace with him, upon his own conditions, and upon harder terms than those we had refused; by which, to boot with the places which he had taken, we yielded up the Fort St.* Maura *unto him, which we had recovered but a little before. I could produce many more such unfortunate examples, and yet the Turks were not then so strong, especially at sea, as now they are. Let us not then be so far born away by appearances, as to forgoe better counsells. To make war with the Turks, appears to be a pious and generous thing; yet he who shall weigh things aright, will finde, that in the condition that Christendom is in at the present, it is impious and unwise, the nature thereof being changed by many various accidents. What greater impiety can be used, then by continuing war, to expose the people commended to our care to so many sufferings, and such certain ruine? We have the spectacle of* Corfu *before our eyes, from whence fifteen thousand persons were carried into bondage by the Turks. To make gallant and generous attempts, becomes a magnanimous and generous Prince, when reason and hope perswade him thereunto; but otherwise, it is rashnesse and imprudency. To expose our selves to certain dangers, when they may be avoided, what is it, but to tempt divine Providence? And the Parable which we read in the Gospell, that he who is to go against a potent Enemy, ought first to consider well, whether he can withstand him with ten thousand men, who comes to assault him with twenty thousand. Doth it not teach us to be wary and mature in all our actions, and not to leave any place for repentance to our selves, nor for blame to others?*

Foscari's wisdom and eloquence was much commended, yet could it not convince a certain fatall inclination, which was already grounded in the mindes of many, to continue the war. So as the number of votes falling short, to make this proposall passe, the busineſſe remained undecided as before; and yet the not resolving to write to *Constantinople*, was in effect to resolve, to prosecute the war, and to be bound to stipulate the League as soon as might be. Soon after therefore, larger Commissions were sent to the Embassadour at *Rome*, touching the concluding it, wherein they yielded to such Articles, as had suffered a long debate; each of which was first distinctly readd, and approved of by the Senate. The Articles were these.

That a League and confederacy, Offensive and Defensive, was made by Pope Paul *the* 3d. *the Emperour* Charles *the* 5th. *and the Commonwealth and Senate of* Venice, *against* Soliman, *grand Signior of the Turks; whereby the Confederates obliged themselves, to make war against the Turks, with two hundred Gallies, one hundred Frigats, fifty thousand Foot, whereof twenty thousand were to be Italians, ten thousand Spaniards, and twenty thousand Germans, and four thousand five hundred Burgonian Horse: which forces were to be accompanied with a sufficient train of Artillery, Ammunition, and other necessaries. And all these forces were every year to be ready by the midst of* March. *Of these Gallies, the Pope was to*

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arm thirty six, the Emperour eighty two, and the State of Venice eighty two, that the Emperour should be particularly obliged to finde all the ships, and the Venetians to give the Gallies to the Pope furnisht; but upon condition, that every part of the other expences were to be proportionably made good, in what they should exceed the rest; and particularly, that the Venetians should be paid for as many armed gallies, as they should lend above their just proportion of eighty two, that of all the expence which should go to the maintaining of these forces, the Pope should contribute the fifth part, the Emperour three, and the Common-wealth two. Moreover, that the taking of Corn from every place, should be open for the common benefit, which was to be sold to such of the Colleagues as had need thereof, at reasonable rates. That Ferdinand, *King of the* Romanes, *should be understood to be included in this confederacy, for whom* Cesar *obliged himself, that he should raise an Army apart by himself, to assault the Turks on the side of* Hungaria: *and that the King of* France *should be likewise understood to be therein concluded, when he should declare, that he would accept of that primary, and most honourable place which was reserved for him; which if he should doe, the Pope should determine what forces he should bring to joyn in the common enterprises, which were understood were to be for the increase of those which were already agreed upon, and divided amongst the Colleagues; and if any other Italian Princes should joyn in the League, the expences of the three chiefe confederates, should be lessened as much as their contribution should come unto. That the Pope should likewise indeavour to draw the King of* Poland, *and the other Christian Princes into the League: and that if any difference touching the League should arise amongst the Christian confederates, it should be determined by the Pope, that* Andrea Doria *should be Generall of all the forces at Sea, and the Duke of* Urbin *of those at Land. Concerning the acquisitions which should be made by the common Arms, it was thus ordered by a writing apart: That every one of the confederates should have whatsoever should be recovered, and which had formerly been his own, restored unto him; with a particular declaration, that the Empire of* Constantinople *should belong unto the Emperour, without prejudice to the Common-wealth, for what belonged to her; to which likewise* La Vallone, *and* Castel-Nuovo, *should be reserved as things appertaining to her: and that a fitting proportion of what should be gotten, should be reserved by way of pre-eminency, for the Apostolick Sea. That in other things whereunto none of them pretended, every one of the confederates should partake thereof, according to the proportion of his expence in the war; that if the Island of* Rhodes *should be recovered, it should be restored to the Knights of Jerusalem.*

There was no mention made of the King of *England* in these Capitulations: but the Venetians thinking they might receive no little aid from this King, who was master of many Forces, and of great Authority, sought by their Secretary *Girolimo Zaccato*, then resident with him, to make him favour the League; and desired the Pope to do the like, which he did. But he, thinking himself scandalized, for not being particularly named in the Capitulations, would not give ear thereunto, but complained that he and his Kingdom were

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not taken into ſuch conſideration, by the Colleagues, as they ought to have been. And for the King of *France*, there appeared new ſigns every day, that he had no minde to enter into the League, wherein the increaſe of his Rival, and perpetuall Enemy's forces, and reputation, the Emperour was treated on.

The League being concluded and eſtabliſhed in manner aforeſaid, the Venetians ordered their General *Capello*, that if the Turkiſh Fleet ſhould come into the gulph, he would tarry behinde in the *Levant*, ſo as he might the eaſlier paſſe into *Sicily*, or whitherſoever he were to joyn with the Confederates Fleets. This courſe was judged good, to incourage thoſe of the *Levant*, and to indammage the Enemy, according as occaſion ſhould ſerve: and that they might not leſſen the Garriſons, 2000 foot were raiſed, and forthwith ſent to re-inforce the Fleet. Some were of opinion, that the Generall ſhould have free leave given him, to do upon all occaſions whatſoever he ſhould think would be beſt for the Common-wealth. They urged, that ſince all accidents which might occur could not be fore-ſeen, and accoſding to which the Generall was to order his deſigns, and to ſteer his courſe: it was a dangerous thing to binde him up by Commiſſions, and to force him to do what peradventure might be contrary to reaſon: they inſtanced in the ſucceſſes of the laſt year, wherein the having given limited orders to Generall *Peſaro*, had been the cauſe of great diſorders, which proved at laſt the breaking out into war. Yet the conſideration of not retarding the joyning of the Fleets, prevail'd; as alſo a certain indignity, which as it was thought it would prove, if the Generall ſhould think of retreating, as if he ſhun'd the Enemy, and ſhould therefore withdraw himſelfe with his Gallies into the waters about the City, whereby ſo great a preparation ſhould prove vain: But above all things, they were very ſolicitous in providing monies whereby to ſupply their expences. A Bank was therefore erected in the Exchequer, wherein as many as would bring in any Monies into the publick Treaſury, were promiſed to be paid fourteen *per cent.* during their life: Much ſeverity was uſed in calling in ſuch Monies as were due to the Common-wealth. Three other Commiſſaries were choſen, for what ſhould be borrowed, *Girolimo Marcello*, *Bernardo Moro*, and *Giulio Contarini*: but no uſe could as yet be made of the Clergies goods; for though the Pope had tranſmuted the favour, whereof he had before given ſo favourable an intention to the Senate; to wit, That he would permit them to alienate ten *per cent.* of the Clergies Revenue, till it ſhould amount to a million of Gold, or that they ſhould raiſe it in five years ſpace, by ſo many Tenths of the ſame goods; yet he had never given out his Briefs for either of theſe, finding out ſeverall excuſes and delaies at ſuch a pinch. Many propoſitions were made for the raiſing of monies; but the Senate proceeded with great reſpect and caution, not to do any thing at this time, which might peradventure leſſen the peoples affection to the Common-wealth: they would not therefore accept

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of the proposall of selling the Commons, though much money might have been made thereby, there being great store of them throughout the whole *Terra ferma*. But for all this scarcity of money, they spared not for any thing that was necessary for War; victualls were provided from all parts, and ammunition, Ordnance were cast, such Ladders, Pick-axes, Spades, and other tools, as the Duke of *Urbine* gave order for, for Land-service, were made in great abundance. The Duke seemed very desirous to do great things in service to the Common-wealth, and aspired to the obtaining immortall glory by war; and truly, the Senate confided very much in his worth and Loyalty: in so much as the Pope threatning to make war upon his State, by reason of his pretence to the Dukedom of *Camerino*, as being held in fee-farm of the Church, and which was then fallen to the Duke by the right of his wife: the Senate dispatcht away one of their Secretaries speedily to *Rome*, and obtain'd that the Duke should not be molested therein as long as he was imploy'd in the common service of the League, or particularly by the Common-wealth. He therefore caused two gallies to be prepared, the one for himselfe to go in person, to the Fleet; the other for his Son to go in; and chose his very good friend, *Barnard Sagredo*, one much esteemed of him, by reason of his great experience at Sea, to govern them; the Senate being desirous to shew how acceptable this the Dukes good will was to them, who had said, he would bring his wife and family to live in *Venice*, freely gave him one of the noblest Pallaces of the City; but whilst he was carefully ordering all these affairs, going to *Pesaro*, to take order for his own particular businesse, he fell into a great sickneſſe, which kept him from going to the Fleet.

At the same time, severall Negotiations were had of Peace, between *Cæsar* and the King of *France*, both of them seeming to be desirous thereof, to which purpose their Agents were forthwith sent to *Canus*, a place between *Parpignon* and *Narbonne*; but the whole time being spent in contentions, no good came thereof: For both these Princes Commissions were bounded and limitted in that very thing, whereon all other resolutions did depend: *Cesar* not giving way by any means, to the restoring of the Dukedom of *Millan*; nor the King of *France*, that any thing should be treated of, the prime Article whereof should not be the restitution of that State.

Many things were propounded, to bring these Princes to an Agreement; chiefly the marriage between *Mary*, Daughter to the King of *Portugal*, lately dead, and to the Queen, then wife to *Francis* King of *France*, and *Neece* to *Cesar*; and the Duke of *Orleans*, the Kings Son, with a Million of Gold for her portion, which was to be given to the Emperour, in recompence for the State of *Millan*, wherein to the Duke of *Orleans* was to be invested; but many difficulties being found herein, the one not being willing to trust the other; and the Bride not being of fitting years for marriage, the businesse was broken off, the convention dissolved, to the great dis-

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pleaſure of the Venetians in particular, who by reaſon of this diſagreement, were likely to bear a greater burthen in this war with the Turks, as by many ſigns did already appear. For the Marquiſs of *Guaſto*, who had formerly been ſent for to the Court by the Emperour, to make uſe of his advice and actions, touching the enterpriſe in the *Levant*, was by new orders appointed to ſtay in *Italy*, and to be diligent in increaſing the Garriſons in the State of *Millan*. And *Ceſar*, when the hopes of this Agreement failed, had oft-times ſaid, that his forces being elſewhere diverted by the King of *France*, he could not for the preſent do any thing for the ſervice of Chriſtendom, but ſtand upon his defence, and keep his Dominions from being prejudiced by the Turkiſh Fleets; theſe reſpects had made the Venetians more diligent in indeavouring the concluſion of the League; believing that the King of *France*, whilſt he ſhould ſee this union ſuſpended, whereby the heavier weight would lie upon *Ceſar*, being onely of himſelfe to reſiſt the Turkiſh forces, would be the hardlier brought to a reconcilement with *Ceſar*, building his hope of the recovery of the State of *Millan*, upon the weakneſſe of the Emperours forces: the Pope was likewiſe much troubled hereat; to whom, as being the chiefe head of Chriſtendom, the care of making peace between Chriſtian Princes, and of oppoſing the eminent danger of the Turks, did principally belong. Therefore ſeeing all his indeavours, by Letters and Embaſſies, proved vain, he bethought himſelfe of bringing theſe two Princes to ſpeak together face to face in his preſence; hoping that by his authority, intreaties, and reaſons, he might bring them to an Agreement. Wherefore, though he was very aged, yet not being willing to ſpare any paines, after he had thus exhorted and invited theſe two Princes, he offered to give them a meeting himſelfe in perſon, at *Neice*, as an opportune place where they might all meet together. This meeting proved in one reſpect pleaſing to the Venetians; for if the peace ſhould be effected, the hopes and forces of the League would be greatly increaſed, which would be but weak and lame without it: but in another reſpect, they were troubled at it, by reaſon of the loſſe of time which it would occaſion, in making proviſion for the War, and in the uniting of the Fleets. For the Emperour being to come by Gallies from *Barcellona* to *Niece*, *Doria* muſt be unſeaſonably imploy'd in this voyage, when he ſhould have put his Fleet in order, and have advanced againſt the Enemy, who were already put forth very ſtrong to Sea. This their fear was the greater, becauſe it was not counterpoyſed by equall hopes of advantage; ſince it appeared almoſt impoſſible, that theſe two Princes ſhould be reconciled, as it was thought by thoſe who were beſt vers'd in ſuch affaires, and who could penetrate the furtheſt into the ſecret deſignes of Princes. For what hopes were there of making true friendſhip between *Ceſar* and the King of *France*? their natures were beyond meaſure contrary; they differ'd in faſhions, ends, and thoughts; grievous injuries had paſt between them on both ſides,

which they kept in memory with desire of revenge. On the Kings behalf, his Imprisonment, and his severe usuage therein, his being inforc'd to purchase his liberty, by assenting to unjust conditions, and by giving his Sons in hostage for the performance of his word, and the War lately made by the Emperour, in the bowels of his own Country. The Emperour held himselfe as much offended by the King, not onely for the falsifying of his word, and breach of the Articles at *Madrid*; but for his having made the Turks make war against him, whereby to keep him and his Dominions perpetually molested. What reason was there then to believe, that those who bore such bitter hatred to each other, were to yeeld to an Agreement, whereby the ones power would be greatly augmented to the as great inconveniency of the other? to yeeld up the State of *Millan*, to the King of *France*, to boot with the opening the way thereby unto him, how to molest the Kingdom of *Naples*, and of disputing *Cesars* power in *Italy*, bore with it greater consequences. For by giving the State of *Millan* to the Duke of *Orleans*, *France*, would become the more formidable, since all the States would be united in the Crown, whereinto not onely Britany would fall, which belonged to the Kings second Son, as in right of his Mothers Dowry, but the Dukedom of *Orleans*, and of *Angoulesme*. On the other side, the King knew, that the releasing of the Cities, and Forts which he had taken in *Savoy*, would secure *Cesars* affairs in *Italy*, and confirm him in the possession of the State of *Millan*; it was therefore thought, that nothing had made *Cesar*, and the King of *France*, yeeld to the Pope's proposall, but a desire of justifying themselves to the World, and to shew that they would not be backwards in making peace, knowing that the maintaining so long and bitter discord at this time, would denote their immoderate Ambition. Moreover, they were thereunto invited by a certain jealousie, they had of the Popes favour, which made them indeavour to perswade him, that they valued all his advices: for the one fearing to be exceeded by the other, they would not suffer that either of them should become greater by the forces and authority of Apostolick Sea, especially in *Italy*. Some did also add, that the Pope himselfe did not aim so much at the generall good by this meeting, as at his particular conveniency; hoping that by his presence, and by the concurrency of these Princes, he might get far into favour with them, and obtain something of much moment from them, which might establish the greatnesse of his House, which was now discovered to be his chiefest aim, as was afterwards more clearly seen at this meeting, wherein the marriage between the Lady *Margaret*, *Cesars* naturall Daughter, who had been wife to *Alexander*, Duke of *Medicis*, with *Octavio Farnese*, the Popes Nephew, was concluded; who was likewise invested in the State of *Nevars*. Though the Venetians began quickly to suspect these things; yet did not the Senate forbear to do what occasion required, but to shew all due respect to these Princes, and chiefly to the Pope, and not to leave any thing un-

undone, whereby they might be ayding and forward to the making of peace, as they had alwaies been; they chose two Embassadours, *Nicolo Tiepolo*, and *Mark Antonio Cornaro*, to assist at that meering, and to declare the Senates desire of friendship between Christian Princes, and their readinesse to make War upon the Turks.

The Pope being gone from *Rome* in *May*, went to *Parma*, where he gave the solemn Benediction *della Palma*, in the Cathedrall Church, to which he gave *La Rosa*, worth 500 Crowns, and staid there, and in *Piacenza* some time; expecting more certain information from the Duke of *Savoy*, of the Convention at *Nice*, wherein there were some difficulties interposed, not without suspition, that the Emperour had a hand therein, who was desirous to spin out the time, that he might see what the Turks did, and advance the greater charge that year, to which he was obliged by the League. But at last the Pope, not being desirous to prolong his journey any longer, came to *Nice*, where he was not suffer'd to enter the City, by the Garrison; who said, they held that Fort in the name of the Prince, which the Duke his Father could not dispose of; so as he was forc'd to stay a while in a neighbouring Monastery, till not long after, the Keys of the City were sent him. But the Emperour, and the King of *France*, came speedily to him, to the same place, who were first come to that shore; the first tarrying at *Villa Franca*, formerly called *Moneco*, the other at *villa Nova*, on the other side of the River *Varro*. But the Pope could not possibly prevail with them, to meet both together in his presence; they not being willing to comply with the Pope, in what was to be treated on at this enterview, which was Peace and Agreement. Yet the Truce which was between them, was prolonged by the Popes means, but both of them continuing to use simulation, cheating both themselves and others, by an outward appearance; they met together at *Aqua Morta*, in the waters of *Marcelles*; whither *Cesar* being come in his Gallies, the King came likewise (as it was ordered) to meet him aboord his Gallies; and then landing, the Emperour tarried two dayes with the King, spending the time in feasting, and jollity, treating together very familiarly, and giving out, that Peace should be suddainly made between them; to which effect, other Agents should be deputed, with plenary power to accommodate all differences between them. Yet this enterview produced no better effect, then the former with the Pope, had done; for *Cesar* finding that he was not of himselfe alone, to make head against those powerfull Enemies, now that the Venetians had confirm'd the League against the Turks, and consequently thinking the Kings friendship lesse necessary, began to demand greater things than he had done at the convention in *Flanders*, to wit, the observance of the Agreement at *Madrid*, wherein the restitution of *Burgony*, superiority in *Artois*, and in his pretences to the State of *Millan*, which was the chief thing now controverted, were contained; and many other things very prejudiciall to the Crown of *France*, and consequently ab-

hor'd by the King: who on the contrary, finding himselfe very powerfull, by reason of severall States that were fallen to the Crown, for want of Heirs to their particular Lords; so as at this time, he was Master of whole *France*, from the Ocean towards the North, to low Britany, and from the *Pirenean* Mountains, to the Mediteranean Sea; he hoped he might make War with the Emperour, and recover those States which were possest by him, so far was he from foregoing any thing that he himselfe had in his hands, or whereunto he made any pretences. He therefore desired peace onely so far, as might consist with his honour and conveniency, and chiefly with the conclusion of his Sons marriage, which had been so often proposed: wherein the chief difficultie consisting, in whose hands the Forts of the State of *Millan* were to be trusted for the space of three years, which time was necessary to run out before the marriage could be consummated; the King not thinking it either safe or honourable for him, to trust *Cesar*, who would not trust him, proposed, that the strong holds of that State, should for that time be deposited in the Popes hands, or in the Venetian Senate. But *Cesar*, who was resolved not to accept of any motion which did any wayes comprehend the surrender of the Dukedom of *Millan*, refused the proposall, alleading that he could not assent thereunto, by reason of the Popes very great age, and by reason of the Venetians too great power: whence, if he should give way thereunto, both his private, and the common affairs, might through various accidents incur loss and danger. Yet the King held on the Treaty, not so much out of any hopes of Agreement, as for his own justification to the world, and to lay all the fault of their not. According upon *Cesar* obdurancy, to which purpose he sent one of his Gentlemen to *Venice*, to give a particular account of these his actions, shewing that the fault lay not in him, if the peace should not insue, which was so much desired by Christendom.

Whilst the Christian Princes proceeded thus slowly, and irresolutely, in preparing to sustain the War, the Turks, every one striving who should best discharge his office, had in the winter prepared all things requisite for the summer-War; and not forgetting amidst the fury of War, what appertained to Religion, (so naturally is a certain inclination to divine worship, ingraven in the souls even of Barbarians) did first solemnly celebrate the feast of *Bairam*; which are certain dayes celebrated, and reverenced by that Nation, as *Easter* is by us Christians; and frequent Orisons were made throughout all their *Moschee*, for the Grand Signors prosperity, and the like of his Army. Afterwards, *March* being already begun, the souldiers and gallies began to part from *Constantinople*, with great preparations both of Land and Sea-forces. *Soliman* went himselfe in person with the Army, and *Barbarossa* with the Fleet, who held the place which was formerly held by *Lusti*, he being deprived of the degree of Bashaw, and confin'd to *Macedonia*. The Fleet not being yet wholly in order, *Barbarossa* went with 120 sayl, which

which he had got together into the *Archipelagus*, as to a ſecure prey, where thoſe Iſlands which had not been ruin'd the preceding year, but kept ſtill under the Common-wealths Dominion, had not ſufficient Garriſons to defend them. Thus *Sthiros*, *Sthiarack*, *Sthiati* and ſome other leſſer places, after being miſerably plundred, fell into the power of the Turks. There hapned a memorable accident in the taking of *Sthiati*: where the Iſlanders, and thoſe few Souldiers who were there, having valiantly withſtood the Turks firſt aſſault, truſting in the ſtrength of the ſcituation, and in a Caſtle eminently ſeated upon a Rock; ſome of the chief men of the Town, either out of fear, or fraud, bethought themſelves of ſurrendring the Town to the Turks; and fearing they might be puniſhed for their baſe wickedneſſe, if the buſineſſe ſhould not ſucceed; they went to the Palace, where the Governour *Girolimo Memo* lay wounded, (who by his courage and example, ſtanding with the other ſouldiers upon the walls, had made good their labours, and hopes of the reſt) and cruelly ſlew him; by whoſe death all things being in a confuſion, they drew in the Turks by Ropes into the Fort. *Barbaroſſa*'s ſelfe was ſo diſpleaſed with this barbarous and cruel act, as in lieu of a reward, which theſe Raſcals hoped for, he put them to death. *Barbaroſſa*, whoſe number of Veſſels was much increaſed, went afterwards to the Iſland of *Candia* to get prey, and to attempt thoſe Forts. This was much ſuſpected before, it being generally bruited in *Conſtantinople*, that they would this year attempt that Iſland: wherefore the Senate had been very careful in providing it with all things neceſſary, that it might be able to withand ſo powerful an Enemy: They had ſent many Souldiers, Ammunition, Victuals, thither; and to boot with the particular Magiſtrates, had given the Government of all thoſe Forts, and of the Militia to *Johanni Moro*, whoſe valour and wiſdom was highly eſteemed. He was made Commiſſary Generall, and indow'd with extraordinary Authority. The preſervation of this Iſland, was held by all men to be of great importance, by reaſon of the nobleneſſe and riches thereof, as having been the ancient ſeat of Kings, producing plenty of choiſe Wines, of Oyls, and other things, for the conveniency which it afforded of furniſhing many Gallies ſpeedily with men fit for Sea-affairs; for many faire and ſafe Havens, wherein the ſhips that traffick in the *Levant* are received, and the Fleets which guard thoſe Seas: and moreover, becauſe there is therein a Colony of many noble Venetian Families, who had habitations, and large poſſeſſions given them in that Kingdom 330 years before. Amongſt other things, the Commiſſary Generall was willed to incourage thoſe Gentlemen in the name of the Common-wealth, and the Cavaliers (which are thoſe who hold any thing in fee of the Signory of *Venice*,) to defend the Iſland and themſelves, promiſing them on the faith of the Senate, that they ſhould not want any poſſible aid: He therefore aſſembling one day the Councell, in the City of *Candia*,

dia, which consists of all the Nobility of the Colony, prepared them by an efficacious exhortation, valiantly to expect the comming of the enemy.

If you (said he) *wil wel consider the peacefulnesse of your present condition, wherin you with quiet and honour enjoy so wealthy possessions, the gratious aspect of the heavens, which affords you such abundance and conveniency of all good things, which grow here, and which are brought hither from adjacent parts, I am assured, the consideration thereof would perswade you more, then I by my words can do, to use your utmost endeavours, and not to spare any thing, neither expence, pains, no, not life it self, to keep your selves and children from changing conditions, from falling from the heighth of such prosperity, into the depth of misery, as it wil happen, if this Island, falling into the Turks power, (the very thought or mentioning whereof doth astonish me) you be enforced either to live elsewhere, and be deprived of this your country, wherein you enjoy such wealth, such conveniencies; or else tarrying here, to be subject to the tyranny of barbarous Infidells. If you had no other tie to defend this Island, (a noble and prime member of the Common-wealth) then what by these advantages you are obliged unto, you neither could nor would refuse to do what you are bound to, in respect both of your Ancestors and selves, and what the service of our country doth challenge; from the love whereof, I do not believe, this distance hath been able to divide you, not being members cut off, but true sharers in her honour, and in all her fortune. But since hereunto, your own particular interest is inseparably joyned, wherein you know the totall of all you have, nay, of your very being is concerned, I shall not need to shew you the importancy of the cause in hand, or incite you to make such provisions, and seek for such remedies, as may preserve you from such a danger. I will onely therefore put you in minde, that you suffer not your selves to be removed from that good resolution, which I see is grounded in you, by any fear, which may make you lose your courage, and abandon your selves. I do not deny, but that the enemies power is very great, and so to be esteemed; but I affirm, it is not such as we ought to distrust, being able to resist it, and we may hope, that we may reap praise and honour by their comming. We hear for certain, that though there be many souldiers in the enemies Fleets, yet they want a sufficient train of artillery, and many other things requisite for the taking in of cities; so as we may believe, that if they shall approach this our Island, it is rather with an intention of pillage, if they shall find us so negligent, as to afford them occasion so to do, then of making war; and say, they did intend it, and were provided for it, why should we believe, that they would undertake a businesse, which will require time, when they shall see such Fleets of Christian confederate Princes upon the seas, by which, either their Fleet, or some of their cities, may be assaulted, and fought with. They have as much reason to think, upon their own defence and preservation, as of offending others. I know, and am commanded by the Senate to assure you, that the preservation of this Kingdom, and your safeties, is had in very great consideration by them, for which they will readily expose their Fleet, and all their forces; whereof the provisions already made for the good of this*

Island,

Iſland, may be a ſufficient teſtimony; in the ſpeed and expence where-of, the Common-wealth hath not onely exceeded the opinion of others, but hath gone beyond her ſelf. You then, whoſe dangers and ſafties are moſt concerned, and whoſe advantages immediately treated of, are ſo much the more bound, not to leave any thing undone, wherein your loyalty, diligence, & charity towards both theſe your countries may appear. Let every one vary who ſhall help the common cauſe moſt with monies, authority, and with their perſons, and I aſſure my ſelf, we ſhall not onely avoid the greateſt calamities, but we ſhall preſerve our country from the inroads and plunder of the enemy, to our immortall glory, and to our merit with the Common-wealth.

The Commiſſary had not fully ended his diſcourſe, when many of the Gentlemen riſing up, atteſted what he had ſaid, promiſed loyalty; and ſome engaged themſelves in generalities, ſome in particular offers, to employ all their power and induſtry, in defending the Kingdom. The Commiſſioner ſaid the ſame things afterwards, to the Cretenſian Gentry and Commonalty, encouraging all men to defend themſelves. So as with great cheerfulneſſe, and confidence of good ſucceſſe, they fell to make all neceſſary proviſions. Some Gallies were armed at the charge of particular men, many men were ſent for from their country-farms, who having arms given them, ſome of them were brought into the city, to encreaſe the garriſon of Italian Foot, ſome placed in Corps de Guard, upon paſſes, and places of concernment, to hinder the enemie's advancing; wherein the Nobles and Feudatories, did ſo induſtriouſly and ſo fervently behave themſelves, that the particular family of the *Calergi*, a family of great wealth and authority in this Iſland, raiſed and armed above 1500 men.

Barbaroſſa continuing his courſe, drew near the Iſland on the North ſide, between *Standia* and the city of *Candia*; but, without touching land, ſail'd along the coaſt till he came to *Rettimo*, where ſtaying but a while, becauſe he was much damnified by the artillery from the city, he went to *Suda*, where finding better conveniency of aboad, by reaſon of the Haven, which was very ſafe, and capacious, the entrance whereunto was then free for any enemies ſhips, (the Rock which lies in the mouth of the Haven not being reduced then, as it is now, into a ſafe and impregnable Fort) and by the nearneſſe of the city of *Canea*, which he deſigned to aſſault, he landed many men, wherewith he fell to plunder the adjacent country, comming even to underneath the city. This was anciently called *Cidonia*, and was alwaies numbered amongſt the chief cities of the Kingdom, for the conveniency and beauty it receives from the Campania, and by reaſon of the Haven which is very near it, and for the number of inhabitants. But the Fort was not yet fully finiſhed, the two Bulwarks which were a building on the South-ſide were not perfected, nor was it any waies fenc'd on the Weſt, but by old weak Walls, and the Ditch was hardly dig'd in any place, by reaſon of the con-

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dition of the earth, which was very ſtiff, and in ſome parts rocky; but the induſtry of theſe times, hath overcome theſe and all other difficulties. *Andrea Gritti* was Governour of the city, it had about a 1000 Italian Foot for the Guard, and many Grecians of the city and country. Therefore when they ſaw the Turks approach the Fort, without either trenches or works, and in diſorder, they boldly ſallied out; and diſordering the enemy by ſhot from the city, they put them to flight, and ſlew many of them. Nor had thoſe who roved about, pillaging and waſting the country, any better ſucceſſe; for many of the Iſlanders were aſſembled together, with ſeverall ſorts of weapons, and being encouraged by the Maſters of families, whoſe authority is very great over the inhabitants, and incited by the chief Governours, by hopes of reward, who, for their better enheartning, had promiſed to take off all taxes, and to releaſe them of many debts, due unto the publick; they behaved themſelves ſo, as the Turks meeting with ſtout reſiſtance every where, and with greater difficulty then they had at firſt believed, they were forced ſoon to give over the enterpriſe; and having loſt many of their ſouldiers, who were cut in pieces, as they went up and down pillaging the country, they retreated to their Gallies. Yet *Barbaroſſa*, deſirous to try ſome better fortune in ſome other part, or at leaſt, repair his loſſe, leaving ſome calamitous marks behinde him of his having bin there, ſent one hundred Gallies to *Sithia*. This place is ſeated on the head of the Iſland, very weak, and but badly guarded, though a particular Venetian Magiſtrate makes his reſidence there. The enemie's Fleet had conveniency of going to *Scarpanto*, an Iſland not above forty miles off; and then in the Turks poſſeſſion; who finding *Sithia* abandoned, took away ſome pieces of artillery, and a little ammunition, ruinating the neighbouring country as much as they could: But being forced to be gone, for fear leſt the Venetian Fleet comming to relieve *Candia*, might force them to fight, they embarckt their ſouldiers, and went with all their forces towards *Negraponte*.

He, at the ſame time returned to beſiege *Napoli* and *Malvaſia*, whither the *Sangiacco della Morea* was gone, by order from *Soliman*; who ſitting down before both theſe towns, & beſieging them writ Letters to the Governours, and to the people, *exhorting them to yield unto him, promiſing them large rewards; but ſpeedy and ſevere puniſhment, if they ſhould obſtinately perſevere to make reſiſtance: Saying, That he was ſent thither by* Soliman, *with direction, not to riſe from before them, upon any whatſoever accident, till he had reduced thoſe two Towns under his Empire. That all relief was far off, and that it was vain for them to hope to make long reſiſtance. That therefore they were to make uſe of that good, nay neceſſary, advice, of complying with the times, and with the Conquerours fortune.* But the Governours and people were reſolved to defend themſelves, truſting much to the ſtrength of their ſcituation, and that they ſhould ſpeedily receive victualls and ammunition from the Venetian Fleet; ſufficient to hold

hold out a long ſiege. They therefore gave no anſwer to theſe Letters, but they betook themſelves the more diligently to defend the city; and becauſe there was great want of water in *Napoli*, the *Stradiotti*, a bold and warlick people, ſallying oftentimes forth, accompanied with Italian Harchebugiers, provided the Town therewith. But of all others, *Agoſtino Claſone*'s diligence and worth, who was head of that Militia, appeared moſt in all thoſe actions. And Generall *Capello*, not ſuffering theſe valiant and faithfull men to want help, ſeaſonably ſent them all ſuch things as they needed moſt, in ſix Gallies. But the ſufferings of thoſe in *Dalmatia* by the Turkiſh forces, were great; for the enemy landing in great numbers upon thoſe confines, deſtroyed whole countries, carried away both men and beaſts, infuſing terrour and confuſion into all men; inſomuch as *Camillo Orſino*, who was chief Governour in that Province, adviſed, that abandoning all the other towns, all the ſouldiers ſhould with-draw into the town of *Zara*, to ſecure that, as being the chief town, and ſtreſt to be maintained; fearing, that to defend them all, againſt ſo many forces of the enemy, would be the indangering of them all. But the Senate did not approve of this advice, valuing very much, to boot with the loſſe of ſo many towns, the note of infamy, which the Common-wealth might ſeem to attract, if they ſhould willingly, and all at once, without making any tryall of their forces, yield up ſo great and ſo gallant a territory, to the inſolent enemy. Therefore betaking themſelves diligently to make all poſſible proviſion, for the defence and maintaining of them, they reſolved to raiſe more Foot and Horſe, to the number of 12000 Foot, and 1500 Horſe, whereby they hoped they might be able to ſecure that Province, and to encreaſe the peoples affection towards the Venetians, and to encourage them to defend themſelves. They choſe fifteen Gentlemen, who were to go forthwith to the cuſtody of *Zara*; *Sebenico* and *Cattaro*, with thirty foot with each of them; *Luigi Badoaro* was likewiſe ſent to *Zara*, with title of Commiſſary Generall of *Dalmatia*, with obligation not to part from that city, without leave from the Senate. All the inhabitants of *Dalmatia* were permitted, to ſend their wives and children to *Venice*, to be preſerved from being injured by the enemy. Upon this occaſion, the Doge ſpoke in the Senate, exhorting them to aſſiſt their country at ſuch a time of need: *He urged the example of what was done in the late wars by* Terra ferma, *wherein, he ſaid, the citiſens charity towards their country, their union and alacrity towards the publick ſervice, was ſo gallant, and ſo available, as overcomming the perverſneſſe of fortune, they had at laſt freed the Common-wealth from calamity, and had returned her to that dignity of Empire, wherein ſhe was. That the preſent dangers were not leſſe, than the former had been, though all things were as yet ſafe and entire, being to reſiſt an enemy, who though he were but one alone, had powerfull forces; and the more to be eſteemed, for that they were governed by one ſole reſpect, and by one ſole and ſevere command, which*

if they should prosper in this their beginning, they would grow so bold, that not anything would at any time be secure from their injuries. That hopes of assistance from others grew daily weaker, the Confederates proceeding so slowly, and so uncertainly, as that they might learn thereby, their truest and most assured defence lay in themselves. Wherefore every one ought to out-do himself, to supply the Common-wealth readily with his advice, life, and livelyhood. That the publick Exchequer was charged with almost an insufferable burthen, unlesse it should be assisted by the citizens readinesse; for these new provisions for Dalmatia *would cost above* 25000 *Crowns a month. That the peoples minds were low, and full of fears; that they were to be cheered and comforted by their presence, for whom the Empire was to be preserved; to shew, that they would accompany them in their pains and perill; and that they are such, as for their worth and constancy, deserve to be faithfully served, and to have all labour and danger undergone, to be preserved in their dominion. Let them therefore, said he, go speedily, who are chosen, to execute their charges; and let all others, upon whom any publick office shall be imposed, cheerfully accept it; whom duty doth not move, let him value glory; and who shall not esteem that, let obedience prevail with him; but if nothing else, let necessity and the present dangers perswade them, to be diligent and ready in all things.* The Prince his authority, and the efficacy of these perswasions, did with a certain noble bashfulnesse, settle the mindes and thoughts of some, who at first sought to be excused, for executing those charges which were imposed on them. But the Turks, the greater provision they understood were made to prevent them, the more they did hasten to assault *Dalmatia*; and to make the defence weaker, they resolved to assault severall chief Towns, at one and the same time, to the end, that one might not relieve the other. Having raised a masse of men at *Clissa*, a place in the Turkish Dominions, and entred with about 4000 Horse, and as many Foot, into the territories of *Zara*, they assaulted *Nadino*, the first Castle which belongs to the Venetians upon those confines, whereof *Sebastiano Sagredo* was Governour. The Castle was guarded by 150 Italian Foot, who being terrified at the very sight of the enemy, they, without making any triall, either of the Castle, or of themselves, surrendred basely, with leave to be gone; so, forsaking the Town, they went to *Zara*, whither they brought more fear then help, magnifying the enemies forces, to excuse in part their own cowardise. The like hapned soon after at the Castel of *Laurana*, wherein was *Vittori Loranzo*, with the like garrison that was at *Nadino*; and after having suffered one daies battery, the Governour fled, and the Castle fell into the enemies hands. But *Zemonico* being abandoned by the Italian Foot, was maintained by certain Slavonians, who were brought thither by some Gentlemen of *Venice*, of the family of *Veniero*, to whom the Castle did particularly belong; and *Nona* being then abandoned by our men, and not valued by the enemy, who not being able to get the Fort so soon, which was possess'd by one of *Zara*, and some

of

of his companions, they would tarry no longer in the Town, ſo as it was ſoon afterwards provided of a new Garriſon, and kept under the Venetians Dominions.

The Turks, having placed a good Garriſon in *Nadino*, and in *Laurana*, kept with their Army in thoſe confines, making inrodes daily even to the gates of *Zara*, ſo as our Souldiers were fain to keep within the walls, though the Enemies Camp was not very near. *Antiveri Dolcigno*, and *Sebenico*, were in the like danger. The *Saniacco Diſcutari*, came himſelfe in perſon to *Antiveri*, with a number of foot and horſe, and was already incamped between the ſhore and the walles; and had ſent ſome of his men to beſiege *Dolcigno*. But *Bandelmiero*, who was Captain of the Gulph, hearing thereof, brought reliefe ſpeedily to the *Antiverini*; as alſo Generall *Capello* did ſoon after, ſending Men and Ammunition thither; ſo as the Baſhaw diſpairing of any ſpeedy good ſucceſſe, reſolved to riſe from before *Antiveri*, and made thoſe that were before *Dolcigno* do the like. But part of thoſe men, who went at firſt towards *Sebenico*, and who were aſſembled at *Cluino*; and, after the taking of *Nadino* and *Laurana*, many of the Souldiers who were upon the confines of *Zara*, went thither. Yet not making up a full body of an Army, they came not near the Town, but onely pillaged the Confines. The *Sebenicans* hearing of the Enemies approach, reſolutely prepared for defence, and the people meeting upon the *Piazza*, took a ſolemn oath not to yeeld to the Enemy, but to undergo the worſt of evills in preſerving that City for the Common-wealth. But the attempts upon the other Towns, not going on ſo faſt as it was hoped, the Turks would meddle no more therewith, having their thoughts ſets upon *Hungary*. Therefore muſtering all their men, and leaving 3000 men to guard the confines, they went towards *Boſſina*, to paſſe into *Hungary*.

The Venetians were much rejoyced at the Turks departure from *Dalmatia*, and thoſe miſerable people were freed from many calamities: but mens thoughts eaſily altering with the change of affairs, the Governours and Commanders of the ſouldiers in that Province, who had been greatly injured by the Enemies, the rather for that they had received notice of the loſſe of ſome Towns, and of the pillaging of the whole Country, they reſolved to attempt the recovery of the Towns which the Turks had taken. Wherefore acquainting the *Conſiglio di Dieci*, with their intentions they ſaid there were forces in *Dalmatia* ſufficient to make ſome attempt: that it was fit to keep thoſe ſouldiers in exerciſe, who through long idleneſſe, not being able to ſtirre out whilſt the Enemy was ſo near, and powerfull, grew dayly more abject; and having no hopes of booty, their pay comming likewiſe ſlowly in, could not be kept in their duties, and in the exerciſe of the Militia; They conſidered, that without poſſeſſion of thoſe neighbouring places, *Zara* muſt be in continuall danger, having ſo potent Enemies ſo near at hand, who keeping at home, might in a manner beſiege them. The Senate liſtned willingly hereunto, being the

more desirous thereof, that they might make the Enemy feel their forces, which had hitherto been onely cause of great expence to the Common-wealth. They were not a little herein incouraged by the Duke of *Urbin*, who being made acquainted therewith, did not only commend it, but entring into more exalted thoughts, proposed greater matters. *He said, that if* 5000 *Dutch-foot were added to these Italians, who were in* Dalmatia, *and some Italian Horse to the Grecians, and* Stradiotti, *they might with these forces enter* Bossina, *and make themselves Masters of some good Town, which might make way for greater acquisitions: that it was always good counsell, to carry the war home to the Enemies; that there was onely a weak Garrison of* 3000 *horse in* Bossina; *that if such occasions were let slip, to what end did they continue war, why such expence, why all this adoe, if they meant onely to defend themselves; and that, not without difficulty and danger; that the fortune of war was always doubtfull; but he who will not hazard any thing, undergoes a certain and voluntary prejudice.*

This advice looked handsomely, shewing generosity, and hopes of Victory. It was therefore resolved to raise the Dutch foot immediately, to which purpose *Constantine Cavazza* was sent into *Bavaria*, who was Secretary to the *Consiglio di Pregadi*, who by the assistance of Duke *Lodowick*, who was very affectionate to the Common-wealth, quickly effected what he had in charge; so as the souldiers having immediately received one-pay, fell down into *Friuli*; the mean while *Camillo Orsino*, having assembled 4000 foot, and 500 Horse out of the Garrisons of *Dalmatia*, and some peeces of Artillery went into *Obraazzo*; the taking whereof was of great consideration, for thereby they bereaved the Turks of a place where they used to raise numbers of men to assault our Confines; and for the advantage which might be made of many Woods in the neighbouring Country. The Castle was neither very strong, nor very well provided to make defence; wherefore the enterprise was thought as easie as usefull: It being therefore continually play'd upon for two days, the third day the souldiers were led on to the assault, where after some contest they entred; but *Orsino* finding that it could not be fortified, nor kept without much difficulty, gave order for the demolishing thereof: But the Turks being hereof advertised, came upon our men so suddenly, before they had quite slighted the Castle, as giving the work over, they left the place in the Enemies hands, who suddenly repairing the ruines, placed therein a strong Garrison. Our men were so terrified at the unexpected comming of the Turks, as retreating to the shore to imbarke themselves, they were pursued by the Enemy, and had been totally routed, had not *Camillo da Monte Napolitano*, making head against them, entertained the Enemy, and affforded our men opportunity of imbarking themselves: this success, as at first it gave great incouragement and hopes; so the condition of affairs soon altering, they thought not of prosecuting any other designs upon *Nadino*, *Lauranz*, *Clissa*, or *Ostrovizza*, wherein greater difficulties were daily found. Hereby those began

from to

to cool, who had been forwardeſt in falling upon other enterpriſes in the Turkiſh Territories, and the Duke of *Urbin*'s ſelfe, made many difficulties; alleadging that thoſe men which he had firſt demanded, were not enough to take Towns, and to guard the Country from the Enemie: and that a greater number would require ſo much victuals, as would not eaſily be come by; they being to be brought by Land, and through an Enemies Country. They were therefore much troubled what to do: the thing of it ſelfe was very advantageous, and much to be deſired, but met every where with many difficulties. The Dutch foot were already come very near; many other things provided, not without expence, whereby the ſouldiers might be incouraged, the Fleet lay idle; if the Enemy were ſuffered to reſt ſecure every where, to what end ſhould they ſtill waſte themſelves in War? but they that weighed the buſineſſe more maturely, alleadged; *That theſe ill grounded hopes, were not anſwerable to the certain danger of drawing upon them the whole Turkiſh Armie, and to bring them once more to the ruine of* Dalmatia, *now that, to our good fortune, they were turned ſelfewhere: That it would be better to imploy this time, and theſe monies, in fortifying the moſt important Towns, and in ſecuring them from thoſe dangers which they were known to have been in formerly; they not being ſure, but that the Enemy, who were not gone far off, might quickly return to aſſault them. Beſides, would they give over thinking of their Fleet? upon which ſince their greateſt conternments did depend, their chiefeſt care ſhould be thereof, and increaſing the forces and reputation thereof as much as poſſibly they could. And that ſince the ſlow proceedings in uniting the the Fleets, ſhew'd how little they were to truſt to the helpe of others, they were to learn that by experience, which reaſon could not perſwade them to: to wit, That not being able ſolely of themſelves to maintain the war, and not being aſſiſted by others as need required, it would become them to treat of Peace; to the procuring whereof, how could the provoking the Turks by new injuries, and the further inceaſing of* Soliman, *with little or no hope of advantage, conduce very much? That the War proceeded ſo little proſperouſly, as it was not to be doubted, but that it was better to think of quenching this fire, than of feeding it with freſh fuel.*

Theſe reaſons prevailing with all men, made them at laſt reſolve to diſmiſs the Dutch foot, giving them halfe a pay more, and giving the Commanders better preſents, as well to keep fair with that Nation, as alſo to avoid the danger of having the country plundered by military inſolence; now that they were within the confines of the Common-weath. This occaſion being removed, the Turks continued their way towards *Hungary*, and thoſe that were in the neighbouring Garriſons were quiet, now that all the Towns were well munited, ſo as *Dalmatia* might for a while hope for repoſe.

All mens eyes were now upon the ſucceſs of the ſeverall Fleets; *Barbaroſſa* being gone from *Candia*, kept about the Rivers of *Negrapont*, and the adjacent parts, not attempting any thing, having ſome jealouſie of the Chriſtian Fleets. But Generall *Capello*; ha-

having aſſembled a great many Gallies, one Gallioun, and ſeveral ſhips, the Patriark *Grimani* being joyn'd with him, with the Popes Gallies; all things being now in readineſſe, waited the arrivall of the Spaniſh Fleet, great hopes being dayly given out of its ſpeedy comming: but no ſuch effect was ſeen, the beſt ſeaſon for action at Sea, to the grief of all men, and blame of many being loſt. The Emperour ſaid, he would forthwith ſend the thirty Neapolitan Gallies to *Corfu*, which were at *Meſſina*, and fifty ſhips, with 3000 Spaniards, with *Don Ferrante Gonſaga* aboord them, who was then Vice-roy of *Sicily*, who ſince the the Duke of *Urbin* could not by reaſon of his indiſpoſition of health, come to the Fleet, was to ſupply the place, which was before deſtined to the ſaid Duke. He promiſed alſo, that as ſoon as he ſhould be come to *Barcellona*, he would diſpatch *Doria* away, with orders to come and joyn with the other Fleet at *Corfu*, with 32 Gallies more. Yet there were many reaſons to doubt what the iſſue would be: That *Ceſar* had often ſaid, before he went to *Nice*, it was impoſſible for him to make offenſive war at one and the ſame time againſt the Turks, and French; that there was ſmall hopes of his having peace with *France*, the meeting at *Nice* being now diſſolved, and nothing concluded. That his Officers in *Napolis*, had not onely hindred the Captains ſent by *Camillo Orſino*, from raiſing men in that Kingdom, to relieve *Dalmatia* in her greateſt neceſſities; but by ſeverall feigned excuſes, and contrary to the Articles of the League, had denyed Generall *Capello* the tranſporting of Corn, for the ſervice of the Fleet. And ſuch were many other both his words and actions, as gave juſt occaſion of beliefe, that *Ceſar* deſired to ſpin out the time, being either not willing, or not able to make war againſt the Turks; nor to ſuffer, for as much as in them lay, that the Venetians ſhould make peace, whereby his ſhare of the war ſhould be the heavier. Therefore deſiring to ſecure himſelfe as much as he might, by putting a new obligation upon the Venetians, he deſired that the Articles of the League might be renewed and eſtabliſhed; which though it ſeemed to be ſuperfluous, the agreement being ſo lately made, and ſtipulated in *Rome*; yet they would pleaſe him therein, (that they might not leave any thing undone, which might make for the uniting of the Fleets) to ſhew that they did clearly intend to proſecute the War. The Capitulation being confirm'd, *Ceſar* commanded *Gonſaga*, who was not yet gone, to go to *Corfu*, but to carry the Gallies onely along with him, leaving the ſhips, to the end, as he affirmed, that the foot, which were not yet all come, might be imbarked therein. But his long looked-for arrivall produced no good effect; for the Venetian and Popes Generalls propounding a voyage into the *Levant*, that they might attempt ſomewhat againſt the Enemy; *Gonſaga* would not aſſent thereunto, ſaying, that it was not ſafe for the Confederates, and particularly, that it ſtood not with *Ceſars* honour, to fall upon any enterpriſes with ſo ſmall forces; deſiring therefore that they would tarry at leaſt till the ſhips came, which could

could not be long in ariving. The Fleets lying thus idle at *Corfu*, the Patriark *Grimani*, impatient of ſo long delay, and deſirous at leaſt to exerciſe his Gally-ſlaves, he went with thirty ſix Gallies towards St. *Nicolo di Civitâ*, where underſtanding by thoſe of the country, that the Caſtle of *Preveſa* was but weakly guarded, he thought it not fit to let ſlip the occaſion, of aſſaulting it at unawares, it being a very commodious receptacle for the Turks, to diſturb the affairs of Chriſtendom. The Caſtle of *Preveſa* is ſeated upon the Promontory of *Actium*, a little within the mouth of the Gulph of *Larta*, called of old, the Creek *Ambraico*, which is about ſixty miles about; the mouth thereof is very narrow and ſhallow, being choaked up by many ſhelfes of ſand, of the neighbouring River *Larta*; from whence both the City and the Gulph take name: So as thoſe that would aſſault the Caſtle, being to paſſe thereby, it was not meanly ſafe; for no great ſhips could enter thereinto, nor no ſleight Gallies, but one by one, and not without incurring danger. This Caſtle was built by *Octavius Auguſtus*, in memory of the Navall victory, which he got near this place, and was called *Nicopoli*. It is built after the antient form, and is not very ſtrong; but much eſteemed for ſcituation, and guarded by an ordinary Garriſon of Turks. The Patriarck entring by this mouth into the Channel of *Preveſa*, *Paolo Giuſtiniano*'s Gally, having firſt made way for the reſt, he landed his men and artillery in open Campagnia, about a mile from the Caſtle; and becauſe his greateſt hopes of good ſucceſſe lay, in making haſte, not ſpending time in making Trenches, he began preſently to play upon the walls with his Artillery, wherein *Aleſſandro da Terni*, who had the charge thereof, proceeding ſomewhat ſlowly, the Patriark himſelf would land, the more to haſten the planting of the Artillery, and to fall immediately upon battery: Which was not well begun, when many Turks began to appear from the neighbouring parts, where we were quartered, whoſe numbers encreaſed ſo faſt, as they grew formidable: And our men, who were not ſheltered by any works, remaining expoſed to manifeſt danger by the enemies Horſe, it was reſolved, to re-imbarck the ſouldiers and artillery, and without any further attempt, to return to *Corfu*. *Grimani*'s boldneſſe and diligence was praiſed, and if his purpoſe had been ſeconded by good ſucceſſe, he would have purchaſed plenary praiſe. But there were many who wiſh'd, that more maturity had gone to this advice, conſidering the great danger whereunto he did expoſe himſelf, as well of being aſſaulted by the enemies Horſe in open campagnia, having nothing to ſecure his men, nor his artillery, from ſuddain aſſaults; as of having the Gulph's mouth block'd up, and ſo himſelf hindred from getting out; he not having poſſeſs'd himſelf, as he ought to have done, of the other ſide of the mouth, which lay over againſt the Caſtle. Some add, that the Patriarck meeting with Commiſſary *Paſqueligo* on the way, who was ſailing with 25 Gallies towards

Zantes;

Zantes, to liſten after the Turkiſh Fleet, and who offered to follow him, and to be aiding to him in his deſignes, he did not diſcover what his intention was to do, but refuſed his company. Yet this his journey helped to diſcover that ſituation, and whatſoever elſe was requiſite, to the making of that enterpriſe, and was the cauſe of our mens meeting with a fair occaſion not long after, of getting a notable victory, if they had known how to have uſed it: For *Barbaroſſa* hearing, that the Patriarch was entred into the Gulph of *Larta*, made thither immediately with his whole Fleet, hoping to meet with him, and to ſuppreſſe him; but when newes came to *Corfu*, whither *Barbaroſſa* was gone, and that he tarried at *Preveſa*, the Captains of the League differed in their opinions, touching what was to be done; ſome were for going to *Meſſina*, to meet with *Doria*, who being come from *Spain*, kept about thoſe havens, to prepare divers things needful for the Fleet, excuſing his delay, and laying the fault upon others. Others were better pleaſed to tarry at *Corfu*, and wait for *Doria*'s comming, who had given notice, that he would be with them ere long; for they thought it neither good nor ſafe, eſpecially for the Venetians, to abandon *Corfu*, and the guardianſhip of the whole Gulph. At laſt, *Doria* came thither on the 7th. of *September*, but not with all his Gallies, for he had left ſome in *Spain*, to guard thoſe ſeas from the incurſion of Pirats; and ſome others were gone into *Affrica*, to ſuccour *Tunis* and *Goletta*, from ſuſpition of new commotions of the Turks and Moors, of thoſe parts. The former conſultations were then renu'd, but with greater neceſſity of comming to a reſolution, and of falling upon ſome enterpriſe. At laſt, it was reſolved by common conſent, to go with the whole Fleet to *Preveſa*, and to fight the enemy. Our Commanders intention was, to land their men, as ſoon as they ſhould be come to *Preveſa*, and to uſe all their might to poſſeſſe themſelves of that Caſtle, and to build a Fort over againſt it, that ſo they might maſter the Gulphs mouth, ſo as they might afterwards put on what reſolution they ſhould like beſt, either of entring to fight the enemies Fleet, or elſe of keeping it from comming out, and ruine it by its own ſufferings. This advice was liſtned unto by the great applauſe of all, accounting the place where they were to have the conflict, as a good Omen, as being favourable to the Weſtern Princes, for the ſignall victory which *Auguſtus* got over *Mark Antonio*, and *Cleopatra* Queen of *Ægypt*, in that ſea. The League's Fleet conſiſted of 136 Gallies, 2 Galleonns, and of 30 Frigats: Theſe were divided into five Squadrons, in the firſt was placed the greateſt Veſſells, governed by *Franceſco Doria*; and the leſſer was divided into four other Squadrons, *Panuarch Grimane* led the Van with the firſt Squadron, Generall *Capello* brought up the Reer, *Doria* and *Garſego* kept in the two middlemoſt, *Doria* neer the Patriark, and *Garſego* neer *Capello*. The Fleet ſtaied a while at the *Geminizze*, waiting for the other Imperiall ſhips; which being long a comming, finding the

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ſeaſon good, it ſailed towards *Santa Maura*. The Turks, when they heard that the Chriſtian Fleet was parted from *Corfu*, and was making towards them, wondred very much; thinking they had been ſafe in that Haven, and free from ſuſpition; they could not perſwade themſelves, that the Fleets could meet together that year, nor, if they ſhould meet, that they would draw ſo near them, and hafard a Battle. The unexpected caſe made them differ the more in their opinions, what was to be done; ſome were of opinion, that they ſhould have done enough, if, after having kept poſſeſſion of the ſea almoſt all that Summer, and done much prejudice to the Venetian Towns, the Fleet ſhould return ſafe into the ſtrait of *Galipoli*, and be able (as they ſaid) to waſte the Venetians, by prolonging the war, and ſeparate the Colleagues forces, and intelligence, getting the victory by a more ſecure way. They therefore told *Barbaroſſa*, that it would be beſt for them to keep in that Haven, where, by the means of the Caſtle of *Peveſa*, and by the ſtraitneſſe of that Channel, they might tarry without danger, and have all conveniences, (the country being their friend, and abounding in all things) till ſuch time as the Chriſtian Fleet quitting thoſe ſeas, as they would quickly be forced to do, by reaſon of the ſeaſon of the year, and of many other incommodities, ſhould leave navigation free and ſafe for them. Others not being able to ſuffer, that the Chriſtians, who were wont to retreat, and yield unto their power and forces, ſhould keep them ſhut up for fear, in that haven, propounded, their ſuddain putting forth to ſea with their whole Fleet, to fight; by which generous reſolution, all fear would be tranſported from their ſouldiers, into thoſe of the enemy, and alſo all danger. They conſidered, that to keep there ſhut up, as it was a badge of infamy, ſo it did not promiſe any ſafety to them, ſince they might be kept from comming forth, longer then they imagined, and their Fleet incommodiated, and peradventure aſſaulted within the haven, where the hopes of being able to ſave themſelves, by getting ſoon to land, and the ſeeing themſelves fought withall at their own doors, would diſcourage their ſouldiers from fighting; and ſo it might fall out, that without hafarding Battle, and without making triall of their military valour and diſcipline, which had alwaies been dreaded by the Chriſtians, they ſhould by a new and deteſtable example, reap a certain and ignominious loſſe. That, come what would come, *Soliman* would aſſuredly commend ſuch a generous reſolution, who having undergone the troubles of ſo many wars, and expoſed his perſon to many dangers, meerly out of a deſire of glory, would not endure, that the reputation of his forces ſhould be ſo much leſſened, and his happy fortune, and that of the *Ottoman* Empire, ſhould be diſtruſted, by refuſing to fight with thoſe enemies, who came to defie his Commanders, in his own Havens, and underneath his own Forts. *Barbaroſſa* was bold, and wonted to hafard himſelf upon fortune, and to find her

favourable. He knew, that there were many at Court, who envied his glory and greatneſſe; and that his retreat from *Corfu*, and the bad ſucceſſe of that enterpriſe, whereof he had been the firſt author, had given them occaſion of ſpreading abroad many rumours, which he thought might detract from his reputation, and from the favour he was in with *Soliman*. Moreover, he had ſome hopes, that though the Chriſtian Commanders ſhould come very near him with their Fleet, yet they were not abſolutely reſolved to fight him. He was herein confirmed by the treaties of Agreement, held formerly with him by *Doria*; ſo as the ſame reſolution, which would purchaſe him the praiſe of a noble daring, by comming with his Fleet out of the Gulph, ſeemed to be accompanied with ſafety. He had a Fleet of 150 veſſells with oars, beſides ſome with ſailes, wherein, though many Galleaſſes, Fly-boats, and other leſſer veſſells were comprehended; yet his ſmaller Bottoms, exceeding thoſe of the Chriſtians in number, he doubted not the victory, if they ſhould fight without their groſſe Body, the uſe whereof depended much upon the uncertainty of fortune, and of the winds. He reſolved therefore to carry his Fleet out of the Gulph, and to preſent himſelf in ſight of the Chriſtian Fleet, neither ſeeking nor eſchewing Battle; but, like a wiſe Commander, endeavour to learn the enemies intentions and waies, that he might govern himſelf accordingly. Before he drew forth his whole Fleet, he ſent out a Squadron of 50 Gallies to diſcover the minds of the Chriſtian Commanders, and to diſcry their goings, whether they did really intend to fight or no, and in what order they guided their Squadrons. The Leagues Fleet ſteered its courſe then towards *St. Maura*, but being informed by thoſe that ſtood on the top-maſt, that the enemy was come forth, they preſently, tack'd about, and made towards them: Their voyage being altered, they altered the ordering of the Fleet; Generall *Capello* led on the Van, who comming within ken of the Turks, made the Gallies of his Squadron give more way, & playing upon them with his great Guns, made them retreat to that place from whence they were parted; which they did in ſuch haſte, (being came to diſcover, not to fight) as they were put in ſome diſorder, every Gally ſtriving, which ſhould get firſt into the Gulph, and eſcape danger; which notwithſtanding became the greater, by their diſorderly flight: for their Gallies having their poops turned towards ours, were expoſed to the ſhot which was made againſt them, not being able either to defend themſelves, nor to be aſſiſted by their Gallies which remained in the Gulph, keeping the mouth thereof ſhut, as they entred in: Which when *Doria* ſaw, who was in the Bataglia, he likewiſe advanc'd ſo far on the other ſide, as it was thought he meant to block up the mouth of the Haven, and to hinder the enemy from entring; ſo as being aſſaulted both on the Flanck, and on the Poop, they muſt needs be beaten: yet ſoon after, when he was come nearer up unto them, he,

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by unexpected, and uncommunicated counſell, ſent orders to the Fleet, that all the Gallies under pain of ſevere puniſhmet, ſhould forthwith retreat; and being quickly aſſembled, he made them go to *Cape Ducato*, in the Iſland of *Sancta Maura*, to the great wonder and diſlike of all, the whole Fleet complaining, and ſpeaking freely againſt *Doria*, that they had loſt a great opportunity of ſuppreſſing a good part of the Enemies Fleet, without any loſſe at all unto themſelves. The Generalls fell then to treat again, concerning what was to be done, wherein they were the more doubtful, becauſe they were altogether ignorant of the Enemies intention, who might be ſaid to have ſhewed both courage and feat at the ſame time, as deſiring, and ſhunning battel. Some were of opinion, that a ſquadron of Gallies ſhould be ſent to batter the Caſtle of *Lepanto*, ſaying, that *Barbaroſſa* would not ſend any of his Gallies out of the Gulph again, without urgent occaſion: and that if the Enemy ſhould come forth into open Sea, it would be in their power to fight upon any whatſoever advantage. Others were for returning preſently to *Peveſa*; for if the Turkiſh Fleet would not ſtirre from their ſtation, they might attempt the taking of the Caſtle; and if it ſhould advance, they ſhould give opportunity of being fought with upon diſadvantage, for they might be aſſaulted before they could put themſelves in order. This advice was commended, as that which brought with it more reputation to our Fleet, and more certainty of ſuppreſſing the enemy. The confederates Fleet went then on the 28 of *Sept.* from the Iſland of St. *Maura*, in the ſame order as formerly, and made towards the Enemy: but the winde which was favourable unto them at their firſt putting forth, failing them as they ſayled, they were forced with great inconveniency and ſlowneſs, to make their ſhips be towed, to keep them from being ſeparated from their Gallies, whereby the Turks had time and opportunity afforded them, not onely of comming out of the Gulph, but of being able, contrary to opinion, to order their ſquadrons at Sea as they liſted. So as before the League's Fleet could come near the gulphs mouth, they diſcovered, that the Enemies Fleet being come forth in good order, came with a proſperous wind towards them. Then ſaid *Doria*, *We have unkenneld our Enemy, as it was our intention to do; we may now fight if we pleaſe, but the buſineſſe muſt be well conſidered: it is of great importance, and repentance will come too late. We muſt think, that by joyning battel now, we do not onely hazard this Fleet to the fortune of a few hours, but alſo the reputation of the Confederate Princes; nay, I may ſay, the welfare of Chriſtendom. For if theſe forces ſhall be loſt, what means is there to raiſe another Fleet, to oppoſe the Enemy, and ſtop the courſe of their Victory? What hopes is there, to defend the Maritime parts without forces at Sea, or to keep them from falling irrecoverably into the Turks hands;* and then turning to the *Venetian Generall*, he added, *That it was he who was moſt to weigh theſe reſpects, ſince it was his Common-wealth, which upon any ſiniſter accident,*

would run most hazard. To which *Capello* answered; *That he had commission from the Senate, to fight the Enemies Fleet, when he should meet with an opportunity: that upon such an occasion, he could not but obey these orders; that he did humbly thank God for it, and that he was very confident, that the goodnesse of their cause, and their generous resolution would be accompanied with happy successe, to the great good service of Christendom, and to their own particular praise. He therefore desired that the most dangerous place in the battel might be allotted to him, and he would willingly accept it.*

The Patriark *Grimani*, shew'd the same ready desire, to come presently to the Conflict; and though he had first advised to go to *Lepanto*, yet seeing the Enemy was come forth, he was as forward for fighting as any of the rest. When *Doria* saw that all were for fighting, So be it then, said he, and good be our speed. He presently caused the standard to be set up, giving requisite orders for it, and said, he would be the first who should assault the Enemy with his squadron. All were over-joy'd at this resolution of giving battel, so great hopes had the terrible aspect of the confederates Fleet begot in them, together with the advertisement they had of the Turks weaknesse: which made them believe they would not accept of battel, but that having made this shew for their reputation, they would fall back again into the Gulph. Every one with joyfull countenance made themselves, and their arms ready, and diligently discharged the severall duties which were deputed unto them. The Captains were not wanting in exhorting, and in incouraging the rest to fight manfully. *They laid before them the weightinesse, and the easinesse of the Victory, the rich booty which they should have, the military honour, the immortall glory which was prepared for them in all ages: and after these assured present rewards, the hopes of greater things in the future. That the Enemy was sufficiently inferiour to them for number of ships, but much more in their goodnesse, Arms, and in their Souldiers valour; so as the greatest difficulty of Victory, seemed to lie in beginning the conflict, which the Turks would not be able to resist: but that as their greatest hopes of safety, lay in being able to get safe into their friends country, so would it make them the more remiss in fighting, and would be the cause that their gallies and goods would be the assailants secure prey. They wisht them not to fear, no, not though they should have reason to do so, since fear adds not to security; but, weakning mens forces, and bereaving them of counsell, makes their danger the greater. That they needed nothing but courage and speed, so to cut off the way by Sea from the Enemy, as they might not, by flight, bereave them of the almost assured Victory.*

Doria would lead the way with his Gallies, keeping on the right hand of the Sea; he assigned the Battle to *Capello*, & appointed *Gremani* to keep in the reere, to the end that he might be able with his squadron to relieve those who should be in most need. He ordered *Antonio Doria*, who commanded the greater Vessels, that going before the smaller gallies, he should indeavour to get the

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winde of the Enemy, to the end that he might fall upon them with a fore-wind, and disordering them by his Artillery, might weaken them, and discourage them before they should come up to fight with our Gallies. But the Turks on the other side, indeavouring the same advantage, laboured by all means possible, to get before the Christian Fleet, and by advantage of the winde, to be the first that should fall on: which *Doria* being early aware of, made his Fleet bend towards land, endeavouring to keep the enemy from getting that hand; but the winde, which had begun to blow, soon failing, it was very hard to observe these orders. The smaller Gallies were imploy'd, and much pestred in haling the greater Vessels: yet they were all so fervent upon fighting, as over-coming all difficulties by their industry and labour, the two greater Venetian Vessels (the Gallioun, commanded by *Alessandro Bondulmiero*; and the *Barza*, commanded by *Nicolo Trivisano*) were already got to the designed place, which being excellently well provived of Artillery, stood before all the squadrons, like two strong Towers, to sustain and break the first violence of the Enemy. *Barbarossa*, when he saw the ships make towards him before the winde, slackned, fearing lest he might be forc'd to fight with the great ships, which was the thing he most desired to shun; began (as it is said) to repent his being come out of the Gulph of *Prevesa*; and there was so great a fear generally throughout the whole Turkish Fleet, as many of the Turks began already to recommend themselves to the Christian slaves who were aboord their gallies: Yet *Barbarossa* reassuming courage, did whatsoever became a good Commander to do; and thinking of nothing but battel, sought to make what advantage he could both of time and place: he labour'd chiefly to get to the head of the Island *Santa Maura*, whereby shunning the incounter both of the ships and Gallioun, he might wheel about, and assault our Fleet on the back, which being desirous to keep their greater and lesser Vessels joyn'd together, had much adoe to change scituation, without disorder: *He therefore ceased not to incourage his men, both by perswasions and threats, not to be affraid: he laid before them the reward and punishment of their good and bad behaviours; he told them there was no cause of fear, that they were the same* Mussulmans, *who had ever been victorious in all Wars under the happy conduct of* Soliman *the Great, and fortunate Prince, against the Christians; a people more wonted to wantonnesse than wars, and to save themselves more by slight, than by military valour: that every mans last day of life was prefixt, but the acquitting themselves thereof, either with praise or dispraise, depended upon their own wills: that for his part, he would not be wanting in any thing that belonged to a good Commander, that the battel might be fought upon all advantage.* And truly, all men thought that *Barbarossa* did that day whatsoever could be expected from a wise and valiant Commander, and shewed himselfe greatly experienced in the Militia, and at Sea. For he did so dispose and order his Gallies, as every one of their

Captains knowing, and obſerving his place, as though the Fleet did many times wheel about in ſeverall manners; yet was it ſtill well ordered and fitted for battels, and ready to put on any whatſoever reſolution. The Turkiſh Fleet was divided into three parts, *Trabatcbe* commanded the right wing, and *Selesco* the left, both of them experienced, and well reputed Commanders, and who had carried themſelves well in the late Wars: in the middle was *Barbaroſſa* with the body of the Battle, wherein were the greateſt number of Gallies. *Tragut*, a famous Commander of the Pirats, went before all the reſt with a ſquadron of fly-boats, & ſome more nimble Gallies, as it were to chalk out the way to the others, and to begin firſt to moleſt the Enemy with his fleeter Veſſels, and therefore freeer from danger. The Turks, were it either by reaſon of the ſlow, or irreſolute advancing of our men, or by their own diligence and good fortune, the Sea being calm, ſo as the greater Veſſels could not make uſe of the wind, did firſt poſſeſs the Land-ſhore, which the Commanders of the League had firſt deſigned to do: and being gotten into a very convenient ſtation, a good way off from our ſhips, they ſtood a-front the Chriſtian Fleet, to obſerve her motions, thinking themſelves already ſafe, ſince they ſaw the Confederates would not hazard a battle, without the greater Veſſels; and to tow them further on, being within ſight of the Enemy, was not without danger, and required time and difficultie, ſo as it ſeemed to be in their choice whether they would fight or no: But *Doria* wheeling this mean while about the ſhips, and being followed by all the fleeter Gallies, kept not onely the Enemy, but even his ovvn men long in doubt, vvhat he vvould do. Every one, vvith their Provv turn'd upon the Enemy, ſtood expecting when they ſhould advance and begin the battel: But through their ſo long delay, and vvaſting of time, the Turks had leaſure to retreat to an advantagious place, and to avoid the battle. *Doria*'s deſign (as he aftervvards affirmed) vvas to deceive the Enemy, who being doubtful vvhat he meant to doe, he thought they would keep faſt in that part of the Sea where they were, and cloſe together; ſo as he having diſpoſed of his Gallies in a long rank, might take a larger bout, and aſſault the Turkiſh Fleet on ſeverall parts, at one and the ſame time. But *Barbaroſſa*, being aware of his intention, made more haſte (as hath been ſaid) to the Land-ſhore, keeping the Prow, or fore-Caſtle of his Gallies ſtill turn'd upon our Fleet, and ſtill getting Rome-ward as far as he could from our greater ſhips. During which time, the Confederates Fleet, to the wonder of all men, ſtanding as it were immovable, idly looking upon the inſulting Enemy, and letting the opportunity ſlip; Generall *Capello*, and *Grimani*, cry'd aloud, Let us loſe no more time, let us not loſe the hopes of a certain victory. *And* Capello *going about in a little Veſſell, incouraged to battel; his words and courage were applauded by all: and being come to the gallie where* Doria *was, he ſaid, Sirs, Let us charge the flying Enemie; time, occaſion, and the ſouldiers votes, invite us thereunto: the Victory is ours,*

I will be the firſt that will fall on, I expect nothing but command, to begin the conflict.

Capello was an old man 73 years of age, of a good aſpect, and comly perſonage, ſtout minded, and reverenced for his age, and held to be very wiſe, and well experienced in Sea-affairs, which gave the greater authority to his advice and incouragement. And truly, all men were ſo very deſirous to fight, as nothing was heard, but Fall on, fall on, Victory, victory; by which *Doria* being at laſt wrought upon, and over-come with a certain ſhame, he commanded the reſt to advance, and he himſelfe began likewiſe to move with his ſquadron. So as the ſhips being paſt on, our Fleet drew ſomewhat nearer the enemy, who being come to the deſigned place, ſtood with their Poops to the land, and their Prows to ſeaward. Many ſhot were made, though afar off from both ſides, ſo as the battle ſeemed to be already begun; yet the gallies advanced no farther on either ſide. *Doria* hoped, that the Turks being terrified by this incounter, would quit their Gallies without fighting, and ſeeking to ſave themſelves by land, would leave them the Victory void of danger. *Barbaroſſa*, ſeeing the yarer gallies back'd by the Gallioun, and by the Venetian *Barza*, durſt come no nearer, fearing leſt his ſquadrons might be diſordered, and his Gallies but badly treated by the Artillery of theſe ſtronger ſhips. But, *Doria*, ſeeing his thoughts proved vain, and being reſolved, (as his actions ſhewed) not to commit himſelfe to the hazard of a battel, began plainly to retreat; whereat the Turks being incouraged, advanc'd ſo far, as many of their Gallies were come near the *Barza*, and the Gallioun; which being before the reſt, and by reaſon of their bulk, could not ſo ſoon retreat; and a barrel of powder which was above hatches in the Gallioun, being ſet on fire by a Cannon bullet, the Marriners and Souldiers were terrified and much diſordered. But the Captain commanding contagiouſly, and taking order for all things, ſaved them from that danger, and would not ſuffer that any more ſhot ſhould be made as then againſt the enemy. The like did the Captain of the *Barza*: But when he ſaw the Turkiſh Gallies come ſomewhat neater, they gave them all their Guns at once, and made them ſoon retire. But our ſhips, and ſome of our gallies remained in the like; nay, in greater danger, not being able ſo unexpectedly to make away ſo ſoon as did the reſt. The Turks ſeeing them ſeparated, fell upon them, as upon certain prey. Two of the Venetians ſhips falling on fire in the fight, were miſerably ſunk, with all the men in them; and two Spaniſh Veſſels having made long and valiant reſiſtance, were taken: the reſt, by reaſon of a favourable winde which aroſe, eſcaped ſafe away. Two ſmaller gallies ran the ſame misfortune, the one belonging to the Venetians, the other to the Pope; the firſt being commanded by *Franciſco Capello*, the other by *Abbate Bibiena*, which having moſt of their men ſlain, fell into the power of the Turks: Others, which were in ſome danger eſcaped, by reaſon of the darkneſſe of the night; and the whole Fleet of the

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Confederates, ſave the aforeſaid few, got ſafe to the Iſland of *Corfu*. *Doria* would be the laſt that ſhould retreat, thinking to ſhew either greater bravery thereby, or his greater care of the Fleets ſafety. But all men knew, that this his confidence proceeded not from any courage, nor from any good will to the ſervice; but for that he knew his Gally to be ſo yare, as that he might eaſily eſcape danger. But General *Capello* being aware thereof, would not move but at the ſame time together with him. The Turks growing confident upon this retreat of the confederates Fleet, were not content to have eſcaped ſhame and danger, but thought to carry it home to others. Wherefore they went with their whole Fleet not long after to the Iſland of *Paru*, within twelve miles of *Corfu*, where they tarried a good while, as if they did defie the Confederates to come out of the Haven, and fight, and expecting an opportunity to damnifie them. But the Confederates Fleet was full of diſorder and fear. *Doria*'s Stars were thought unfortunate, & his Loyalty was ſuſpected, and all that he adviſed. There was not any one who durſt offer at any generous action; if any buſineſſe were propounded, it ſoon begot doubts and difficulties even in the propounders. Thus all the Gallies keeping in the Haven, and no occaſion of Action being given, the Turks after having inſulted over the Chriſtian Fleet, fearing ſome ſtormy tempeſtuous weather, for now the firſt week of *October* was over, retired to the gulph of *Larta*.

This was the ſucceſſe of this preſent year, this the end of ſuch preparations for war. Great expectation of mighty matters, great movings, hopes, and fears, of notable events; but no effects anſwerable, either to the mightineſſe of the Princes, or to the expectation of ſuch forces. Yet this age not being accuſtomed to ſee ſuch warlick preparations at ſea, this encounter of the Fleets at *Preveſa* was very famous; but certainly, to the little honour, and great grief of Chriſtians, and to the particular blemiſh of *Andrea Doria*'s reputation, who was then, and afterwards, generally ill ſpoken of every where; ſome accuſing him of perfidiouſneſſe, others of cowardiſe, and of bad affection to Chriſtendom, particularly towards the welfare of the Venetians. And certainly, there were many things which might make his loyalty ſuſpected; the friendſhip which he was known to hold with *Barbaroſſa*, contracted, whilſt the one was in the King of *France* his pay at *Marcelles*, and the other in *Algiers*; the treaties which were known by all men, to have been formerly held between them, and for that two Galleotte were ſeen to come from *Preveſa*, the night before the Turkiſh Fleet appeared, the one whereof went into *Sicily*, the other, after having accoſted *Doria*'s Gally, was ſaid to have returned into the Gulph of *Preveſa*. Moreover, it was obſerved, that *Doria* had cauſed all the main-ſail-yards of his Gallies, to be blackt over, which was ſuſpected might be a ſigne, whereby they might be known from the reſt. But thoſe who ſpoke more particularly, blamed him, for having many immoderate affecti-

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ons, as, ambition of being great, fear of danger to his own perſon, and avarice; by which being blinded, and not knowing nor valuing any intereſts but his own, he would not hazard himſelf, nor his own particular Gallys, to the danger of Baudo, upon the preſervation whereof, his glory and reputation did depend; in regard of the need the Emperour ſtood in of his ſervice. Nay, the Spaniards ſpared not to blame him; the Marquis *d'Aglier*, Embaſſadour from the Emperour at *Rome*, did publickly deteſt *Doria*'s actions, ſhewing peradventure more fervency therein, to free the Emperour from ſuſpition, that this might be done by his order. Yet the Venetian Senate wiſely conſidering, that it made not for them, to alienate this mans minde from them, who had the government of that Fleet, ſeemed not to be any wales ill ſatisfied with him, but civilly unto him, ſaying, That they believed, he like a wiſe Commander, had done what appeared beſt to him, for the good and ſafety of Chriſtendom. *Doria* hearing of theſe complaints, which were generally made againſt him, was much afflicted, inſomuch as after his return to *Corfu*, he ſeldom ſuffered himſelf to be ſeen abroad; and when any diſcourſe was had of this buſineſſe in his preſence, he ſhewed much paſſion, and was hardly able to forbear teares. After this retreat, the Confederates Fleet lay ſome daies idle at *Corfu*. But it being thought, to be too baſe and ignominious a thing for Chriſtendom, to tarry any longer in that Haven, the ſeaſon being favourable for action at ſea, though it were now *Autumn*, and the enemy being gone far off, divers things were propoſed. Generall *Capello* was for the Fleets going into the *Archipelagus*, *where*, he ſaid, *it was likely, they might light upon ſome new occaſion of fighting the enemy; but if they ſhould fail thereof, ſome other certain and notable advantage might be made by this voyage; for many ſhips which were bound for* Conſtantinople, *would fall into their hands, and prove ſecure prey.* Napoli *and* Malveſia *might be ſuccoured and ſecured, and many Iſlands in the* Archipelagus *might as eaſily be recovered, as they had been loſt but a little before; from whence they might receive great advantage, eſpecially by furniſhing the Fleet with men for the Oars; and not onely ſo, but deprive the enemy of them. That in thoſe Iſlands there were many Havens, wherein the Fleet might keep ſecurely, and that thereby they might infuſe ſuch jealouſie into* Barbaroſſa, *as it might be, he would not dare to carry his Fleet back to* Conſtantinople, *which wanting many things, muſt tarry in a weak condition in that Gulph, and in a condition, of not putting out at all to ſea the next year, or at leaſt very late. That the honour and reputation which they had loſt, by what had paſt at* Preveſa, *could no wales elſe be redeemed, nor was there any other means, to make their aſſertion credited; to wit, that it was the winde and fortune, not counſell in the Commanders, nor courage in the ſouldiers, which kept them from fighting. That whatſoever acquiſitions ſhould be made on* Terra ferma, *would be in vain, and to no purpoſe, by reaſon of the difficulty and impoſſibility which would be found, in maintaining what they ſhould get, from the numerous Turkiſh Armies.* Others, and chiefly *Doria*, were rather

ther, for going to batter *Durazzo*, thinking it a very dangerous thing to put to sea at that season, in the Archipelagus; and that whatsoever labour they should take in regaining those Islands, would be but lost, since, there not being any secure Port there, they must again fall into the Turks hands, at the first appearance of any Turkish Fleet. On the contrary, if the enterprise of Durazzo should prove lucky, many advantages might be thereby made, by reason of the condition of the place, which was very convenient and fit, to make way for further progress in Albania. That this was held and known to be such a place by the Romans, who were resolved not to pass into Greece, before they had made themselves masters thereof; which when they had gotten, they advanced notably in Albania, and in Macedonia. But this proposition met likewise with many difficulties; it was said, *There were no Havens there able to receive the Fleet, especially the great ships, which must lie out at sea, not without great danger. That the neighbouring country was full of Turkish Horse, whereby the enterprise might easily be disturbed: That it might also be disturbed by* Barbarossa, *if he should come to* Vallona, *it not being safe for them to land their men, and to leave the Fleet unfurnished, having so powerful an enemy so near at hand. That they were to keep the war as far off as they could, and molest the enemy there, where he could not make use of his chiefest forces, which consisted in foot souldiers, and in horse, not in their Fleet, which certainly was much inferiour to that of the Christians.* By reason of these difficulties, which appeared the greater to those, whose mindes were daunted, by reason of the late successes, and were not apt to hope well; the thoughts of making any further enterprises were quite laid aside, and they resolved to enter the Gulph, and to attempt somewhat, which might easily and safely be effected. The Fleet went then to the mouth of the Channell of *Cattaro*, to besiege *Castel-Nuovo*, a Town seated on the sea-shore, a little within that Gulph, which some years before was taken from *Chersego* by *Mahomet*. This was a place sufficiently esteemed, not for it self, for it was neither very great, nor very strong, but for the situation thereof, which was very commodious in many respects, especially for the Venetians, in respect of the safety of *Cattaro*, seated almost in the uttermost parts of the same Gulph, by which, garrisons and victuals were to pass unto that City. The town and buildings of *Castel-Nuovo* stand upon certain little hills, along the sea-shore; and in the highest part thereof there is a Castle, guarded by a Turkish Garrison; the other inhabitants being for the most part *Dalmatians* and *Slavonians*. The whole Fleet being entered into the gulph, *Doria* caused the foot and the Artillery to be landed a little way from the Castle, to batter it, *Don Ferrante Gonzaga* having the particular charge thereof; but in the interim, whilst the Spanish foot were putting in order, and preparing the Battery, General *Capello* accosting the walls with his Gallies, which by reason of their being so very near, might lie there safe from the shot of the Castle; for being made from a higher place, they were carried further off, began to give the assault; wherein those that rowed the gallies, mounting the walls upon Ladders

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made of their Oars, (for the defendants being assaulted on several parts, could make no resistance) entered the Town, and opened the Gates to the Souldiers, so as the Turks soon quitted the Town, and retreated to the Castle; but not long after, not being able to defend it, they yielded upon discretion: The Town was plundered by the Spanish foot, *Don Ferrante*'s command to the contrary, not being sufficient to detain them; for he knowing that the booty belong'd to the Venetians, had forbad it; nay, they were so insolent, as not content with the booty which they had got in the Town, they took what the Marriners had got of prey from them, as they returned to the Gallies, injoying the fruit of other mens labours, and dangers. *Barbaroſſa* hearing that the Christian Fleet was gone to besiege *Castel-Nuovo*, went from *Peveſa* thither-ward, intending to relieve it, or hoping at least, that the news of his coming would disturbe the enterprise. Wherefore our men being informed that the enemies Fleet was past the channel of *Corfu*, with a prosperous South-east wind, they were not a little troubled: but it lasted but a while: for they soon after heard, that meeting with foul weather at Sea, by reason of a sudden furious South-west wind, the Turks had lost about 30 of their gallies, which were over-born by the waves, and were returned with the rest very much shatter'd and torn to *Vallona*. This success affording opportunity to fight the enemy, whilst both their minds and forces were dejected, seemed to invite the Commanders of the League to change their resolution, as was heard by general votes throughout the Fleet, where many had reassumed their former vigour: *And the Venetian Generall did very effectiously exchort* Doria, *not to let slip this occasion also, since there was but a short cut to* Vallona, *where they might assault the Turkish Fleet, which was not in a condition to fight, being much weakned by reason of the fortune which they had run, nor yet in a condition of running away, for want of Oars, the most of which were broken; nor were they in a place of safety, the Castle of* Vallona *being so far from the Haven, as it could well defend it.* But *Doria* was resolved to be gone without doing any thing; wherefore pleading sometime the unseasonableness of the time, sometimes other things, he prolonged the time so long, till *Barbaroſſa* had time to carry his Fleet safe back to *Constantinople*, leaving *Dragute* with 25 Gallies, and with a good squadron of bigger bottoms, and Pirates Vessels, in the gulph of *Lepanto*, to molest the Christians in their Navigation. Quickly after, *Doria*, alleadging other reasons for his departure, and chiefly want of bread, he resolved to be gone, and to go with his Fleet into *Sicily*, though he was intreated and counselled by his own men, and by *Don Ferrante*'s selfe, to keep the Fleets united that winter at *Corfu*, or in some other fitting place, where they might put early to Sea the next spring, and prevent the Enemy. 4000 Spanish foot, commanded by Captain *Jovanni Sermento*, were left to guard *Castel-Nuovo*, though the Venetian General had oft desir'd, that according to the Articles of the League, the Town might be assigned over to him, to be guarded by his Men. But *Do-*

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rius said, he could not do it of himself, without order from the Emperour: and moreover, he placed 6000 other Spanish foot in Garrison, in *Buedna*, *Anteurri*, and *Dolcigno*, pretending to do it for the good of the Venetians, that thereby those Towns might be the more secure, and might be as it were a Store-house of souldiers, which might be in readinesse to be made use of the next spring. These things gave occasion of great suspition, some beginning already to affirm, that the Garrisons of the Common-wealth being to be increased by these foot, it belonged to the Common-wealth to pay them. *Doria* being gone, the Patriark *Grimani* went not long after to *Ancona*; whither being come, he disarm'd his gallies, and sent them to *Venice*, going himself to *Rome*, to give the Pope an account of what was past. General *Capello* tarrying in the gulph of *Cattaro*, went to *Risano*, a little Town not far from *Cattaro*, in the Turkish jurisdiction, but weakly guarded, which soon surrendring, he placed a Garrison there, under the command of *Luigi Zane*, a Gentleman of his gally. *Capello* fell here very sick, by reason of the much pains he had taken; but much more out of trouble of mind, seeing things had been carried so contrary to his desire, which forced him to crave leave of the Senate to disarm, that he might return home to be cured. At this time the Duke of *Urbine*, wasted with a long and grievous sickness, dyed, not without suspition of poyson, to the great and universal grief of the Venetians, who confessed all of them, that the Commonwealth had seldom met with a personage so proper for the Government of their Militia, as he was, wherein he had given great satisfaction for the space of 15 years; his obsequies were solemnly made in S. *Pauls* Church in *Venice*; *Lorenzo Contarini*, famous for Eloquence, pronouncing the Funeral Oration. He was much experienced in the Militia, particularly well acquainted with the State, and all things therein: He was very vigilant in weighty affairs, very dexterous in all his actions; his minde was real, sincere, and well affected to the honour of *Italy*, and particularly to the *Grandezza* of *Venice*. Yet many were jealous, that he had not proceeded too sincerely in the succouring of *Rome*, out of his own particular Interests and designs, not being over-well affected to the House of *Medeci*, as saies *Guicchardine*, a modern Historian.

The end of the Ninth Book.

THE

THE HISTORY OF VENICE,

Written by PAULO PARUTA:

BOOK X.

THE CONTENTS.

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given by the Venetian *Embaſſador to the King of* France. *An Oration made by the Generall, to the people of the Arcol-pelagus; encouraging them to bear with the charge of Government. How long the Peace with the Turks laſted.*

THe occaſion feverall times (by the loſs of fighting the Turkiſh Fleet, with hope of Victory, and the putting of a Spaniſh Garriſon into *Caſtel Nuovo*, being anſwerable to the actions of the preceding year; did not onely, upon mature conſideration, increaſe the jealouſies which were generally conceived of the unſincere and puſillanimous proceedings of *Doria*, but produced the like of *Cæſar*, and his intentions. The Venetian Senate, were hereby expoſed to great trouble and danger; they had undertaken a heavy War againſt a powerfull Enemy. Their having refuſed many invitations to Peace, would make the future agreement the harder. They had uſed many endeavours to move *Cæſar* to obſerve the Capitulations of confederacy; that he would grant the things treated of at *Naples*, and *Sicily*; that he would cauſe *Caſtel Nuovo*, to be aſſigned over into the hands of ſuch as ſhould be thereunto deputed by the Common-wealth; that he ſhould give ſuch orders to his Officers, as that his Gallies might be ready to joyn with the Fleets in *March*: But *Cæſar* had given no full ſatisfaction to any of all theſe things: finding out many occaſions of excuſe, and delays touching the thing Treated of, that the Officers to whom the care thereof belonged, would firſt make their own Declarations, touching the reſtoring of *Caſtel Nuovo*; He alleadged, that the Common-wealth was to diſburſe the pay which was behind hand to the Spaniſh Foot, for having guarded the Fort: And touching the ſpeedy diſpatch of the Fleet, that he intending to go in it himſelf in perſon, there was was need of greater Forces, and preparations, and conſequently longer time would be required. But in ſome of theſe things, reaſon; and in otherſome, both reaſon and actions, ſhewed that he aimed not at equity, nor at the common good. His words were very magnificent, and his promiſes great; but not without great ſuſpition, that his onely end was to keep the *Venetians* ty'd by the league, to the end that he might make uſe of their Forces and friendſhip, as far as might concern his own ſervice, not the common good: for it was underſtood, that Proteſtations were made in ſeverall Courts which were held in the Kingdom, wherein he was adviſed by the chief men of the Provinces, not to depart the Kingdom. Moreover, he was ſo bare of money, as, if he had really intended to go himſelfe in perſon with the Fleet, he would not be able to maintain the expences which his comming would occaſion: out of theſe reaſons it was conceived, that the *Venetians* had not onely cauſe, but were neceſſitated to think more of Peace then of War, they were the more incouraged to attend this treaty of Peace, out of hopes that they might obtain it of the Turks upon reaſonable conditions: For the Turks, proceeding with more reſpect, had made the *Bailo* be removed from the Tower, *del*

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mare Magiore, to *Conſtantinople*, and likewiſe gave notice that they would quickly ſet all the *Venetian* Merchants at liberty, which they accordingly did, giving them time to negotiate their buſineſſe, being bound one for another not to go themſelves in perſon, nor to ſend their merchandize out of the confines of the *Ottoman* Empire: There was likewiſe one *Antonio da Modone* come to *Venice*, who lived then at *Zante*, and brought Letters with him, written to him upon his own private occaſions, by *Gianusbei*, wherein he affirm'd the Grand Seigneur, and the *Baſcia*, were well inclin'd to peace, ſo as if an Embaſſador ſhould be ſent to that purpoſe to *Conſtantinople*, ſome concluſion might ſoon be had in the point, wherein *Gianuſbei* willingly offered his beſt indeavours; provided he were deſired ſo to doe. Out of theſe reſpects, the Councill of ten, thought it fit to begin a Treaty of Peace. But to the end, that the buſineſſe might be carried with more ſecrecy and reputation; they would not ſend at that time any publick perſon to *Conſtantinople*, but gave commiſſion to *Lorenza Gritti*, natural Son to the *Doge*, to go to *Conſtantinople*, under pretence of following his own private affairs, and particularly the recovery of certain merchandize belonging to a Brother of his, lately dead at *Conſtantinople*. His Commiſſion was, firſt, to treat of a generall Truce, and to inſiſt thereupon as much he could, that he might bring it to ſome concluſion. But if the Turks ſhould not aſſent thereunto, he was then to advance the treaty of Peace for the Common-wealth, wherein the former Capitulations were to be obſerved; and all places taken by either party in that War, were to be reſtored.

The King of *France* had likewiſe interpoſed himſelfe in this Treaty of Truce, who to this purpoſe had ſent a ſervant of his to *Conſtantinople*; but it was ſoon ſeen, there was ſmall hopes of bringing this Treaty to a good end; for the Turks ſeemed to be very farre from comming to any agreement with *Cæſar*, having propounded and procured peace with the *Venetians*, purpoſely that they might turn their Armies the more commodiouſly, and with the greater force againſt him. As ſoon as *Gritti's* going to *Conſtantinople* was divulged, though the true occaſion thereof was concealed, it was ſoon ſuſpected that he went to treat of Peace; wherefore *Don Diego Hurtado di Mendoſa*, who was then Embaſſador from the Emperour at *Venice*, diſcovered this his ſuſpition in a private Audience in the Colledge; modeſtly complaining, that they ſhould think of making an agreement with the common enemy, and not comprehend the Emperour therein, who was a friend and confederate of the Common-wealth; and afterwards he in a long Oration, diſſwaded them from treating of peace with the Turks.

What aſſurance, ſaid he, what ſecurity can you have, that theſe Barbarians will ſtand to the Agreement, whereunto they ſhall aſſent not out of any deſire of peace, which they uſe naturally to abhorre, nor out of any good will to the Common-wealth, ſince they hate the very name of Chriſtian to death; but onely out of ſome particular end, or accommodation of their own, that they may diſſolve this league, weaken the chiefeſt Potentates of Chriſtendome, and oppreſs the reſt: If it be the matter of expence which makes you alter

your mind from continuing War; you ought to consider, that Peace doth not free you from it, but renders it vain and useleſſe: for the Emperour will by no meanes be brought to an agreement with the Turks: and whileſt theſe ſhall be in Arms, and ſhall have two great Fleets at Sea; will you, wiſe Seigneurs, be unarmed? will you truſt the ſafety of your State, to the uncertain faith of others? Surely no body will believe it. It would be a thing certainly to be deſired, that your State had not ſo formidable Neighbours, as are the Turks, and that you might injoy quiet, and tranquillity, free from ſo many jealouſies, and diſaccommodations. But ſince the preſent condition of times and affairs, is ſuch, as that expence, danger, and labour muſt be undergone: it ſhould be thought a great good fortune, that in this age, and upon this occaſion, there is ſo powerfull a Prince in Chriſtendom, as may by his Forces counterpoiſe the Turkiſh power; and who out of his deſires and well-wiſhings to the common good, is ready to expoſe, not onely his Forces, but his very Perſon, to the hazard of War, ſo to abate the pride of theſe common Enemies. To this, anſwer was made; *That the* Common-wealth *had been already two years in league; yet ſhe might truly affirm, that it was ſhe alone that had hitherto withſtood the brunt of the Turkiſh Forces; that the reaſons were well known, which had hindred the requiſite ſpeedy aſſiſtance, and did therefore believe they might light upon the like misfortunes again. Yet they had alwaies born, and ſtill did bear great reſpect to the Confederates: That the King of* France *had indeavoured a generall truce at* Conſtantinople; *that by accepting and favouring this Treaty, he thought he did what concern'd the common ſervice, and that whereby the* Common-wealth *might reap many advantages; and if nothing elſe, the benefit of time, which the Emperour himſelfe thought very neceſſary, for the well ordering of all things touching his voyage to the Eaſtern parts.* The like paſſages were had at the Court, between *Cæſar* himſelfe, and the Venetian Embaſſador: But they produced no effects, neither of ſpurring up *Cæſar* to prepare for War, nor of making the *Venetians* retard the already reſolved Treaty of Peace.

Thus ended the year 1538, in the end whereof, upon the 27 day of *December*, the *Doge Gritti* dyed, being 84 years old; a good part whereof he had ſpent in managing important affairs, and in the Common-wealth's moſt difficult times, as may be known by what you have heard: He was Prince 15 years and 7 moneths, and his death was bewailed by all men. His Funerall Oration was made by *Barnardo Navagiero*, a youth who was then of great hopes, and who proved afterwards a Cardinall; he was buried in *S. Francis* his Church.

The year 1539 inſued, wherein there paſſed no action of Warre on the Common-wealths behalfe, though great preparations were made for it, it being almoſt wholly ſpent in the negotiation of peace, in the beginning thereof; the *Venetians* thinking that they were to truſt to none but to themſelves, and their own Forces, for the ſafety of their State; though they had indeavour'd peace with the Turks, and the continuation of the League, to the end that (if need ſhould be) they might be able to maintain the War of themſelves, without the help of the Confederates; they did all they could to increaſe their Garriſons, and to re-inforce their Fleet.

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They took many Souldiers into pay, and armed more ſlight, and greater Gallies in *Venice*, and gave commiſſion likewiſe to Commiſſary *Contarini*, who was then in *Candia*, to indeavour the ſpeedy arming of 25 Gallies in that Kingdom: At this time the Senate made an inſtitution, that out of all the Artificers of the City, 4000 men ſhould be choſen, who were four times a year to go aboord certain Gallies thereunto appointed, to row: This is commonly called *Regattare*, or vuying for the Maſtery; and ſeverall rewards were appointed for the firſt three that ſhould row beſt. By this means, there were alwaies men ready and prepared, to arm a certain number of Gallies upon a ſudden; and *Guido Ubaldo*, Duke of *Urbin*, was taken into pay by the Common-wealth, to be head of the Militia; who in the life-time of his Father, Duke *Franciſco Maria*, had alwaies been in this ſervice: and he had a hundred Curaſſieres, a hundred light Horſe, and ten paid Captains, added to his Conduct, and four thouſand Duckats, for his boord-wages.

The Duke was held to be very fit for the ſervice of the Common-wealth, as well in reſpect of his own condition, being bred up under his Father's excellent diſcipline, and being attended by the beſt Souldiers that were then in *Italy*, who had ſerved under his Father; as alſo for the condition of his Dukedom, which did abound in good Souldiers, and in places commodiouſly ſcituated, from whence to be ſent to the Garriſons of the Sea-Forts. Wherefore the Senate ſent *Franciſco Samito*, Embaſſador to him, with great demonſtrations of love and honour, to condole his Father's death, and to aſſure him, that they would not forget the good ſervice he had done the Common-wealth: But ſome months paſt before they came to this confirmation, for fear leſt the Pope ſhould be offended, if the Duke, who was Feudatory to the Church, ſhould be honour'd and embrac'd by the Common-wealth, whilſt he was in contumacy with the Pope. The State of *Camerino*, had, as you have heard, been the occaſion of theſe diſlikes; for Duke *Guido* being poſſeſt of the Dukedom of *Camerino*, in the right of his wife *Julia*, daughter to *Jovan Maria Varrano*, the laſt Duke of that Family: The Pope pretended, that that State was illegally poſſeſt, which for want of Heirs-male, ſhould have reverted to the Apoſtolick Sea, as being held in fee of him. The Senate was very fervent in this buſineſſe, indeavouring to appeaſe the Pope, being thereunto moved by the recent memory of *Franciſco Maria*, who had deſerved ſo well of the Common-wealth; and out of their good affection to the preſent Duke, who was in much trouble and danger; and they were no leſſe excited thereunto, for fear leſt thereby ſome important Warre might be raiſed in *Italy*. For the Duke of *Mantua*, whoſe ſiſters Son Duke *Guido* was, gave out, that he would not onely defend the Duke his Nephew, with his State and Forces, but would call in forrain ayd into *Italy*. At laſt, when all proved vain that could be done, to make the Pope alter his mind, the Duke was forced by the interpoſition of the Senators authority and mediation, to yeeld up the Dukedom of *Camerino* to the Pope, who was reſolved to recover it by force of arms, if it were not willingly ſurrendred, receiving in recompence

a good sum of Money, as in dowry with his wife *Julia*. This difference being accommodated, and this respect ceasing, which was the onely thing that stuck with some men, Duke *Guido* was taken into pay by the Common-wealth, as hath been said. And that the Fleet might not likewise be without a Commander in chiefe, since *Capello*, who had permission from the Senate, to leave his Armed Gally at *Chioggia*, and (retaining still the name and degree of Generall) to return to *Venice* for the recovery of his health, was not in a condition of returning soon to that service; *Jovanni Moro* was chosen to supply his place, who was then Commissary Generall in *Candia*: but news of his death comming not long after, the place was conferr'd on *Tomaso Mocenico*, a man verst in many important businesses both at home and abroad. *Moro*'s death was thus occasioned: A great dispute fell out between the Grecian and the Italian Foot, and great numbers of men flockt to each side; *Moro* fearing some great disorder, went thither himselfe in person, with his Halbardiers, and other armed men, to appease the tumult, and being wounded in the head with a stone, dyed soon after. But this his action was not able to appease the fury of those people, for many more were slain, and the businesse grew more dangerous: When Duke *Antonio da Mula*, putting on his Ducall crimson Robes, and inviron'd by his Courtiers, went to-where the uproare was; and such was the respect they bore to his person, by reason of his years, by reason of his degree, and reverend habite, as it appeas'd their rage and insolencies, which the Commissary with his armed men could not do. *Jovanni Vitturi*, was chosen to succeed *Moro*, who severely punishing the heads of this uproar, quieted all the rest, so as no tumults nor injuries arose between the Souldiers and Islanders a long time after.

Whilst the *Venetians* proceeded thus, the Turks were no lesse diligent in preparing their Fleet and Armie, being the more sensible of their losse of *Castel Nuovo*, by reason of their being alwaies accustomed to overcome. Therefore being resolved to recover this place, and thereby the reputation which they had lost in losing it; they made preparation both of men, and all things else, sufficient for a far greater enterprise: and in the mean while *Dragute*, who (as it hath been said) tarryed in the gulph of *Lepanto*, went from thence with 30 Vessels very well armed; and coming to the Island of *Paxù*, did much infest the Navigation: for keeping secret, and retyr'd in St. *Nicholas* Haven, about some four miles from *Corfù*, and sending some of his yarest Gallies oftentimes from thence, even to the Chanell of *Corfù*, to pillage ships which came to that Island. Commissary *Pasquillio*, was not able longer to indure such indignity: wherefore he resolved to go out with twelve of his best Gallies, and to fall upon some Turkish Gallies which lay very near land; but the Enemy not standing the incounter, fled towards the Gulph of *Larta*, to abuse the Commissary, as it appeared afterwards, making him believe that they had no more ships at *Paxù*: but when our Gallies were advanced somewhat further in pursuit of the enemy, they discover'd *Dragute*, who being come from *Paxù* with the

the reſt of his Gallies and fly-Boats, was gone room-ward, to get the advantage of the wind, and ſo fall upon our Gallies on the flanck. The Commiſſary, finding his danger, if he ſhould advance any further, hoyſted all his ſayls forthwith, and made towards *Corfu*, being purſued by the Enemy, who getting ground upon us, three of our Gallies fearing they ſhould not ſave themſelves by flight, gave againſt Land in the ſhelfes of *Meſſangi*, twelve miles from the Fort of *Corfu*, where they loſt their Gallies, but ſaved their Men and Goods. But *Antonio Canale's* Galley, having broken her anchor, whereby ſhe could not ſteere the ſame courſe as the reſt did, was taken by the Enemy. The Turks growing bolder hereupon, they went with the ſame ſhipping into the Iſland of *Candia*, where they landed ſome of their men in the parts about *Canea*, burning and pillaging the farme-Houſes. But a good number of Carabines, and Fewdatories of the Kingdom being got together, they ſlew many of them, and ſent the reſt ſoon back to the Fleet; wherein *Antonio Calbo*, a Councellor, was much commended, it being confeſt by all men, that the Country was preſerved from much prejudice chiefly by his means.

This mean while, *Gritti* return'd from *Conſtantinople*, the month of *April* not being yet over, for he had made very great haſte. He related, how that by *Gianusbei's* means, he was brought to the chiefe *Baſſha*, who, though he received him very graciouſly, yet made many grievous complaints of many hoſtile acts, committed by ſeveral of the Common-wealth's Officers upon the *Muſſulmans*, complaining that the Common-wealth had not puniſht them; but he ſeemed chiefly to reſent very much, the diſreſpect which had been ſhewn and uſed to the Grand Seigneur, and that whole Court, in not having given any anſwer to the ſo many propoſalls made by them of peace and agreement. Wherefore *Gritti* not finding the Turks ſo diſpoſed, as that he might take an opportunity to treat then of peace; he procured that Arms ſhould be laid down on all ſides for three months ſpace, in which interim the peace might be treated of; which as ſoon as he had obtained, he cauſed it to be publiſhed upon the confines, as he paſt by; ſo as the Turkiſh Forces which were incampt before *Salona*, with intention, as was given out, of going to beſiege *Spalato*, when *Salona* ſhould be taken, hearing this, aroſe, and went from thoſe confines.

This Truce was not over-welcome to the *Venetians*, many being not a little jealous, that this ſuſpenſion of Arms, tended more to the putting of diffidence, between the confederate Princes, and to gain time for making greater preparations for War, then to any reall deſire of Peace. There were therefore ſeverall opinions touching the proſecution of this Agreement, and how it might be handled. The treaty of things in generall, and made by a private perſon, did not ſecure from danger, and kept the Common-wealth ſtill with uncertain hopes, in the expence of War. To make any particular application by an Embaſſador, ſhewing a deſire and need of Peace, would make the Turks more inſolent, and the agreement more diſadvantageous, or more difficult. But at laſt, after many

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diſputes; the Senate, to whom this buſineſſe was referr'd, reſolved (though it was carryed but by two voyces) to ſend an Embaſſador to *Soliman* for treat of Peace; and *Pietro Zeno* was choſen to go the Embaſſy. But the Embaſſadors going, requiring ſome time, in reſpect of preparing accuſtomed preſents; and it being alſo thought requiſite, that he ſhould find things on foot towards ſome certainty, or better hopes of concluſion; *Gritti* was ſent back to *Conſtantinople*, to the end that carrying news of the Embaſſadors comming, he might indeavour the prolongation of the Truce, and might begin, according as he ſhould ſee occaſion, to make way for the Treaty of Peace, wherein he was willed to make uſe of Monſieur *di Rancome's* aſſiſtance, and advice, who was then Embaſſador at the Court, from the King of *France*; and who had oftentimes willingly offered to interpoſe himſelfe in that Treaty, but it was after known, that his indeavours tended to the contrary, and that they made the buſineſs more difficult, intending, that the buſineſs being intricated, his King might become Arbitrator of the differences; and, by thus obliging the *Venetians*, might totally ſever them from *Cæſars* friendſhip and confederacy. When *Gritti* came to *Venice*, the new Generall had already tane the ſtandard, to go to his Government; but not being yet parted from the ſhore, his going was put off, leſt it might have begotten jealouſies in the Turks, that theſe indeavours of Peace were but feigned, and that they might return to moleſt the confines of the Common-wealth, where they began to be in quiet. But this mean while, that the Fleet might not be without a Commander in Generall; the ſame Authority was given to Commiſſary *Contarini*, as is uſually injoy'd by the Generalls at Sea. Soon after the Embaſſador *Zeno* began his journey with Commiſſion, *That upon the concluſion of Peace, all things ſhould return to the ſame condition as they were before the War; that he ſhould juſtifie all paſt paſſages, promiſe friendſhip, and peace for the future, and particularly the reſtitution of* Caſtel Nuovo, *if the generall Truce ſhould be concluded, and that the Turks ſhould do the like, concerning the places taken by them in* Dalmatia, *and in the* Archi-pelagus. But *Zeno* being come to *Boſſina*, fell ſick and dyed; the Senate was adveriſed of his death, by Letters from his Secretary *Pietro di Franceſchi*; and there-withal, how that a great deſire of peace was diſcovered in all the Turkiſh Officers, inſomuch that they had ſolicited him to write to *Venice*, that a new Embaſſador might be choſen, which *Thomaſo Contarini* ſoon was, an old man of 84 years of Age, but much eſteemed for his mature wiſdome, and for his particular knowledge in the Turkiſh affairs, with whom he had had long converſation upon ſeverall occaſions. He had but four days allowed him for his departure, and in the interim, ſpeedy news of his election was diſpatcht away to Secretary *Franceſchi*, who kept ſtill at *Boſſina*; as alſo *Gritti*, who returned ſuddenly to *Conſtantinople*.

But nothing that *Gritti* could do, could prevail as to the general Truce, the Turks ſtill continuing the preparations for their Fleet, as being deſirous to recover *Caſtel Nuovo* rather by force, then agreement. *Barbaroſſa*, was already gone forth with 150 ſayl of

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ſeveral ſorts of ſhipping, and with a great train of Artillery; and *Reglerbeg* of Greece, at the ſame time marched with a great many Horſe to the taking of *Caſtel Nuovo*: So the Turks not diſſenting from agreement with the *Venetians*, eaſily conſented, that the Truce ſhould be prolonged with them alone, for the month of *September*; and ſet ſome of their ſhips that were deteyn'd, at liberty; and allowed more freedom to their Conſulls and Merchants. This Treaty being [illegible]ſed abroad, it was ſeverally diſcourſt of, every where, according to the diverſity of mens judgements, or rather of their affections. Moſt men commended the *Venetians*, for accommodating themſelves to the times, and to neceſſity, indeavouring the ſafety of their ſtate and affairs by agreement, ſince they had try'd the way of Arms two years in vain, with great expence and danger, whereby their ſincerity, faith, and reall intentions to the common good, did ſufficiently appear; particularly the Pope ſaid, the Senate had done according to their ancient renown and wiſdome, proceeding according as the preſent condition of affairs did dictate, and providing for the preſervation of their State, by ſuch means as were permitted them: He therefore would not arm his Gallies, confeſſing, that the joyning of the Fleets would do more harm then good, diſturbing on one ſide the Treaty of Peace, and then doing no prejudice to the Enemy. But becauſe he intended to keep two Galleys armed for the defence of his maritime Coaſts, he deſired them of the Senate, who willing granted them. *Barbaroſſa* this mean while ſteering on his courſe, and being to enter into the Gulph, the wonted difficulties aroſe, Where the Common-wealths Fleet ſhould keep. To retreat, would be diſhonourable, would infuſe feare into their ſubjects, and make them diſpair, would ſhew their weakneſs to the Turks, and make them more inſolent, & ſtand upon harder terms of agreement. On the other ſide, to keep at *Corfu*, might afford occaſion of meeting with the Turkiſh Fleet, and raiſe new ſcandalls; and might alſo make the Turks jealous, that they would joyn with the Imperialiſts, a thing which would be very unſeaſonable at this time, and contrary to the intention of the already begun Treaty of Peace. They had not as then above 65 Gallies in their Fleet, which if they ſhould keep all without the Gulph, *Dalmatia*, and the Gulph it ſelfe would be abandoned; and if they ſhould divide them, all parts would be weak and in danger. It was reſolved notwithſtanding, that one of the Commiſſaries ſhould come with 25 Gallies into the Gulph, and that the other ſhould tarry with the reſt at *Corfu*, hoping that if *Barbaroſſa* ſhould advance, the doubt of incountring him would ceaſe, and the Gallies from *Candia* would quickly arrive, which being fifty in number, and already on their way, hoping to finde the Navigation ſafe, by reaſon of the news, that the plague was fallen into the Turkiſh Fleet, ſo as it could not get from *Nigraponte*, did afterwards return back, hearing that *Barbaroſſa* was with his whole Fleet in the waters of *Zante*. The Turks did no injurie to the *Venetians* in this their voyage. *Barbaroſſa* affirming, that he would keep Truce with them, but that the Emperour not being therein comprehended, he was not bound to keep from be-

ſieging *Caſtel Nuovo*, which was poſſeſt, and kept by the Imperialiſts: but meeting with an armed Veſſel, which brought Souldiers and Victualls to *Napoli di Romagna*, and *Lorenzo Sanuto's* perſon, who went Conſull to *Napoli*; they did not any wayes moleſt them, yet Commiſſay *Contarini*, tarrying at *Corfu* with ſome few Gallies, did for their greater ſecurity, cauſe ſome Cable Ropes with their Anchors, to be faſtned to ſome Rafters; wherewith ſecuring ſo much of an Arm of the Sea as might receive his Gallies, he provided againſt any ſudden violence of the Enemy. The *Spaniards* being affrighted at the comming of the Fleet, and at the Turks great preparations, began to conſent to the putting of *Caſtel Nuovo* into the *Venetians* hands, which they had formerly upon various pretences denyed to do; which Propoſition being made to the Senate, they anſwered, That the offer was now made out of ſeaſon; that they had oftentimes been earneſt with them, to obſerve their Capitulations, whereby that Town was to have been delivered up to them: that now when they had been inforc't by great neceſſity, and had proceeded ſo far in the treaty of Peace, it became them not to do any thing that might diſturbe it. *Barbaroſſa* this mean while purſuing his way, came in the beginning of *Auguſt*, with 90 Gallies, and 30 fly-Boats, to the Gulph of *Cataro*, where caſting Anchor ſo far off the Fort of *Caſtel Nuovo*, as that he might not be offended by the Artillery thereof; he landed his men ſafely, and 80 pieces of Artillery of ſeveral ſorts; and *Ulmana*, *Sangiacco* of that Province, came thither almoſt at the ſame time, with great ſtore of Foot and Horſe, which incampt themſelves about the Town: the Enemy not being long able to hinder them, though at firſt they ſallyed boldly forth to diſturbe their Works. The Turks began to play upon the Town on three ſides. *Barbaroſſa* took the care of that battery which was on the North-ſide; *Ulamane* ordered an other, and *Salecco* attended on that which was toward the Sea, ſo as by perpetuall ſhot, they beat down the walls even to the ground: and the Fort, not being inviron'd with a ditch, and therefore the Town which ſtands ſomewhat high, being expos'd to the ſhot of Cannon, when the walls were beaten down, and wanting earth to make new Trenches; the Houſes were batter'd and beaten down, ſo as no place in the Town being ſafe, many Souldiers were ſlain, and the Enemy meeting with but little oppoſition, drew nearer the wall, and poſſeſt themſelves of a Baſtion, under which the Spaniards diſpairing of all other means, had made a mine; but when they ſet fire unto this their laſt remedy, it was ſo late in playing, as the Turks had opportunity of eſcaping the danger, and the ruins falling inwards, ſlew many of the defendants. The Spaniards had alſo made a mine in another part, where they thought the aſſault would be moſt dangerous; but the Turks being advertiſed thereof by a fugitive Souldier, forbore approaching the place of danger: wherefore the Souldiers being diſcouraged, ſeeing all their labour and induſtry prove vain, reſolved to give over defending the Town, and to recreat into the Caſtle: the Captain *Avio Maſeno*, entering thereinto, with ſome other Captains, and with about 800 Souldiers: But Captain *Sarmento*

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preferring a glorious, though an assured death, before a dishonourable uncertain hope of safety, kept in the Town with some select companies of Souldiers; where having for a while valiantly withstood the Enemy, being at last over-born by their numbers, he and all his souldiers were cut in pieces: and those who were within the Fort, considering they could not make long resistance against so many men, yielded not long after upon discretion. *Barbarossa* having given them his word, that their lives and liberties should be saved: Yet as soon as they surrendred, he made them all be put to the Oare, alleadging that their persons belonging as prey to the *Janisaries*, he could not dispose of them otherwise; so as of the 4000 *Spaniards*, who had the custody of that place, not one of them escaped away free, some of them being slain, some made slaves, paying finally for the so many wickednesses which they had committed in their many years fighting in *Italy*, and particularly when *Rome* was sackt. *Castel Nuovo* being regain'd, the Army marched towards *Risano*, which was presently surrendred by the Keeper thereof, *Luigi Zane*, the Fort nor Garrison not being able to defend it. *Barbarossa* had first demanded the restitution of that place from *Jovan Matteo Bembo*, Governour of *Cattaro*, with whom he had sought many occasions to turn his Forces upon *Cattaro*; and after many complaints, as that his fugitive slaves were therein received, and other feigned things, he laid aside all consideration of Truth, and sent shamelesly to the Governour, to deliver up *Cattaro* unto him, or that otherwise he would take it by force, having commission from *Soliman* to take that Fort, and whatsoever else the Seignory posseſt upon those confines; that therefore to avoid utter ruine, he should by time provide for the safety of himselfe, and of those people; for he would give free leave to all that would, to go from thence, and would deal civilly with them who would continue and live under the Empire of the most happy Grand Seigneur. But *Bembo*, not at all terrified at this unexpected demand, betook himselfe diligently to prepare for defence, and to incourage the Citizens and Souldiers, and return'd answer to *Barbarossa*, that he himselfe did, and all the world would wonder at this his demand, which being contrary to reason, must be believed to be contrary to *Solimans* mind, who was wont to observe his word; that therefore he deserved not to be listned unto, and that therefore he did so much the more confide in the justice of his cause; and that he should be able to defend that City which was committed to his charge by his Common-wealth: To which *Barbarossa* returning no answer, he made a squadron of his Gallies advance, who rashly accosting the Fort, were by the Artillery beaten off with much prejudice. *Barbarossa* coming on the second day with the rest of his Fleet, was likewise beaten off; and having landed many of his Foot at some distance from the Fort, they who kept on the Mountains side, being got very near the walls, were so damnified, and disordered by some pieces of Artillery from the Castel, as they soon retreated to their Gallies: And some of the Stradiotti and Harchabusiers on horse-back, went out against the rest, who marched towards that

part of the Town where the Church and the Monastery of *S. Francis* stands, and with whom *Barbarossa*'s selfe came to discover the scituation, slew many of them, and forc'd the rest to fly, and save themselves in the neighbouring mountains, where the Horse could not pursue them. *Barbarossa* having well viewed and considered the Fort, and the defendants readinesse, and therefore dispairing to gain it, after having tarryed one day longer there, without attempting any thing, resolved to be gone, and to return to the Gulphs mouth: And before his departure, being thereunto desired by *Bembo*, he spoke with *Jerolimo Cocco*, Master of a Ship, sent to him to that purpose, whom he civilly treated, though contrary to the custome of that Nation, he refused the Presents which he brought him. At this meeting, *Barbarossa* appeared to be friendly-minded, saying, that he was satisfied with having recovered the places which had been taken from the Grand Seigneur; and that he intended to observe the Truce, unlesse he should receive some order to the contrary from *Constantinople*, whither he had sent an Olacco, to give an account of what he had done: things tending to the preservation of the honour of his Fleet, and of the Army, as if he had willingly quitted that enterprise, and not out of dispair of successe. Thus the Souldiers, and the Artillery being imbarked, and a good Garrison left in *Castel Nuovo*, the Turkish Fleet departed from the Gulph of *Cattaro* on the 17th of *August*; and it was believed, that they were to go to *Puglia*, to pillage those maritime parts, being solicited so to do by *Cantelmi*; one who was sent from the King of *France* to *Constantinople*, and by the French Embassador, who was aboord those Gallies: yet *Barbarossa* being come to *Vallona*, went streight from thence to *Corfu*, where passing through the Channel, he was by way of friendship saluted by Cannon-shot from the Fort, and divers were sent to him from the Governours of the Town with refreshments, and some vestures, which he gratefully accepted, and returned thanks for the present. And *Barbarossa* often assured them, that as he for certain accidents which had hapned, had advised the undertaking of that War; so now he would use his indeavours in procuring peace, to which end he would go to *Constantinople* as soon as he could. The *Venetians* were much troubled to hear of the taking of *Castel Nuovo*, and of *Barbarossa*'s attempt upon the Fort of *Cattaro*; their Fleet being divided, and fearing lest the Enemy growing more bold, might make some other attempt upon their State.

When the Turks plaid upon *Castel Nuovo*, *Andrea Doria*, who was parted from *Sicily*, went to *Calopo*; from whence he sent word to Commissary *Contarini*, who was at *Corfu*; that it was now a very fit time to fall upon the Enemy, whilst having abandoned their Gallies, they were busied in besieging *Castel Nuovo*, wherefore he invited him to joyn their Fleets together: To the which the Commissary, that he might sift into his mind, answering, that he would be ready to relieve *Castel Nuovo*, or to do any thing else, if all their Forces might joyn safely, with assured hopes of advantage: *Doria* returned no answer at all, nor did offer to attempt any thing of himselfe,

ſelf, but ſtood retired in the Haven of *Brandizzi*, in which time the Embaſſador *Contarino* came to *Conſtantinople*, where he had Audience given him by the Grand Seigneur; and whilſt he was declaring his commiſſion, *Soliman* held ſtill his hand upon his breaſt, (a ſign, as his men ſaid, of his being troubled); but howſoever, having given full hearing, he told him, He was welcome; but as for the buſineſſe, ſaid nothing, but that (according to cuſtome) he referred him to his Baſſhaws: with whom when he met, and began more particularly to unfold his Commiſſion, as ſoon as they heard any mention made of reſtoring the places which had been taken in this War: they preſently anſwered, *That not any mention muſt be made thereof; that* Soliman *was mightily troubled for many accidents which had happned, but eſpecially for the League made by the Common-wealth with the Emperour againſt him; that therefore it would not onely be impoſſible to work him to ſuch a reſtitution, but that there was no hopes of obtaining peace, without the ſurrender of* Napoli, *and* Malveſia, *together with all that was poſſeſt by the Common-wealth on the Sea-coaſt of* Conſtantinople, *even to* Caſtel Nuovo; *whereby all occaſion of ſcandall would be taken away for the time to come, and a good and ſtedfaſt Peace would be eſtabliſhed. That they did alſo demand ſatisfaction for the great expences which* Soliman *had been at in that War, ſince he had been inforc'd thereunto by many injuries; wherein his end was not avarice, but his honour, the Common-wealth having done the like in their agreement with the Emperour, a more petty and leſs powerfull Prince then* Soliman. The Embaſſador being far from complying with them in any of theſe demands, anſwered, *That then the buſineſſe was at an end; that the Common-wealth would be ſo farre glad of peace, and no farther then ſhe might have it conſiſtent with her dignity, the which ſhe would alwaies with her Forces maintain and defend: yet that he being but a ſervant of the State, neither could, nor would ſay any more, but that he would give an account of all to the Senate; and therefore deſired that any further treaty might be ſuſpended, till he might receive further commiſſion from the Senate. The Baſſhaws wiſhed him to hope well of the buſineſſe, ſome of them ſaying, that the Grand Seigneur would be content with leſſe then he demanded; and that it was the cuſtome of the Country to make large demands: they therefore adviſed him to return back to* Venice *himſelfe in perſon, where he might informe his Maſters of every particular, and then return to a new Treaty, the rather, for that his return would be juſt at the time of ſolemnity of the Grand Seigneur's Daughters marriage, and of the circumciſing of his Sons.* *Contarini* hearing this, though ſo long a voyage, and ſuch delay might ſeem unſeaſonable for his ſo great Age, and for the importancy of the buſineſſe in hand; yet thinking that to tarry longer at the Court, after this diſmiſſion, would be to make the Turks believe, that all their deſires ſhould be granted, he reſolved to be gone, having firſt been very diligent in giving the Senate an account of every particular that had paſt. It was obſerved that at his departure, he had not received the uſuall banquet, nor had been treated either in words or actions, with any ſigns of honour and good-will, as was ſhewn unto him at firſt.

The Senate was very much troubled at the newes of their Embaſſador's

baſſador's departure from *Conſtantinople*, and at the diſcovery of greater difficulties in the Agreement then they expected: it was too ſore a thing for them to maintain War of themſelves alone, againſt ſo powerfull an Enemy: their hopes grounded upon aſſiſtance from others, had alwaies proved weak, and to little purpoſe, and were now by theſe treaties fallen almoſt away to nothing, to accept of peace upon ſuch unreaſonable termes, would detract too much from the dignitie of the Common-wealth, and to part willingly with Towns and Moneys, would be but to invite the Enemy who were naturally inſolent, to make yet further demands. Whilſt they were yet unreſolved what to do, new accidents hapned, which made them ſtill more irreſolute: for in this interim, *Cæſare Cantelmi* came to *Venice*, who being formerly ſent, as hath been ſaid from the King of *France* to *Soliman*, to treat of Truce, after having been in *France* to inform the King, returned by his order to *Conſtantinople*, about the ſame buſineſſe. The French Embaſſador being in the Colledge, ſaid, How that this man was ſent to *Conſtantinople*, chiefly for the Common-wealths ſervice, to interpoſe himſelfe in the Treaty of peace, wherefore he was come to *Venice*, to ſee what commiſſion they would give him concerning it, he being commanded by his King to carry himſelfe therein, as he would doe in any thing which might particularly concern the Crown of *France*. *Jovan Franceſco Valerio*, a Gentleman of *Venice*, uſed afterwards the ſame indeavours, who having been long in *France*, held intelligence with many chief men of the Court, who did many times impart many important buſineſſes to him; he witneſſed the King's good will, and his readineſſe to ſend other Agents to *Soliman*, if this man ſhould not give ſatisfaction to the Senate; he exhorted them to confide in the King's word, and in the affection he ſeemed to bear the Common-wealth in this buſineſſe; that they had no better way then this, to agree with the Turks with more dignity, and leſſe danger. It was known alſo, that at the ſame time the Emperour, and the King of *France*, were to have a meeting, which might be the better had by the Emperour's journey, who being to paſſe into *Flanders*, to ſuppreſs the inſurrection of thoſe of *Guant*, and to oppoſe ſome commotions in that Province, occaſioned by the dayly grievances laid by *Cæſar* upon thoſe Inhabitants for maintenance of the War, had ſent unto the King, that he would come by *France*, and ſpeak with him touching ſome agreement between them, whereby they might afterwards wage War joyntly againſt the Turks. This meeting of theſe Princes, occaſioned variety of diſcourſe, and adminiſtred many reaſons to maintain ſeverall opinions. *Some argued from hence, That the War was to be maintained with better hopes, that all thoughts of peace which was treacherouſly propoſed by the Turks, were to be laid aſide, ſince peace was not to be had but upon hard conditions. That it was peace between theſe two Princes, which was alwaies thought would give life to the League, and would be the chiefe ground-work of all good ſucceſſe: that they were not to abandon themſelves and all their hopes, and make themſelves a prey to the perfidious Enemies, now that a thing ſo much deſired was comingon. Others were jealous that at this meeting, ſomewhat prejudiciall to*

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the liberty of Italy, *and in particular of the Common-wealth, might be treated of: which ſuſpition having been formerly had, when theſe Princes parting from* Nice, *without meeting together in the Popes preſence, did afterwards parley together in* France; *it was, though this jealouſie proved vain, onely becauſe that* Cæſar *would not truſt the King of* France, *and deliver the State of* Millan *firſt up to him, upon his promiſe of being aſſiſted by him, in getting the Cities belonging to the* Venetians *Dominion. That it was now ſufficiently known, neither of theſe Princes would part with any thing that was theirs, ſo as they could not be brought to Agreement by any other means, then by thinking how to make recompence, which ſhould fall unto them by the uſurpation of other mens eſtates. It was therefore* judged for theſe important reſpects, that the Agreement with the Turks was the more to be haſtned, for that the deferring thereof, and the divulging of the conſultations of the Chriſtian Princes, whereby they ſhould be the more neceſſitated to liſten to peace, would make the conditions of the Treaty prove the harder afterwards. *But herein likewiſe there was a difference of Opinion: ſome perſwaded to make uſe of* Cantelmi's *voyage, and of the Kings offer, alleadging, that he being full of various thoughts, it was to be hoped that his deſire of regaining the ancient friendſhip of the Common-wealth, ſo to ſeparate her from* Cæſar, *might be predominant with him: And that as on the one ſide, the interpoſition and authority of ſo great a Prince, might advantage them much in their making Agreement with the Turks: ſo on the other ſide, they might ſecure the affairs of the State by Land from other dangers, ſince by this confidence his deſire of convening with* Cæſar, *would be cooled. That they ought not totally to alienate the minds of Chriſtian Princes, there not appearing as yet, any certain hopes of renewing capitulation, and commerce with the Turks: That it was certain, the Emperour was much offended for their having negotiated peace apart for the Common-wealth, when they had given out, that they would not treat of any thing but of the generall Truce: and that if they ſhould now refuſe the King of* France *his offer, the King of* France *would be as much offended, ſince they ſhould thereby ſeem to value him but a little, and to be totally alienated from his friendſhip; which had ſatisfaction to both, might make them joyn the more eaſily toge her againſt the Commonwealth; that they ought at leaſt to deſire the Kings meſſenger to treat of Truce in generall; which if it ſhould ſucceed, the conveniency of time, and of ſome reſt, would be of no ſmall conſideration: and as touching the particular affairs of the Common-wealth, to authorize him to ſay unto the Turks, that the Senate would not be backward in making agreement, if it might be had upon faire conditions; by this means the buſineſs would be kept on foot, with the ſervice and honour of the publick; and that if any jealouſies ſhould ariſe of the Kings keeping his word, and of theſe new Agreements with the Emperour, we might then reſume the buſineſſe into our own hands, and that all way of Treaty for us was now ſhut up, ſince their ſending away of our Embaſſador.* Others notwithſtanding propoſed, *That a diſpatch might be forthwith made to the Embaſſador* Contarini, *willing him to tarry whereſoever the meſſenger ſhould meet him, and expect new orders from the Senate, which ſhould be ſent according as affairs went. Others were better pleaſed, that a new Embaſſador ſhould be ſent; and ſome were for referring the managing of the whole buſineſſe to Conſul* Canale, *ſince he was now at liberty and might negotiate.*

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But all these joyned in protesting against, making use of Canelmi, *or communicating any thing to him in this businesse, who was a banisht Neopolitan, and who, to vote with his Kings interests and ends, which peradventure might not stand with the service of the Common-wealth, had his own particular designes, which might rather retard then further the businesse; that it became neither the publique safety nor honour, to discover the Senate's intention, to one who, as might justly be suspected, would rather hinder, then help the effecting of it: That* Cæsar *would not leave any thing unattempted to break this treaty of Peace, which was so prejudicial to him, and that the King of* France *would be glad to please him in all other things, out of hopes of having the State of* Millan *restored: That it stood not well together, that the King of* France *(as he affirmed) should make peace with the Emperour, to make war against the Turks, and be a means of making peace between the* Venetians, *and the same Enemies. What faith could be exhibited to the words or indeavours of a King, that was ill satisfied with the Common-wealth, for having secured the state of* Millan *to* Cæsar, *by their last confederacy, and hindred him from what he so much desired? That they had been in vain brought by the promises of other Princes, to undertake and continue this War, wherin they had to no purpose spent 3 millions of Gold. That they might now be clearly aware of those counsells which sprung from passion, and were bent upon peculiar interests; and not to put themselves into a way which might bring the Common-wealth to ruine, by continuing involved in so great and insupportable expences.* An other accident of no less concernment was hereunto added, which increased the doubts and difficulties. The Harvest was this year very bad every where, and chiefly in *Italy*; so as the City of *Venice*, which wanting sufficient Territories of her own, was to feed a great number of people with Corn fetcht from other Countries, was chiefly incommodiated hereby. The people who were wont to feed deliciously, and to eat no bread but what was made of wheat, were glad of any sort of Corn, and in danger to want that too, if they were not furnisht from forrain parts; a thing which gave the Senators much trouble, so as to supply so great a necessity, some thought it necessary to make friendship with the Turks: Others, to have recourse to the Spaniards, to have Corn transported either from the one or from the other: the same thing susteyning contrary opinions. Thus the time ran on without any certain resolution, so as the Embassador *Contarini* receiving no new instructions, came to *Venice*, and *Cantelmi* departed without any Commission.

These irresolute Counsels made *Cæsar*, who watched all occasions, hope he should be able to break this Treaty of Peace, and to draw the Venetians to confirm the League once more: wherefore thinking that nothing could more further his intentions, then to make it be believed that he held good intelligence with the King of *France*, whereby being free from so many impediments, he might imploy all his Forces in the Levant, and make the King of *France* at last favour the design; he resolved to send a principal personage to *Venice*, and perswaded the King of *France* to do the like, who might give an account of the speech which they should have together, and discover somewhat of the Venetians minde: therefore on the 10th of

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December the Marquis of *Guaſto*, who was then Governour of *Millan*, went to *Venice*, on the Emperour's behalf; and Monſieur *Anibao*, who was Marſhall Generall in *Piemont*, on the behalf of the King of *France*. Theſe were received with ſuch honour, as became the greatneſſe of the Princes that ſent them, and their own eminent qualitie. They were met by a great many Senators, in the *Butcentauro*, and in other 7 Gallies; were lodged in a noble Palace, and defray'd at the publick charge. Their firſt audience was in the great Hall, whither the great Councill came, and a great concourſe of people, wherein nothing paſt but complements: But afterwards, at a private audience in the Colledge, the Marquis of *Guaſto* told them, *That he was come in the name of* Charles *the Emperour, to acquaint them, as good and well eſteemed friends, of the meeting which the Emperour was to have in* France, *with the moſt Chriſtian King, and in* Flaunders, *with King* Ferdinando *his brother, and the Queen his ſiſter, who were the Governours of thoſe States. He told them, that at the meeting of theſe Princes, buſineſſes were to be treated of, which concerned the joynt ſervice of Chriſtendome, and the particular convenience of that Commonwealth, which he would alwaies value, as that of his own proper Dominions. That* Ceſar, *being now to go with great Forces againſt the Turks, did deſire to know, what the Senate's pleaſure and opinion was therein, what preparations they thought would be neceſſary, and what they would do on their behalfs, to the end that he might the better know, how to govern his affairs. That though the Peace with* France *was not yet fully eſtabliſhed, it might be accounted as good as done; ſo well were theſe Princes inclined thereunto, and ſo good intelligence was there held between them; ſo as it was firmly to be believed, that being free from all other impediments, they would go with their joynt Forces to ruine the Infidells. But becauſe the weightineſſe of the buſineſſe required length of time, and the ſeaſon was now far ſpent, for making ſo great preparations,* Cæſar *thought it would for the preſent be better, to provide for defence, then for offence; wherein he would be as careful of his neighbours Dominions, as of his own.* Monſieur *d'Anibao* ſpoke afterwards to the ſame purpoſe, atteſting the King's good-will and deſire to the peace and good of Chriſtendome. It was not hard to know, whither theſe endeavours tended, and what was *Cæſar*'s true deſignes; to wit, to hold the French in hand with vain hopes, of yielding up the Dukedome of *Millan* unto them; and the Venetians, by propoſing Treaties, and great preparations for War againſt the Turks, meaning nothing leſſe; that ſo he might ſpin out the time, ſecure himſelf from the French Forces, by deviating the King from the thought of War; and from the Turks, by placing the Commonwealth's Territories, and their Fleet, at his out-Bulwarks. This anſwer was therefore made to the Marquis, and to *Anibao*, *That their comming was very acceptable, in reſpect of the Princes, in whoſe names they came, as alſo in reſpect of themſelves. Wherefore they deſired, that many thanks might be returned to their Princes, for the honour and eſteem they bore to the Common-wealth. That the newes of good intelligence, and of certain hopes of peace between ſo great Princes, was the more acceptable to all, for the great benefit that all Chriſtendome was likely to receive thereby. For what concern'd the declaring of their intentions, upon the preſent*

occasions, it might be sufficiently known by their actions, since they had so readily taken up Arms at first, had often since refused all propositions of Agreement, never spared for any expence, or refused to expose themselves to any danger, and had already, for their parts, constantly and stoutly sustained the weight of so great a War, these three years last past. That being now invited by these hopes, they would out-do what they had done. That it ought notwithstanding to be consider'd, that they should not be able long of themselves, to withstand so potent an Enemy. Therefore what could they say more? the necessity was sufficiently known. That it was known, Barbarossa *was with* 80 *Sail in the Gulph of* Lepanto, *intending* (as it was said) *to Winter there: So as if the Fleets were not in readinesse to hinder his designes, by* February *next, it might easily be seen, in what danger the Dominions of the Common-wealth would be, and consequently, what evills threatned Christendome. To all which things, convenient regard was to be had, and fitting remedies prepared.* This no-direct answer was thought to suite best with the quality of the propolall, and the condition of time: So as without tying themselves to any particular Treaty, *Cæsar*'s, and the King's Agents, were thus dismist.

But the jealousie, which the meeting of these two Princes had begot in the Pope, who complained, that it was made without his participation, was much increased, by these mens comming to *Venice*; not that he did any waies doubt the Common-wealth's loyalty, she being to run the same fortune with the Apostolick Sea: But fearing, lest under these seeming shewes of honour and esteem, some important plot might be hidden (as had been formerly) against the liberty of *Italy*. He therefore often minded the Venetians, that a good understanding between the Church and the Common-wealth, was now more necessary then ever; and that for his part, he would do what was possible to keep all danger off. *Cæsar* being aware of these the Pope's suspicions, and fearing, lest his being unsatisfied might disturb his designes, sent speedily *Luigi Davila* to *Rome*, and got the King of *France* to send Monsieur *di Gue*, to acquaint the Pope with the meeting which was to be had in *France*, and to justifie their proceedings: Wherewith the Pope being either really satisfied, or thinking it made for him to appear to be so, resolved to send his nephew, Cardinall *Ferneſe* into *France*, that, as his Legate, he might be assistant at this Convention, might further the conclusion of Peace, and might proffer the Pontificall Authority, and all the Treasure of the Church, for any enterprise against the Infidells. The Venetian Senate likewise, to correspond with like love and respect, towards so great Princes, resolved to send *Antonio Capello*, and *Vicenzo Grimani*, both of them being Procurators of *St. Mark*, as their Ambassadours, to where the meeting was to be, whose Commission was, *To thank* Cæsar, *and the most Christian King, for their love and esteem shewed to the Common-wealth, for communicating their intentions by such honourable personages. That they should signify their approbation thereof, and excite them to provide against the dangers of Christendome. And that they should excuse their having sent an Ambassadour to* Constantinople, *as done out of necessity, since they had not sufficient Forces, to resist so potent Enemies; nor time* (as was confest

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by Cæſar's *ſelf*) *to prepare ſufficiently for war; and that they had done it, to hold the enemy in hand, and to gain time the better, to effect what they ſhould undertake.* There came likewiſe at this time, an Ambaſſadour from the King of *Hungary* to *Venice*, to propound a ſtraiter intelligence with the Common-wealth, and a particular obligation for the common defence of their State. He exhorted them likewiſe, to continue their Treaty of Peace with the Turks; for that *Cæſar* would never come to agreement with the King of *France*, as long as he might have the States of the Common-wealth, and of the King of *Hungary*, for his out-Bulworks againſt the Turks. They returned thanks to the King for this advice, without proceeding as then to any Treaty. But the Pope, though he offered his Forces to maintain the War; and exhorted the Senate not to be wanting, in making all poſſible proviſion for the preſervation of his State, and for the defence of Chriſtendome: Yet did he not totally conceal his jealouſie of the Imperialiſts, and the little hope he had of their aſſiſtance. He often affirmed, that, as he was certain, that wiſe Senate would never make agreement with the Turks, unleſſe enforc'd by neceſſity; ſo if that ſhould happen, he could not but commend them, for complying with time and neceſſity. This afforded occaſion for ſuch as deſired peace, to fortifie their reaſons, which the tranſporting of Corn from many of the Turkiſh Dominions, did much more, whereby the City was ſupplyed in her great need; and this was much amplified by the popularity, comparing it with the actions of their friends, who contrary to the expreſſe Articles of confederacy, forbad any portage of corn out of *Sicely*, and did afterwards mightily enhaunſe the price, when the Fleets and City was in great want. At the ſame time, information was given by Letters, from the Conſul at *Conſtantinople*, that great Feſtivalls were preparing there, upon occaſion of the grand Signieurs daughters marriage, to *Ruſten*, and of the circumciſion of two of his ſons: Wherefore it was expected by all, and much deſired by many of the Baſſhaes, that according to cuſtome, an Ambaſſadour might be ſent to that Court, whereby the Treaty of Peace might be re-aſſumed.

Out of all theſe reſpects, and for that they, who at firſt were hotteſt for War, grew leſſe fervent in thoſe deſires, their inconveniences encreaſing, and their hopes decreaſing; the chuſing of an Ambaſſadour to ſend to *Solyman*, was again propoſed in Senate, and *Luigi Badoaro* was choſen to that purpoſe, a Senator of great authority, and one who had ſtill perſwaded the Senate thereunto, offering to take that employment upon himſelf. His Commiſſion was, *That procuring and aſſiſting the Treaty of Truce in generall, which was at firſt begun by the Ambaſſadour* Contarini, *and continued by the King of* France *his Agent, he ſhould endeavour for the particular ſervice of the Commonwealth, to procure the reſtitution of all ſuch places, as had been taken by the Turks in that War; which if he could not obtain, he ſhould notwithſtanding proceed on, to conclude the Agreement, upon the renewing of the antient Articles, as* Contarini *had formerly been ordered to do. And he had leave given him, to charge the Towns of* Napoli, *and* Malveſia, *with five or ſix thouſand Duckets, and to promiſe thirty thouſand Duckets,*

to re-imburse the expences, which the Turks had been at in the War. This was the Senate's order. But the Councill of Ten, which at this time had the supream Authority, in treating of the weighticst, and most important affairs of State, without communicating it to the Senate, to the end that the businesse might be carried more secretly, and with lesse contention amongst a few, added a larger Commission; to wit, That if he should see the conclusion of Peace grow otherwise desperate, he might totally yield up the Cities of *Napoli* and *Malvesia*. For these, who were the antientest, and most experienced Senators, knew how grievous and insupportable, the expence of the War grew daily. That *Napoli* and *Malvesia* were seated far off, and therefore hard to be reliev'd, and that they lay very fit to be taken by the Turks; that they had severall times already been in much danger, for want of many things, and had already fallen into the enemies hands, had not the Truce preserved them. That the Common-wealth was at this time badly bestead by Fortune; that therefore it would be wisely done, to throw somewhat over-board, though never so dear, to bring the rest safe into the Haven, free from the storms of this most dangerous War. That it was an assured rule, confirmed by long experience, that Treaties had with the Turks, were much prejudiced by length of time, and that the protracting of businesse, made the conclusion more difficult.

These things were the products of the end of this year. In the beginning of the next, 1540. the Emperour came to *Paris*, on the sixth of *January*, where he was received with all demonstrations of honour and humanity by the King, whereunto the Emperour corresponding in all things, laboured to make all men believe, that he had cancell'd the memory of all things past; that he had no thoughts, but of honour and peace, and that he was much joyed, to be with the King. He bestowed the Order of the Golden Fleece upon the Dolphin, & upon the Duke of *Orleance*, the Kings sons and his nephewes. Here *Christophoro Capello*, who was then Ambassadour from the Common-wealth at *Paris*, acquainted both these Princes with the Senate's answer to the Marquis of *Guasto*, and to the Marshall *Aubon*. The Emperour's reply was: *That though he was very well minded, and resolved to make War upon the Turks, yet he was so straitned in time, as he knew not how to do, what the Senate desired, and what he himself knew requisite, to put a Fleet in order so soon, and so numerous, as might confront the enemy. That therefore it would be better as then, to intend the ending of the generall Truce, already begun by the most Christian King. That they might have opportunity to raise Forces, convenient for great enterprises, with better hopes of good effect. But that in the mean while, according to his promise, he would do all he could for the safety of their States by Sea.* The King of *France*, having made new attestation of his good-will, said: *That he would make it be known to all the world, that he never had any intention to disturb the common good of Christendome, but that he was ready to embrace all love and friendship with* Cæsar, *that so a more usefull and necessary War might be undertaken: But that none of these things were now to be treated of, to keep from mixing weightier matters,*

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wherein diverſitie of opinions, and difficulties might ariſe, amongſt the preſent feſtivalls and mirth. Therefore all buſineſſe was put off, till the meeting at *Flanders*. Theſe words of the Emperour, and of the King of *France*, being by Letters from the Ambaſſadour *Capello*, related to the Senate, were thought to conſiſt much upon generalities, and that no foundation could thereout be made, neither of peace amongſt themſelves, nor of war againſt the Turks. Wherefore they all reſolved to minde the Treaty of Peace; and the Ambaſſadour *Badoaro*, whilſt he was on his journey, was deſired by Letters, to execute what he had in commiſſion, as ſoon as he ſhould be arrived, and to obtain ſome firm concluſion, whereby the affairs of the Common-wealth might be ſecured. It being thought, that when the newes of union between theſe two Princes, ſhould come to *Conſtantinople*, as it might facilitate the agreement with the Turks, ſo when it ſhould ſoon prove vain, it would detract from the reputation of the affairs of Chriſtendome, and make thoſe Barbarians more haughty and inſolent. *Badoaro* having ſoon diſpatcht his journey, came about the midſt of *April* to *Conſtantinople*, and began to treat according as he was commanded, with the Baſhaws, making uſe of the French Ambaſſadour's advice. Great difficulties aroſe at the firſt beginning of the Treaty; not that the Turks were averſe to peace, but for that having notice of *Badoaro*'s more ſecret Commiſſions, growing more inſolent, by reaſon of the fear, and the deſire of peace which they found to be in the Venetians, and out of the certainty of obtaining whatſoever they ſhould deſire, they ſoon proteſted, that they would not hear any thing, till ſuch time as the Iſlands, in the *Archipelago*, and *Padino*, and *Lawrana*, which were formerly poſſeſs'd by them, ſhould be freely reſtored unto them; as alſo the Cities of *Napoli* and *Malveſia*, and that they ſhould be re-imburſt for their expence in the War. At which ſo ſudden and pertinacious demands, the Ambaſſadour being ſtruck with conſternation, and beginning to ſuſpect what he found to be true, he delayed the buſineſſe a while, not being reſolved what to do. On the one ſide, he was ſpurred on by his Commiſſions, and reiterated deſires, to conclude the Peace; on the other ſide, he was withheld, by thinking, that by continuing the Treaty, the Turks might be encouraged with hopes, of obtaining all they deſired. Having by reaſon of theſe doubts, paſt over ſome daies in ſilence, *Barbaroſſa*, who was deſirous that the Peace ſhould be made, and was willing to further it, perſwaded him not to give over the Treaty, whereunto though he ſaw ſome more hopefull way was opened, yet found he not the Baſha's minds any whit mollified: So as he was brought by degrees to aſſent to all thoſe things, which were reſerved for the laſt and moſt deſperate remedy; to wit, *To yield up together, with the Towns already poſſeſt, the Cities of* Napoli *and* Malveſia, *and to pay* 300000 *Duckets in the ſpace of three years, for the expences of War. For what remained, the former Capitulations were renued and confirmed, with many particulars, which concerned the good eſtabliſhment of the Peace, the removing all occaſions of injuries on all ſides, the maintaining of free and ſafe commerce between the ſubjects on all parts, and the ſecuring*

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of Navigation in all Seas. When the newes of this Agreement came to *Venice*, though the thing it ſelfe was much deſired by all, the City being reduced to a very low condition, by reaſon of the War and dearth, and in a condition of being reſtored by Peace; yet when the particulars were underſtood, it was not ſo very welcome: many blamed the purchaſing of peace at ſo dear a rate, others blamed the Embaſſador's too great fear, who had ſuffered himſelfe to be brought at the Turks firſt demands, to the ultimate terms reſerved for the laſt and deſperate remedy. But theſe firſt commotions ceaſing, and the ſtate of affairs being more maturely conſidered, and the true reaſons, which had moved thoſe wiſe Senators, who do alwaies watch over the welfare of the Common-wealth, to pitch upon this reſolution, all were ſatisfied, and their wiſdome praiſed. And the treachery of ſome perfidious men coming afterwards to light, *Badoaro's* reputation was ſalved. The buſineſs went thus.

Amongſt others, *Conſtantino*, and *Nicolò Cavazi*, the one as Secretary to the *Conſiglio di Dieci*; the other, the like to that of the *Pegadi*, were admitted into the ſecret Councells; as alſo *Matteo Leone*, as one of the Colledge, being a *Savio di Terra ferma*; (he who held this place, was then admitted into both theſe Councels). Theſe men receiving an annuall ſtipend from the King of *France*, communicated all the important affairs of the Common-wealth unto him. *Agoſtino Abondio*, had likewiſe a hand in this buſineſs, and *Jovan Franciſco Valerio*, mentioned before, born of a noble Family, but not in lawfull wedlock, who held ſomewhat of Church-living in *France*, both which the King had corrupted with many gifts, that they might ſerve him upon ſuch an occaſion: it ſo fell out, as *Jerolimo Marteloſſo*, who kept *Libidenus* commerce with *Abondio's* unchaſt wife, found ſome of *Nicolo Cavaza's* Notes in his houſe; and finding that they contained ſome ſtate-affairs in them, he carried them to the Councell of *Ten*, wherein many things being ſearched into, the whole treaſon was at laſt diſcovered. Whereupon *Nicolo Cavaza*, *Abondio*, and *Valerio*, betook themſelves for ſanctuary to the French Embaſſador's houſe, but it being ſoon known, Officers were ſent to apprehend them, and after long reſiſtance made, two pieces of Cannon being brought in a Barke, to beat down the houſe, the Traytors were delivered up into the hands of Juſtice, and were hang'd on a Gallowes in St. *Marks Piatſa*. *Conſtantino*, *Cavazza*, and *Matteo Leone*, got away into ſome place of ſafety, and a ſum of Money was ſet upon their heads in what Country ſoever they ſhould be found. No news was ever heard of *Cavaza*; but *Leone* went to live in *France*, where meeting with no favour at Court, and failing of all aſſiſtance, he taught a Grammer-School, that he might have whereby to live, and his poſterity was for ever deprived of Nobility. The King ſeemed to reſcent the violence which was uſed to his Embaſſador's houſe, which made him that for ſome moneths he would not give audience to the Venetian Embaſſador: but being one day in the Camp before *Perpegnano*, giving place at laſt to reaſon, and deſirous to know news from *Conſtantinople*, he ſent for him; he complained modeſtly, and with a ſeeming minde to be reconciled of

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the violation uſed to his Embaſſado'rs houſe, ſaying, What would you think, if I ſhould deal ſo with you? To which the Embaſſador *Veniero* readily anſwered, I wiſh it were Gods will, that I had any of your Majeſties Rebels in my houſe, or in my power, I would ſeize on them my ſelfe, and bring them to your Majeſty; which ſhould I not do, I ſhould be ſeverely reprehended by the Signory.

Whilſt theſe Treaties of Peace were in hand, though the Generall *Mocenico* was abroad with a good many Gallies, yet was there nothing done which might unſeaſonably diſturb the hopes of Agreement. But the Generall underſtanding that *Dragute* was about the Iſlands of *Zante*, committing Piracy with many ſayl, he went thitherward to meet with him, and to fight him; who having a good wind, and kenning our ſhips, ſteered another courſe to ſave himſelfe, and not daring to return any more into thoſe Seas, went weſtward, where he and eight of his ſhips were taken by *Gioanetino Doria*. When the peace was concluded, he went to *Napoli*, and to *Romania*, before he went to *Dalmatia* to diſarm, to acquaint thoſe pople with what had paſt at *Conſtantinople*, and with the States reſolution to deliver up thoſe Cities to the Turks. The news was very unwelcome to them; they were equally afflicted with tarrying, and with going away: to tarry and live under the tyranny of the Turks, was the more grievous to them, for their having lived ſo long under the moderate Jurisdiction of the Common-wealth, and for ever to abandon their Country, their Goods, Houſes, and their anceſtors Bones, was a ſorrow inſufferable: wherefore the General, when thoſe of *Napoli* were aſſembled together in the *Piazza*, ſomewhat to comfort them, ſpoke thus unto them.

You may clearly enough conceive by that paternall love, with which our Common-wealth did at firſt receive you into her protection, and hath thus long graciouſly govern'd you, what I have now by publick order to ſay unto you, and which hath already come unto your ear; which is, That the aſſignment of this City, and of the neighbour City Malveſia, *over to* Soliman, *by the agreement made at* Conſtantinople, *was a reſolution put on by neceſſity, not by choice. You may have known, upon many occaſions, but chiefly in theſe your laſt troubles, wherein to aſſiſt you, the* Common-wealth *readily expoſed a great part of her Forces to great dangers, what love ſhe hath always born unto you: She hath furniſht you with Monies, Souldiers, and Victuals, to keep you from falling into the hands of the Enemy, who threatned to put you all unto the ſword, and to lay your City deſolate. Nothing hath been left undone to keep you, her dear and well beloved ſubjects, from falling into the power of others: very great Fleets have been prepared, immeaſurable expences: In fine, for this cauſe, the weight of an inſupportable War hath been the longer ſuſtain'd: And what greater ſign can the Common-wealth ſhew of the affection ſhe bears you in the preſent condition of affairs, and in this your afflicted Fortune, then that which ſhe now does, by promiſing to give other convenient habitations, where ſhe might beſt, to thoſe who ſhall deſire to go from hence, to keep them in her protection, to aſſiſt, favour, and nouriſh them: It hath been ſaid by wiſe men, that that place ought to be truly thought a mans owne Country, where a man can injoy any good. And what is better, and more to be deſired, than to live under the Go-*

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vernment of a moderte and just Prince? Fortune, though never so averse, hath not been able to bereave you of this: You shall continue under the Dominion of the Common-wealth; you shall have abodes allotted you in another Country, where you may live, though not so commodiously as here, yet freer from the perpetuall fear and danger of the Turks; to which it may be said, you were continually exposed. Many men being too numerous at home, have of their own choice parted from thence, and committing themselves to fortune, have quitted their native Country, to get new and uncertain habitations by force of Arms: To have a safe and certain place of refuge in times of misery, hath wont to be so great a consolation, as greater prosperity hath often made men forget what was past. 'Tis true, it had been more to be desired, to have still lived in peace, that the Enemy had never besieged this City, that they had not set their minds upon subduing it, or in such a case, to have had Forces sufficient to repulse them, and to revenge injuries: But since neither of these hath been either in our power; or, in yours, in the condition wherein we are; what is there more to be done, than for us to play the part of a good Prince and Pastor by keeping your persons in our protection, since we are not able to carry away the walls and houses of this City; and for you to rejoyce at this your Prince his affection, and to accommodate your selves to Time and Necessity: your persons shall be preserved, your posterity educated, and you valiant Fathers, shall beget generous Children. Who knows but that they may work your revenge? Great is the vicissitude of worldly affairs, and the greatest Empires are as well subject thereunto as other things. Our Common-wealth will assuredly be alwaies ready to take up Arms against these Enemies, when there shall be such an union amongst Christian Princes, as it may be hoped Christendom may reap good thereby. Therefore as it is necessary, so is it wisely and safely donne, to seek to live, and to hope for better things.

Whilst the General spoke, tears fell from all the Auditors eyes, occasioned no lesse through tenderneſse of affection, then through griefe. The Generall used afterwards the like words, with those of *Malvesia*, whereupon the Inhabitants being a little comforted, after the sorrow they suffered for so sad newes; most of them prepared to be gone, taking what they had of best along with them, and soon after, in *November*, the Articles of Peace being confirm'd, Commissary *Contarini* went to those shores with 20 Gallies, and many other ships of severall sorts, whereinto having taken all the Artillery, Ammunition, Goods, Souldiers, and persons of those Inhabitants who would depart; He, by Orders from *Constantinople*, delivered up the keys of those two Cities to *Cassin* Bashaw of *Morea*, who with some few entred the Towns, and after our men were gone, the Gates were opened, and free entrance was given to the Soudliers who were there abouts. Things being thus brought to a peacefull condition, the Generall, and the Commissary disarmed, leaving out only the usuall number of Gallies to guard the Gulph, and for the safety of Navigation. But when Commissary *Contarini* came to *Venice*, he was commanded by *Pietro Mocenico*, Advocate for the Commons, to come into the Advocate's Court, and give an account, according to the Senate's Order three years before, of what had hapned at *Puglia*, when he sunk the Turkish Galleys; but the busi-

buſineſſe being argued in the Senate, and *Contarini*'s cauſe defended by many of the Senators; the Advocates command was taken off, and he freed of all fault, the occaſions being ceaſed, which had made his fault appear the greater, his worth remaining in him, which had alwaies been commended by all men, and his deſerts increaſed by the ſervice he had done during all this Warre. *Nicolo da Ponte*, pleaded amongſt others in his defence, who ſpeaking often in the Senate, began to be highly eſteemed for his Eloquence, and growing to greater dignity, after many years imployment in the higheſt concerns of the Common-wealth, is arrived at the Principalitie, which he now worthily poſſeſſeth. The year 1540. brought forth no other more noble accidents, being memorable enough for the Peace made with the Turks, wherein the Common-wealth proſperouſly continued for the ſpace of thirty years; her affairs in *Terra ferma*, being likewiſe quiet at the ſame time, by her friendſhip with the Chriſtian Princes, ſo as I ſhall have but little to write of theſe times; yet becauſe the Senate being made acquainted with the chief buſineſſes which paſt between the Chriſtian Princes, interpoſed her Counſel and Authority, either in reſpect of her ſelfe or others, I will relate in this my Hiſtory ſuch paſſages of theſe Times as do appear to me moſt memorable, and for ſome concernments of the Common-wealth, which I have undertook to write of.

The End of the Tenth Book.

THE HISTORY OF VENICE,

Written by PAULO PARUTA.

BOOK XI.

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ceives the Duke of Cleves *into favour.* Soliman *in* Hungary. *His proceedings.* Marano *aſſigned over to the Venetians by* Strozzitia. *Dyet in* Spire. *The Emperour's and the King of* France's *thoughts. The Cardinall* Ferrara's *ſpeech in the Senate, wherein he pretends to draw the Venetians to confederate with the King of* France. *The Senate's reſolution, and anſwer. The reaſons why they do not yield unto him. Treaties of peace between* Cæſar *and the King; how made, and why? The concluſion, and conditions thereof. Severall diſcourſes thereupon. The ſucceſſe of the Turks Fleet. The Turks not pleaſed with the newes of peace between the Chriſtians. Treaties of peace with* Soliman; *and the accommodation between King* Ferdinando, *and the Common-wealth. Little good comes of either of them. Differences between the Venetians and the Turks. They are accommodated, to the honour and advantage of the Common-wealth. the peace of* Italy *much endangered, and wherefore.* Parma *and* Piacenza *given in Fee by the* Pope, *to the diſlike of* Cæſar, *who doth openly oppoſe it. The King of* France *proſpers not well with the Engliſh, nor the Emperour with the Proteſtants. He is ſolicited by the Pope to take up Arms againſt them, and is aſſiſted with Souldiers. The Venetians conſent not thereunto. The Proteſtants move. Endeavours uſed with the Senate, and their anſwer. The diſſolution of their Army, and* Cæſars *victory. Cardinal* Alleſſandro Ferneſe *comes to* Venice. *A diſcourſe of the Venetian Nobility. The ſtate of the affairs of* Germany. *The Popes and the Emperours diſtaſtes.* Cæſar's *victory againſt* Frederick *of* Saxony. *His deſignes, and what he does to get footing in the Dukedom of* Millan. *The King of* France, *and the King of* England's *death. The ſucceſſion of their children, and Ambaſſadours ſent from the Common-wealth to both the Crowns. The occaſion of breach of peace between the Engliſh and French. The* Pope *joynes with the King of* France *againſt* Cæſar. *The death of* Pier Luigi, *and the taking of* Piacenza. *The Venetians are ſolicited to joyne with the* Pope, *and with the King of* France, *but will not forego* Cæſar's *friendſhip; the reaſons which induce them thereunto. An anſwer given to the* Pope, *and to the King of* France. *Conſiderations touching the* Pope. *The ſtate of affairs, in the year* 1548. *The King of* France *his intentions, and the* Popes. *His endeavours with divers. How* Philip *the Emperour's ſon is received in* Italy, *and how by the Common-wealth. what* Soliman's *ſucceſſe was againſt the Perſians. He makes truce with* Ferdinand. *The conditions thereof. Diſtaſtes between the* Pope *and* Cæſar, *and what ſucceeded thereupon. The* Pope's *death. Why the Venetians were never interreſſed in creating* Popes. Paul *the third is choſen* Pope.

THE Peace being in manner aforeſaid eſtabliſhed, between *Soliman* and the Venetians, all men hoped, that Forces were to ceaſe in all parts amongſt Princes, and that there ſhould be a happy and peaceable time, after ſo ſore wars. For *Soliman* ſeemed very well inclined, to make a long and generall Truce with all Chriſtian Princes, wherein the French Ambaſſadour having laboured much, he ſaid, it was now as good as concluded; and theſe his ſpeeches

were the rather believed, for that though the Fleet was ready to go forth, yet *Barbaroſſa*'s departure was delayed; nor was there any preparation of an Army, which might occaſion jealouſie of land-enterpriſes. Truce was already confirmed in *Paris*, between *Cæſar* and the King of *France*, upon the ſame terms, as it had been by the Pope's means, made formerly at *Nece*, and all demonſtrations of confidence and reconciliation paſt between them; whilſt *Cæſar* taking *France* in his way to *Flanders*, ſtayed ſome daies with the King, which made men hope, that theſe Princes laying aſide their antient enmities, were to joyne in a good and ſecure peace. But new accidents hapned, which (as humane affairs are ſubject to eaſie alterations) did ſoon change the face of affairs, and did totally confound theſe formerly conceived hopes of quiet. For *John* King of *Hungary* dying, and leaving an infant-ſon of his, newly born, by his wife *Iſabella*, daughter to *Sigiſmund* King of *Polonia*; *Ferdinando* King of the Romans pretended, that according to the laſt agreement made with that King, which was, That the ſucceſſion of that Kingdom ſhould appertain to him, and not to the ſon of King *John*, raiſed ſuddainly a great many Souldiers, wherewith he quickly aſſailed the Kingdom, took *Alba Regale*, *Viſgrado*, *Peſto*, and ſome other Towns of *Hungary*: And at the ſame time ſent *Jerolimo Laſco* to *Conſtantinople*, to treat with *Soliman*, that he might hold that Kingdom upon the ſame tearms, as it was held by King *John*. The Queen Dowager, widow to King *John*, had likewiſe recourſe to *Conſtantinople*, endeavouring by a ſolemn Embaſſy, of the prime Barons of that Kingdome, that the Turks would aid her, in maintaining her ſon in the poſſeſſion of that Kingdom, which was by them preſerved unto his father. *Soliman* thought himſelfe hereby doubly injured by *Ferdinando*: Firſt, for having aſſaulted a Kingdome recommended to him, and which he had taken into his protection. And then, that he ſhould demand thoſe things by his Ambaſſadour, which he howſoever endeavoured to get by force. Whereat being much incenſed, he did not onely lay aſide his former thoughts, and good inclination, which he ſeemed to have to peace and quiet, but prepared great forces both by Land and Sea, to aſſault the Territories of the Houſe of *Auſtria*, that ſo he might revenge this injurie upon *Ferdinando*, and keep *Charles* ſo buſied, as he might not aſſiſt his brother. Wherefore retracting what had been negotiated, with *Antonio Rincone*, the French Ambaſſadour, touching the Truce, he reſolved to ſend him back to his King, that he might acquaint him, how he had changed his minde, and that his thoughts were now bent upon war.

The Tumults in *Flanders* were already appeaſed, which was the ſooner effected by the ſevere puniſhment of the rebellion of *Guant*, to the terrour of other Cities, which being inſued, ſooner then peradventure ſuted with the occaſion of Times, and hopes of greater good, was the cauſe why *Cæſar*, the peace not being yet fully eſtabliſhed, between him and the King of *France*, finding himſelfe free of that diſturbance, began to fall off from the agreement, and to reſolve not to forgo the Dukedom of *Millan* upon any terms. And on the

the other ſide, *Soliman*'s being incenſt againſt the Houſe of *Auſtria*, made the King of *France* the bolder, hoping that by thoſe prevalent means he might the better reſent the injury which he thought *Cæſar* did him, in diſpiſing to have peace and friendſhip with him. *Rincone* therefore being returned to *Venice*, gave a particular account of all theſe things to the Senate, highly exaggerating the Turks preparation for War, hoping thereby to draw them over to ſide with his King; and affirming moreover, that when theſe Forces ſhould move, they ſhould be diſpoſed of according to his Kings pleaſure: He then deſired a Convoy of armed men, that he might return the more ſafely to *France*, and accordingly *Mercurio Bua*, was ordered to wait upon him with his Troop of light Horſe, to the utmoſt confines of the Common-wealth: and having onely three moneths allowed him for his return to *Conſtantinople*, he ſuddenly diſpatcht his buſineſs with the King, who liſtned verydiligently to the buſineſs, and took his journey againto return by *Venice* for *Conſtantinople*; but being come to *Pavia*, as he paſſed along the *Poe*, he was ſlain by ſome Spaniſh foot, by order, as it was conceived, from the Marquiſs of *Guaſto*, as was alſo *Cæſare Fregoſo*, who was ſent by the King to accompany him. The King of *France* was more ſcandalized hereat then can be imagined, that whilſt he was yet in Truce with the Emperour, his ſervants ſhould be treacherouſly ſlain; and that *Cæſar* not being contented to have deceived him in his ſpeeches, (for he ſeemed to be well minded to peace, and to reſtore the ſtate of *Millan*, which he ſlew daily further from, when he had appeaſed the Tumults in *Flanders*) ſhould, contrary to reaſon, and the Law of Nations, do him ſo great a ſcorn, and ſhew ſuch a deſire to offend him. He forbore not to mention this his reſentment publickly, but complained grievouſly thereof by his Embaſſadors at all Princes Courts, and in particular ſent *Antonio Polino* to *Soliman*, with commiſſion to go firſt to *Venice*, to make known his intentions towards *Cæſar*, and the reaſons he had to ſtudy a juſt revenge, making offer of all his indeavours and authority in ſuch things wherein he might be ſerviceable to the Common-wealth, at *Conſtantinople*, whither he was ſent Embaſſador, and demanding a ſafe Convoy for that Journey, he had a Gallie allotted him, to wait upon him to *Ragugi*. But *Cæſar*, when the great preparations of the Turks was given out for certain; nay when their men were already upon their March toward *Hungary*, after he had long entertained himſelfe in the Dyet at *Ratisbone*, in treating of divers things about Religion, wherein nothing was concluded, prepared to go himſelfe in perſon into *Italy*: his end therein not being known, and being much wondered at by all men: It not being thought reaſonable, (though it were ſo given out) that he was to fall upon *Algiers*, in the waters of *Africa*; that whilſt his brothers danger, the honour of his family, and of the German Nation, ought to have recalled him back unto *Germany*, he ſhould go to attempt an enterpriſe, which though it might be of ſome conveniency to his Kingdom of *Spain*, to bereave the Pyrats, who inveſted thoſe Seas of that receptacle, was not notwithſtanding to be compar'd to the purchaſing of a noble Kingdom at home

home, and to the ſafety which his other States and Empire might receive, by keeping the Turkiſh Forces from off thoſe confines: yet he perſiſting in his intention, ſent a great number of Foot into *Italy*, and made great preparation of ſhipping of all ſorts, in divers ſhores of his Dominions.

Thus ſtood the condition of affairs at this time; theſe were the deſigns of Princes concerning Peace and War. Wherefore in theſe great Commotions, the Venetians thought it became them, to proceed with great vigilancy and circumſpection, keeping the Common-wealth in her neutrality, and free from all offence. They knew that the hazards of *Hungary*, was the more to be thought of by them, for that by the eminent loſſe of that Kingdom, the Forces of the Turks, who were the common and perpetuall enemy, would be much increaſed, which were already ſo potent and ſo near to the Common-wealths Dominions. And what hopes were there of any good ſucceſs? King *Ferdinando* was too weak of himſelf, to oppoſe the Turkiſh Armies; The Emperour was not over-ready to try his fortune againſt the Turks, in the behalfe of his Brother; *Germany* would be far from favouring any enterpriſe, whereby the Authority and power of the Houſe of *Auſtria* might be increaſed, a thing which ſhe did very much deteſt, and apprehend. And on the other ſide, Queen *Iſabella* was a woman, a widow, the King her Son an Infant, ill provided to defend that Kingdom, and in neceſſity not only to make uſe of the Turks ayd, but of depending totally upon them: and yet though the Venetians knew theſe things, and thought ſeriouſly on them, they were neceſſitated, much to their griefe and ſorrow, by reaſon of their late triall of the Chriſtian Princes weakneſſe, and diſcords, not onely to ſtand idly looking upon all theſe miſchiefs, but to ſhun giving the Turks any occaſion of taking up Arms againſt the Common-wealth, or of thinking that they ſtood not well-affected towards them. Wherefore being deſired by the Pope, that the Councel (as was formerly agreed upon at the Convention at *Luca*, between him and the Emperour, and by the aſſent of the Venetians) might be held in *Vicenza* the next enſuing year, which was the year 1542. they thought that to give way thereunto, at a time when Leagues and Agreements were in agitation, would not ſute well with their conveniency and quiet; and therefore they excuſed themſelves in that point, ſince the face of affairs was altered by their new Agreement made with the Turks; and their condition become different from what it was when they firſt promiſed it, and were at open War with the Turks; for it was clear, that the meeting of the Councel, not onely in their State, but ſo near *Venice*, would beget an aſſured and unexcuſable jealouſie in *Soliman*, that they had indeavour'd to make the Chriſtian Princes conſpire againſt him, which would be to draw great ruine upon themſelves, out of an uncertain hope of good; and that many of the prime Prelates knew, that it was a very unſeaſonable time to aſſemble the Councell now, when they ſhould firſt intend the reconciling of the Princes, and of repairing Chriſtendoms prejudice received by the Turkiſh Forces. But theſe reſpects were added unto,

by

by other accidents; for many things had been said at *Constantinople*, to make it be believed that the Venetians would not keep peace longer then some opportunity of breaking it should be offered: And it having hapned, that two Turkish Gallies, as they past from *Barbary* to *Constantinople*, being suspected by their flying away at the sight of our Gallies, to be Pyrates, were taken by the Commissary at Sea, most of the Turks slain, and the Christian slaves that were in them set at liberty, which was taken to be a bad sign of good will to *Solimans* proceedings; and *Barbarossa*, to whom those Gallies did belong, seemed to be very much offended, and threatned revenge: wherefore the Senate to justifie this action as much as they could, had made the accommodation thereof be taken in hand, whereby time being gotten, and *Barbarossa*'s anger mitigated, and the Turks repaired, according to Articles for the losse they had suffered, by the taking of their Gallies, the affairs of the Common-wealth would be preserved from greater dangers. Thus all parties being well minded to keep peace and friendship, *Gianusby* sent to *Venice*, to have those Articles confirmed by the Duke himself, and by the Senators, which were formerly made by Embassadour *Badoaro*; by which means, the French obtained Commission for *Gianusby*, to endeavour the uniting of the Venetians in straiter friendship with their King. The Turkish Embassadour was very honourably received, and his demands listned unto; for what concerned the confirmation of peace, It was according to custome, readily sworn unto by the Duke: but for what concerned the favouring of the French affairs, answer was made, that the Common-wealth was in peace and friendship with the King of *France*, and were resolved to keep so: Mony they could not yeeld, to do any thing now, which might put a necessity upon them of taking up Arms against others; and that *Soliman* was so wise, and so just a Prince, as they believed he would easily admit of these their just and well known considerations. This answer being brought back to *Soliman* by *Gianusby*, was commended by him as being wisely done; and the same man making great attestations to him of the Venetians constant resolution in observing what they had promised, and sworn, he appeared to believe it, and to be desirous to correspond with them in like faith and friendship.

Thus affairs passed at this time between *Soliman* and the Venetians; but other no less important passages were treated of between them and Christian Princes, still aiming at the same end of neither ayding, nor offending any one, nor of doing any thing which might draw them from their neutrality. The Venetians were not a little troubled at the new disagreements between *Cæsar* and the King of *France*; and that out of many reasons. They were sorry that there was no more place left for treaty, of putting a new Duke into the State of *Millan*, a thing which had often been promised them, and which had been lately treated of more hopefully with the King of *France*, at the meeting at *Paris*; and to leave the Emperour in peacefull possession of the state of *Millan*, was no other, as had been long before fore-seen by the wisest Senators, then to tolerate

lerate an immoderate greatneſs in the Emperour, to the prejudice of the liberty of *Italy*, and the preſent condition of times, the Common-wealth being much exhauſted and afflicted, by the late Turkiſh Wars; as alſo the various and fickle proceedings of the *French*, on whoſe Counſells, they knew by ſo many late and former proofs, there was no relying, did diſſwade them from foregoing his confederacy, and from ingaging themſelves in new Wars. They were likewiſe troubled, that the Turks being ſolicited by the French to *Cæſars* prejudice, were to ſend forth their Fleets, to the certain preſent harm of Chriſtendom, and to the greater future danger; for they would be the better informed in our Seas, and Havens, and their deſigns would be fomented by the diſcord of Chriſtian Princes. Yet minding onely ſuch things whereby they might be ſafe, through their own Forces and vigilancy, without relying upon the friendſhip of others, furniſhing their Sea-Towns with good Garriſons, Munition, Victuals, and all other neceſſaries, and re-inforcing their Fleet; the Venetians ſtood obſerving other mens actions, not at all intermedling therein; both theſe Princes laboured to make the Senate quit their Neutrality, propounding ſeveral Agreements and Leagues by ſeverall waies unto them. *Cæſar* was already come into *Italy* with a ſtedfaſt reſolution of going into *Africa*, not being to be diſſwaded neither by the Popes perſwaſions, who laid before him his Brothers danger, and the occaſion offered him of greater and truer glory; nor yet by his Captains counſells, who wiſhed him to weigh well the dubious ſucceſs of the *Algier* buſineſs, the attempt being to be made in Autumn, a ſeaſon ſubject to various changes, and in places full of inconveniencies and difficulties: yet conſidering the power of the Turkiſh Forces, and how far they might advance; he propounded a new confederacy to the Venetians, to ſecure *Italy* from the incurſion of theſe miſcreants; ſaying, that his Brother King *Ferdinande*, the Pope, and other Princes would joyn therein: but the Senate, not willing to run into certain danger, for avoiding that which was farther off, excuſed themſelves as not being able to do it by reaſon of their late misfortunes, & of their preſent weakneſſe, in which condition they were afterwards the more confirm'd, and did openly refuſe to liſten to any ſuch propoſitions, when they underſtood that the Pope was but meanly inclined thereunto: for which though it were at firſt wondred at, there were afterward many reaſons found: it was alleadged that *Paule*, being a very wiſe Prince, would not imbrace the Treaty of ſo important a buſineſſe, without rationall hopes of bringing it to a good end; and that he having bereaft *Aſcanio Colonna* of his ſtate, for his contumacy, and diſobedience to the Apoſtolick Sea, would ſhun all occaſions of reſtoring him to his former poſſeſſions, as he foreſaw he ſhould be inforced to do, if he ſhould make a new confederacy with *Ceſar*, who could not in honour abandon one that had deſerved ſo well at his hands, and who had been the head of his faction in *Italy*; But chiefly, that being more intent upon an other buſineſs, he might firſt indeavour whilſt he was in his neutrality, that the State of *Millan* might be put into the hands of *Octavio Ferneſe*, as in cuſtody for

Ceſar

Ceſar and the King of *France*, and to whom he might pay a certain homage, till a better accommodation might be found out; and herein he aſſured himſelf, that the Venetians would interpoſe their authority. But they perceiving, that this buſineſſe proceeded but coldly on, and that there was but little hopes of good therein, and being deſirous not to give the Turks any vain ſuſpicions, forbore to ſend their Ambaſſadors to *Luca*, (though they were often ſolicited by *Ceſar* ſo to do) where the Pope and *Ceſar* were to meet: But they were not wanting in ſhewing all demonſtrations of love and honour to *Ceſar*'s perſon, they readily gave way for the Dutch Foot, who were deſtined to go for *Affrica*, to paſſe through their Country: And hearing of his comming by the way of *Trent* into *Italy*, they quickly ſent four Embaſſadours to him, *Jovan Antonio Veniero*, *Nicolo Tiepolo*, *Mark Antonio Contarini*, and *Vicenzo Grimani*; who going to meet him upon the confines of *Verona*, received him with much honour, and waited upon him whilſt he paſſed through the State, which was but onely for two daies; for going to *Peſchiera*, he entred into the Mantuan Territories, from whence he went to *Millan*, from thence to *Genua*, and then to *Luca*, to meet the Pope; with whom having tarried a while, he purſued his journey towards *Algiers*. But his advice proved bad, as was foreſeen; for having landed his men on the ſhore of *Algiers*, and meeting with more reſolution and worth in the Inhabitants of that City, then he expected; but chiefly, receiving very great loſſe by the Arabian Horſe, raiſed by the Turks of the neighbouring Country, who with great ſpeed, and with a new and unknown way of fighting to our Souldiers, diſturbed their works. The time was ſo ſpun on, as way was made to great ruine; for a horrible tempeſt ariſing at Sea, which made the Ships Anchors come home; ſome were driven upon the ſhore, others carried into the high and boiſterous ſeas. Inſomuch as having loſt many of his ſhips, and the reſt being much torn, the Emperour was forc'd to quit the enterpriſe, having onely purchaſed this praiſe, That he was never in the leaſt diſmai'd, amidſt ſo many adverſities and dangers. Many chief perſonages who followed the Court, periſhed, by the diſtemper of the aire, and ſufferings; amongſt the reſt, *Marino Juſtiniano*, Embaſſadour from the Common-wealth, who by orders from the Senate, had alwaies accompanied the Emperour; and *Nicolo da Ponte*, who was then Lieutenant at *Udine*, was choſen in his ſteed. This ſo great loſſe was interpreted by ſome, to redound much to the advantages of the Italian Princes, ſince thereby *Ceſar*'s forces were weakned, and his minde began to droop; who having alwaies promiſed unto himſelf proſperous ſucceſſe in all things, was thought, did aſpire at the ſoveraignty of all *Italy*. Notwithſtanding others, out of ſerious conſiderations, were of another opinion, thinking this to be a common loſſe, and inconvenience to Chriſtians in generall, and particularly to the Common-wealth of *Venice*: For the Turkiſh Fleet being counterpoiſed by his Forces at ſea, that ceaſing, theſe more formidable Enemies grew almoſt inſuperable, and all things were expoſed to their diſcretion and fury.

Whilſt theſe things were done by *Cæſar*, the King of *France* his thoughts were not quiet, who being highly incens'd againſt *Cæſar*, ſtudied by all means poſſible, to revenge the injuries he had received; therefore he had by his Embaſſadors, whom he had ſent before to *Lucca*, to meet the Pope, preſs'd hard, that his Holineſſe would declare, that the Truce made formerly at *Neece*, by his procurement and authority, the more to honeſt his cauſe, was broken, by *Pregoſo*'s and *Rincone*'s death. But reſolving howſoever to uſe Force, and hoping to out-do *Cæſar*, by the friendſhip and aſſiſtance of the Turks and Venetians, he reſolved to ſend *Paulino* Embaſſadour to *Conſtantinople*, to treat of the particulars touching the Fleet's putting forth to prejudice *Cæſar*, and tryed again to get the Venetians to joyne with him. On which *Paulino* having diſcourſed much, before he parted from *Conſtantinople*, he had obtained as hath been ſaid, that *Jannſby* ſhould be commiſſioned, to enterpoſe *Soliman*'s authority with the Venetians, to encline them to liſten to his propoſalls, touching making War with *Cæſar*. *Paulino* being then come to *Venice*, as he returned to *Conſtantinople*; he, together with the Biſhop of *Monpelliers*, who was there Embaſſadour in ordinary for the King, had private audience in the Colledge, before the chief of the Councell of Ten, where he delivered what they were ordered to do by the King.

Paulino in a long Oration, perſwaded the Senators to a new confederacy with the King: *What the ends were* (ſaid he) *of the King my Maſter, and what thoſe of the Emperour, may now be ſo plainly diſcerned by their actions, as their ends and deſignes are no longer concealed. The King of* France, *at the Popes perſwaſion, laid down his Arms in* Piemont, *and ſtopt the courſe of his almoſt aſſured victories, out of a good inclination which he alwaies had to concord, ſo far as his honour might not be thereby prejudiced. And the Emperour, who firſt ſeemed ſo deſirous of peace, refuſing Articles of a fair Agreement, entred himſelf in perſon with an Army into* France. *That the King was contented to accept of the Dukedom of* Millan, *not to unite it to the Crown of* France, *that ſo the Princes of* Italy *might not, by reaſon of his greatneſſe, grow jealous of him; but to make one of his ſons Lord thereof. And the Emperour, being reſolved to keep that Dukedom in himſelf, had often deluded his King, and the Princes of* Italy, *with vain hopes, eſpecially the Venetians, who deſired alwaies more then others, to have a new Duke, and particular Lord in that State. That the King had of late nobly refuſed the offers of thoſe of* Guant, *who rebelling againſt* Ceſar, *had recourſe to him for protection. Nay, he had readily given way to* Ceſar's *men, and for himſelf, to paſſe through* France *for* Flanders, *to appeaſe the tumults of that Province, from whence, if he had been ſo minded, he might have reaped advantage. That he had, ſeveral other waies, witneſſed his goodwill to* Ceſar, *having received him with incomparable honour throughout his whole Kingdome, in the very City of* Paris, *and in his own Palace, treating with him ſtill with ſingular civility. That on the other ſide, as ſoon as his buſineſſe was done, the Emperour had not onely, not correſponded any waies with him, openly denying what he had promiſed; but being full of implacable anger againſt the King, had treacherouſly and ſpitefully cauſed his ſervants to be ſlain, when by the Truce*

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renued at Paris, *all his affairs ſhould have been ſecure. That theſe, and many other things, which lay open to the eyes of all men, might witneſſe, what the endeavours, ends, and natures, of theſe two Princes were, by which might be well conſidered, whether of theſe ought to be choſen for a friend, and confederate to the Common-wealth; in whether ſhe might repoſe more faith, friendſhip, gratitude, equity, and modeſty in all proceedings. That it ought alſo to be particularly conſidered, how great* Ceſar's *power would be, when he ſhould, together with the Kingdom of* Naples, *ſecurely poſſeſſe the State of* Millan; *the French being excluded* Italy, *and all allayes ceaſing, which might curb his deſires, bent undoubtedly to be Lord of all* Italy. *That it was to be had in conſideration, what good might be got by keeping friendſhip with* Ceſar, *and what they could promiſe unto themſelves from the King of* France. *That* Ceſar *promis'd onely in gratification to the Common-wealth, to put a Duke into the State of* Millan, *not intending, as might be ſeen by his actions, to do as he ſaid. That what his King's gratitude would be, and the fruits of this new conjunction, might be argumented, by what he himſelf, and his Predeceſſors, had done for the* Common-wealth, *the ſtate and dignity whereof he much deſired ſhould be encreaſed. That the King did not ſue for this friendſhip when he was in a low condition, but in a time, when his Forces were greater, then they had been for many years before, and when they might be accompanied by thoſe of the Turks; ſince the things done unto* Soliman *by* Ceſar, *had ſo incenſt him, as that he offered him all aſſiſtance to work revenge. That it might be gueſs'd by* Janusby's *Embaſſy, how the grand Signieur ſtood affected towards theſe two Princes. And that now it belonged to the wiſdom of their Lordſhips, to conſider, how much it imported the Common-wealth to be friend to his friends, and enemy to his enemies.*

Theſe fair and magnificent words, could not make the grave and experienced Senators, alter their opinion, nor draw them into new obligations and wars. Wherefore the buſineſſe being reported to the Senate, they did almoſt unanimouſly vote, that the ſame anſwer ſhould be made to the French Embaſſadours, as had been given to *Janusby*, by the *Collegio de Savii*: *That the* Common-wealth *put a great value upon the King of* France *his friendſhip, wherein they would alwaies faithfully and ſincerely correſpond with him; but that they muſt likewiſe keep peace with other Princes, and not do any thing that might tend to the contrary.* After this, *Paulino* continued his journey towards *Conſtantinople*, and was conducted by the Venetian Gallies in *Albania*, hoping aſſuredly to get, that the Fleet might put to Sea that year. But were it either, that the ſeaſon was too far ſpent, to rig out ſo great a Fleet; or that *Soliman*'s minde was wholly ſet upon the affairs of *Hungary*, whether he ſaid he would return himſelf in perſon, with greater Forces, the French could not as then be befriended by the Turks. The King of *France* was not this mean while idle, but having raiſed a great many Souldiers, and thereout made three Armies, and ſent his eldeſt ſon the Dolphin in the head of one of them, to the Pirenean Mountains, to recover *Perpignan*, which belonged formerly to the Crown of *France*, and was yielded to *Ferdinando* of *Aragon*, when he intended to paſſe into *Italy*: With an other Army commanded by his ſecond ſon, the

Duke of *Orleans*, he assaulted *Burgony* and *Lucemburg*. The third Army, whereunto was added the Duke of *Cleve*'s forces, and was led on by the Duke of *Vandome*, a Prince of the blood, entring into *Flanders* through *Artois*, assaulted severall Towns of that Province. But the noise of all these Armies proved greater, then any harm they did the Emperour; for the Dolphin finding the Fort of *Perpignan* well Garrison'd, and soon succour'd, by the Duke of *Alva*'s Forces, was forc'd to retreat, not having done any thing: And the Duke of *Orleans* did nothing but plunder and pillage the Country; and the Towns taken by the Duke of *Cleves*, were kept but a very little while. Wherefore the King of *France* failing in all his designes, and thinking upon the assistance which he had conceived from others, complained of *Soliman*, and of the Venetians, for not having taken up Arms to assist him in a seasonable time, whilst he had molested *Cesar* in so many severall parts. Wherefore the ill offices done to the Venetians, by his Embassadour Monsieur *de Monpelliere*, made the greater impression in him. And *Polino*, who was still at *Constantinople*, openly discovering this dis-satisfaction, did oppose himself to the proceedings of the Venetians, both in private meetings, and in the publick Divano, seeking to detract from the person of their Consul, and from the dignity of the Common-wealth; and hoping still to have the Fleet the next year, he said, That he himself would go in it, and would make the Venetians know, how prejudiciall his endeavours, and his King's authority would prove to them. A new accident had given occasion to these things; for their Treason being at this time discovered, who revealed the aforesaid secrets of the Common-wealth to the French; *Agostino Abondio*, who was the chief delinquent, (for by his means, the things were discovered to *Cesare Fregoso*, and by him communicated to the Court of *France*) had for his preservation gotten into the French Ambassadour's house; to the which *Bernardo Georgio*, one of the *Auvogadori del Commune*, a Magistrate of great authority, being gone, with Commanders and the chief heads of the Councell of Ten, and other Officers, to have the guilty party delivered into their hands; the *Auvogadori* with great respect desired to speak with the Embassadour. When those of his family, laying violent hands upon those who were at the gate, and upon the stairs, and wounding some of them, would give no answer, nor would suffer any one of them to go any further. Whereupon by order from the Councill of Ten, Guards of armed Boats, and many people, were presently placed about the Embassadour's house, as well to keep the Traitor from escaping, as for preserving the house, and the Embassadour's person from the peoples fury, who being in a tumult by reason of this accident, were very like to grow more insolent, and give occasion of greater scandall. At last, *Abondio* was by the Embassadour delivered into the hands of Justice, who being found guilty, was condemned and hanged. And the goods of *Cesare Fregoso*, he being already dead, were confiscated, and his brother *Alexander* had his Pension taken from him, and his command of *Gens d'Armes*; their offence being thought the greater, by reason of the great obligations

tions which their father *Junus*, and their whole family had received from the Common-wealth. The King was wrongfully inform'd of these things, as if they had been done onely to despise him, and not out of safety for the Common-wealth, and out of justice. Wherefore he spoke loud, and was grievously offended against the Common-wealth: But afterwards his passion being over, he sent the Pronotory of *Monduck* to *Venice*, to plead his excuse, if grounding his judgment upon false information, he had conceived a worser opinion of the Common-wealth, then she had deserved at his hands; saying, that he would blot out the Memory thereof, and would be alwaies a true and constant friend to her: and soon after, he sent the same *Monduck* back to *Venice*, to be his Embassador in ordinary there, in the place of the Bishop of *Monpellier*, who, to gratifie the Senate, was at their request removed from that charge.

There hapned an other accident at the same time, which did a little trouble the Senate, both in respect of themselves and others, which was the taking of *Marano* from *Ferdinando*, King of the Romanes, (in whose power it was by vertue of the last Capitulations) by *Beltrame Sacchia*, a Venetian subject, who did it first of his own head, but afterwards by the interessing of great Princes; for calling in *Pietro Strozzi* to his aid, a banisht *Florentine*, who entred in with a certain number of men, tumultuously raised in the State of *Venice*; they declared that they held that Town, in the name of the King of *France*; but they threatned at the same time, that if they should be abandoned by other helps, so as the Town should be in danger of falling back into the power of *Ferdinando*, they would deliver up that Fort to the Turks. This was hainously resented by the Venetians, as the beginning of greater Commotions, and as the seed of War and Discord. They knew that *Ferdinando* might very well think they had a hand in it, since the first Author was one of their subjects, and the people that he made use of, taken out of their State, and then they knew not what the King of *France* his intentions might be, since his name, who was desirous of Novelties, was used therein: but they chiefly feared left the Turks might be hereby incited to prejudice the Common-wealth. *Marano* not being above 80 miles from *Venice*, where by reason of the Lake, their ships might safely ride. Therefore being resolved to provide as well as they could against so many inconveniences; the Senate made proclamation, that upon pain of severe punishment, none of their subjects should enter into *Marano*, nor convey victuals thither, or any other sort of helpe. They also made *Sacchia's* Father and Wife, who were in *Udine*, be detteyned, that they might have a pledge in their hands, whereby to curb his rash courses: and yet at the same time, they gave fair words both to him, and the rest that were in *Marano*, and gave them hopes of good accommodation, left when *Ferdinando* should come against them, and they not be of themselves able to defend themselves, they should resolve to take a Turkish Garrison. In this variety of affairs, being resolved not to intermeddle more then of necessity they must, they kept as much as they could from giving offence to the interessed Princes. *Thus when* Ferdinando

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ſent the Biſhop of Trent *to* Venice, *to deſire aſſiſtance of Men and Ships from the Senate, for the recovery of* Marano, *they ſaid nothing of their not being able to ſatisfie him, without offending the King of* France; *but anſwered, That the Senate which alwaies loved what was juſt and honeſt, deſired that* Ferdinando *might recover* Marano, *which was fraudulently taken from him, and by violence; that therefore they were ready to allow paſſage for his men, and to aſſiſt them with Victuals, but that they hoped things might be fairly accorded. And likewiſe the King of* France, *his Embaſſador affirming to them in his Maſter's name, that the King would not doe any thing concerning* Marano, *without ſatisfaction to the Senate, and that he deſired their advice therein; the Senate return'd anſwer, That the King was ſo wiſe a Prince, as he needed no advice; and that for as much as concerned their deſire, they ſhould wiſh beſt to that reſolution, by which peace & concord might be preſerved.* Whilſt the time was ſpent in theſe affairs, thoſe who remained in *Marano*, (for *Sacchia*, who was gone out of the Town to accompany the wife of a German Governour, who went to provide Monies to pay the Tax that was laid upon them, was not permitted to come in again) growing more bold and inſolent, began to build a Fort at the Haven of *Liguano*, five miles diſtant from *Marano*, that they might have a ſafe place of refuge, when they ſhould go forth with their armed Veſſels, to pillage ſuch ſhips as ſhould ſayl by thoſe ſhores, which they continually did: This being thought to be a thing of greater conſequence, and not to be ſuffered, the Venetians to deſtroy this Work, and *Bernardo Sagredo* being therein employ'd, he ſoon effected it. For coming thither ſuddenly with his Gallie, and another belonging to *Philippo Bragadino*, both of which were ready armed, as being formerly deſtin'd to an other voyage, and having a good many Souldiers aboard, commanded by *Julio da Monte Vecchio*; thoſe that built the Work, fled away at the firſt appearance, and he with his Artillery beat down the Fort, which was already raiſed to a good height, and carried away all the materialls, to take away the means of eaſily re making it. This reſolution helpt likewiſe to keep ſome Imperial Gallies from coming into the Gulph, which were deſtin'd to aſſiſt the recovery of *Marano*, which the King of *France* having notice of, he had likewiſe prepared ſome other to ſend to the ſame place, to aſſiſt thoſe of *Marano*: So as it was foreſeen, that both theſe Fleets were to have entred the Gulph, to the prejudice of the ancient Juriſdiction of the Common-wealth, and that the ſeat of War would be made ſo near hand: but both theſe Princes, at the Senates requeſt, forbare doing this. Thus the affairs of *Marano* were ſuſpended, the agreement concerning this Town, being before begun to be treated of between the King of *France*, and the King of the *Romanes*, wherein there being many difficulties ſtill found, *Strozzi* and the reſt ſeeming deſirous to deliver up that Fort, rather to the Common-wealth then to any other Princes; they proteſted, that if they did not quickly agree, they would treat with the Turks, and agree with them. But in the mean while, *Ferdinando*, (were it that he did truly know the Venetians ſincerity, or that he would conceal whatſoever jealouſie he had thereof, and knowing that their friendſhip

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might be of great moment) chose two Commissioners to end the differences which had often been treated of, touching the meaning and observation of the Capitulations of *Trent*. These came to *Venice*, and *Francesco Contarini*, and *Francesco Sanuto* were chiefly imploy'd in the businesse, being formerly chosen Commissioners for this Treaty, wherein *Cæsars* Embassador interposed himselfe as a friendly composer; and the businesse was drawn to a near conclusion, if there could have been any means found out to accord the differences touching the Town of *Belgrado* and *Castel Nuovo*, which were formerly mortgaged, together with some other Castles, by Emperours of the House of *Austria*, to the Dukes of *Saxony*. Touching which, and the condition of the Engagement, and the proportion of Monies which belonged to these two places, there arose many difficulties, which kept the business undecided.

But these businesses were diverted by much greater affairs: for at the beginning of the year 1543. such rumours of Wars were heard in all parts, as no Country seemed to be secure, nor any Prince free from the troubles thereof. For in *Constantinople*, a great Army was prepar'd to assault *Hungary* and *Austria*, and a Fleet to passe into the Mediterranean Seas, to the prejudice of the Emperours Dominions. And the King of *France*, hoping, by the coming out of the Fleet at his desire, and in favour to him, that he should the more easily prevail over *Cesar*, being more desirous of war then ever, had raised a great many Souldiers, not onely of his own Kingdom, but of the warlike Nation of the *Swizzers*, inviting them with new rewards and gifts, to follow his ensigns: he endeavour'd very much to maintain the Duke of *Cleve's* rebellion, troubling the Emperour in severall parts, but especially in *Flanders*: who being no lesse willing to revenge himselfe for the injuries he had received from the French, and chiefly to chastise the Duke of *Cleve's* daring, as he termed it, (who was a Feudatary of the Empire) for having taken up Arms with his Enemies against him, assembled the Diet of Princes, and *Hans-towns*, according to the custome of *Germany*, and had gotten all the Forces of *Germany* to joyn with him in making War against the King of *France*, and the Duke of *Cleve*; and to the end that his Forces might be the more formidable, laying aside (to the wonder of all men) the memory of the heinous and great injuries received from *Henry* King of *England*, for having repudiated his Aunt Queen *Katherine*, and not regarding that this Prince had declared himselfe a Schismatick, and was become contumacious to the Church of *Rome*, he resolved to joyn in league with him, and to make War upon *France*. Thus it seems that all other Reasons, both Humane and Divine, give way to the Reason of State; though Princes oftentimes term their meer Appetites, Reason. And *Cæsar* found *Henry* the more inclined to this Invitation, by reason of his not being satisfied with the King of *France*, for having adhered unto his enemy, *James* King of *Scotland*, in a difference between them concerning Confines. In these great Commotions, the Pope, and the Venetians, continued in their Neutrality, being de-

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ſirous to maintain the peace of *Italy*, as much as might be. But the Venetians were herein much more reſolute and conſtant; for the Pope, being troubled with ſeverall jealouſies, was ſometimes otherwiſe minded. Many things made him apprehend *Ceſars* greatneſſe; he conſidered how much more powerfull *Ceſar* was likely to prove, being aſſiſted by the forces of *Germany*, and of *England*; and that the power of Emperours had ever been formidable to Popes; and that he was the more particularly concern'd, in that *Ceſar* had ſatisfied the German Proteſtants in many points, and now of late in procuring the Councill to be celebrated within the confines of *Germany*, whither the Embaſſadors being gone very early, they gave out that matters of Reformation were to be treated on, which is not uſually very acceptable to Popes; and chiefly then, by reaſon of the freedom of their ſpeech, who being alienated from the obedience of the Church of *Rome*, ſought to cover their own faults by the errours of others. Nor was it of any ſmall moment, to make him think the worſe of the Emperour, that he had contracted friendſhip with a Prince who had thrown off his obedience to the Apoſtolick Sea, and that he ſeemed not willing to gratifie Him in the affairs of *Millan*. The Pope being moved out of theſe reſpects, propoſed a ſtreighter conjunction, and intelligence with the Venetians for the common ſafety; a thing propoſed then onely, as looking at Peace and Quiet, and not of forgoing their Neutrality, unleſs upon utmoſt neceſſity; but with intention, as was diſcover'd by many ſigns, to bring the Common-wealth to joyn with the King of *France*. But the Senate continuing their accuſtom'd anſwer, ſhew'd the Pope, that there was no Occaſion, much leſſe any Neceſſity, to make any ſuch Innovation, whereby miſchiefs afar off might be rather haſtned then kept back, by making Princes jealous. Herein the Senators did maturely conſider, that the forces of the Emperour, and of the King of *France*, were ſo equally ballanced, each of them being very ſtrong of himſelfe, and aſſiſted by other great Princes, as it was not to be feared that one of them ſhould ſo exceed the other, as that his power might prove prejudiciall to the affairs of *Italy*, and that Time often produceth notable and un-thought of advantages, which they ought moſt to attend, who propoſe unto themſelves the ſafety and preſervation of what is their own, rather then the getting of what appertains to another. That the Common-wealth could not confederate with any other, without offending *Ceſar*, who having ſo ofen deſired new Leagues, they could never be brought to alter any part of their old Capitulations; that at the preſent, the King of *France* was excluded all *Italy*, but that it was more to be deſired, then likely, that he might at this time have a ſhare therein, the better to counterpoiſe *Ceſar*, now when he muſt be neceſſitated to imploy his forces in defence of his own Kingdom, it being ſet upon both by Engliſh and Imperialiſts. The Venetians were much more troubled at the coming forth of the Turkiſh Fleet, which was now much talked of, and whereof great preparations were ſeen; though the Turks promiſed, that all fair reſpects ſhould be had to what appertained to the Common-wealth, and that *Paulino* affirm'd

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the ſame conſtantly, who was to be in it, and had wholly changed his mind, by reaſon of new inſtructions which he had received from his King. It was foreſeen, that *Italy* would be diſfurniſhed of ſouldiers, ſince the flowre of her Militia was to go ſerve *Ceſar* and *Ferdinand* in *Hungary* and *Flanders*. That *Doria*'s Fleet conſiſted but of a few Gallies, and thoſe employ'd in bringing *Ceſar*'s perſon into *Italy*. That the Common-wealth had not as then above thirty Gallies at Sea, ſo as all Seas were open and free for the Turks, all Shoars expoſed to their aſſaults. Nor was it to be comprehended, nor much to be credited, what their preſent intentions were, nor what they would hereafter be; according as occaſions ſhould fall out. Therefore the Venetians thought good to increaſe their Fleet, to the number of 70 Gallies, arming ſome in *Dalmatia*, ſome in *Candia*, and in other places; and making *Stephano Tiepolo* Captain Generall at Sea, (a man famous for his own worth, and more famous afterwards, for being father of *Paolo Tiepolo*, Procurator of *St. Mark*; a famous Senator of our times, both for his eloquence, and wiſdom in the Senate) who gave an account of this to all the Princes Courts, to the end, that the newes hereof might not make her deſignes to be thought greater then they were, to tell them, That the Common-wealth had armed ſome Gallies, for the ſafety of their Subjects, and for the guard of the Sea, and of her Shoars; and had made a ſupream Commander over them, to the end, that the publick Officers and Subjects, might be kept within the bounds of obedience, and all occaſions removed, whereby the publick quiet might be diſturbed. And accordingly, the Generall was enjoyn'd to keep within the Gulph, and viſit the Shoars and Iſlands of their Dominions, ordering and taking courſe for all things that were neceſſary; where he was to be met by *Juſtiniano*, one of the Sea-Commiſſaries; the other Commiſſary, which was *Aleſſandro Bondomiero*, being to tarry in the waters of *Corfù*, with 15 of the beſt Gallies, wherewith, upon the approach of any Fleet, he might be ſafe in the *Mandracchio*. And he was alſo ordered to ſhun all ſuch things, as might cauſe ſuſpicions in the Turks, of the inſincerity of their intentions towards them, which it was very well known, was often cunningly endeavoured by *Doria*.

This mean while, the Turkiſh Fleet put to ſea, conſiſting of 120 Gallies, commanded by *Cariadana Barbaroſſa*, *Polino* being aboard them; and having put himſelf in very good order, as to ſouldiers, and all things neceſſary, thoſe few daies that he tarried at *Negroponte*, he went to *Porto Figaro*; and then ſteering Weſtward, he paſſed *Faro di Meſſina*, and came to the Rivers of *Calabria*, where landing his men neer *Regio*, he took much booty, and ſackt the City of *Regio*, the Caſtle having much ado to hold out. Then re-imbarking his men, and purſuing his courſe towards the French ſhoar, he ſtayed to take in freſh water, firſt, at the Iſland of *Ponzo*, and afterwards at the River of *Terrezzina*, where landing ſome men neer *Oſtia*, at the mouth of the River *Tiber*, all thoſe of *Rome* were ſtruck into ſuch a terrour at the newes thereof, as the people began tumultuouſly to run out of the City, that they might ſave themſelves

ſelves in ſome neighbouring parts. But the fear and danger ſoon ceaſed; for *Polino* did by Letters aſſure the Governour of *Rome*, that thoſe ſhoars ſhould receive no prejudice; and as ſoon as they had made proviſion of water, the whole Fleet went away; not having done any injury: And coaſting along the Rivers of *Toſcany* and *Genua*, put into the Haven of *Tolone*, where meeting with two French Gallies, they guided the Fleet towards *Marcelles*, and by the way they were met with twenty four more French Gallies. *Barbaroſſa* landed, and was received in great pomp into the City, with many Janiſaries. But *Polino* went in all haſte to finde the King out, to receive particular orders from him, (which *Barbaroſſa* was by his commiſſion to obey) and returned ſuddenly to the Fleet, which at his comming back was encreaſed by ſixteen French Gallies, and ſome few Ships, wherein were 6000 Foot, who were ready to that purpoſe on thoſe ſhoars. So he went from *Marcelles*, and paſs'd into the Haven of *Villa Franca*, lying in the River of *Genua*, to fall upon *Nice*, a Town which was then in the Duke of *Savoy*'s poſſeſſion, but which was ſaid to have belonged formerly to the Crown of *France*: He landed his men and Artillery, and for ſome few daies played furiouſly upon the Town; ſo as the defendants diſpairing of being able to defend themſelves, yielded the Town unto the King, and the City was preſerved from plunder; but the Caſtle being relieved by the Marquis of *Guaſto*, and the ſeaſon being too far ſpent to tarry any longer there, *Barbaroſſa* returned with his whole Fleet into the Haven at *Marcelles*, to the end, that wintering in ſome parts thereabouts, he might be the readier to make ſome attempts in thoſe ſeas, and to keep the Imperialiſts the mean while, much to their inconvenience, from that Navigation; wherefore the French and Turks did very diligently obſerve, which way the enemies Veſſells went, and laid ſnares for them: And *Janatino Doria* being gone with ſome Gallies into the *Levant*, to commit piracy in the *Archipelagus*, *Barbaroſſa* ſent forty Gallies towards the Iſland of *Majorca*, to fight him at his return; and *Doria* eſcaped them very narrowly, whoſe prey he muſt have been, being far inferiour to them in forces. The Venetian Fleet in this interim, not knowing what way the Turkiſh Fleet would take, and becauſe *Doria*'s Gallies were gone into the *Levant*, kept ſtill in the Gulph, thinking it their ſafeſt courſe to provide for their own affairs, to ſhun all occaſions of meeting the Frigats of any great Princes, or to make them believe, that they would any waies either aſſiſt, or hinder them, in any of their enterpriſes. Yet was not the Venetian Generall idle, but viewing the Forts and the Militia's, and giving many good directions in all places, his ſervice proved very advantagious and honourable to the Common-wealth.

Ceſar being at the ſame time reſolved to go in perſon into *Germany*, that he might make as fierce war as he could upon the King of *France*; he thought he might the ſafelier go from *Spain*, becauſe he had made the States ſwear, to receive his ſon Prince *Phillip* for their King. So he, with his whole Court, went to *Barcellona*, leaving *Don Fernando di Toledo*, Duke of *Alva*, in charge with the affairs

fairs of the *Kingdom*, and of his ſon. And meeting Prince *Doria*, who waited for him there with forty Gallies, he went with them, and with certain ſhips, which carried the Spaniſh Foot to *Genua*. Upon the newes of his arrivall in *Italy*, the Senate choſe four Embaſſadours, *Carlo Moroſini*, *Gabriele Veniero*, *Lodovico Faliero*, and *Vettore Gremani*; who as he was to paſſe through the Dominions of the Common-wealth, were to meet him, to witneſſe their love and friendſhip to him. But the Pope, betaking himſelf to new thoughts, ſince he had no hopes of the confederacy which he had endeavoured with the Venetians, reſolved to ſpeak with *Ceſar*, intending firſt to ſecure his own affairs the better, as well concerning the condition of his Temporall Arms, as Religion, and the Pontificiall authority in the Councill, which was about to meet in *Trent*, a City in *Germany*, and whereof there wanted not ſome jealouſies; reſolving afterwards to try *Ceſar* once more, touching the conceſſion of the Dukedom of *Millan*, to *Ottavio Ferneſe*, with diſburſing a ſum of mony to him, which he ſaw *Ceſar* ſtood in need of, in other the like important affairs of war. But cloaking theſe his more ſecret deſignes, with another fair pretence, he expreſs'd his neceſſity of ſpeaking with *Ceſar*, with whom, ſince he was to paſſe by, ſo neer him, it became him, the Pope, as head of Chriſtendom, and common Father and Paſtor, in a time of ſuch great diſorders and troubles, amongſt Chriſtians, and of ſuch eminent danger of the Turks, to meet him, and to exhort him to peace with Chriſtians, and to wars with the Turks; and to ſee, whether he could do any more good by his preſence, then he had done in his abſence by his authority, or by his advice given by Cardinall *Gaſpero Contarino*, a learned holy man, whom he had ſent as his Legat not long before to *Ceſar* in *Germany*; as he had ſent at the ſame time, and to the ſame end, Cardinall *Jacopo Sadeletto*, to *France*; but all to no purpoſe. Thus the Pope acquainting the Venetians with his departure from *Rome*, and his going to *Bullognia*, alledged this for his chiefeſt reaſon, but did neither totally conceal, nor yet confeſſe his intention, touching the affairs of *Millan*, to ſee whether he could diſcover their intentions therein; for he knew, that this would be very acceptable to them, but that they were to proceed with great caution, for the aforeſaid reaſons. But the Senate continuing their reſolution, of not medling at all in theſe negotiations, did onely praiſe the Pope's pious good-will, and the reſolution he had taken in ſo important a buſineſſe for the common good, not proceeding any further to the conſideration of any buſineſſe. Yet did not the Pope cool, in this his deſire of interview, neither for his being ſole in this buſineſſe, nor yet for any lets or difficulties, promoted by *Ceſar*, who little to his honour, appeared to be otherwiſe minded, either, for that he was not well pleaſed with the Pope, for not having openly declared for him, as the eſteem which he and his Houſe had put upon him, ſeemed to require, (he having preferr'd him before many honourable Allies, in the marriage of his daughter) as alſo the actions of his enemy the King of *France*, who had joyned in league and friendſhip with the Turks, to the

prejudice of Christendom; or else, for that suspecting that the Pope would renue the Treaty, of yielding up the Dukedome of *Millan* to *Ottavio Farneſe*, he being already resolved not to part with it upon any conditions, he would shun the occasion of encreasing his ill-will to him, by not giving him satisfaction, and thrust him as it were upon the friendship of the King of *France*. But the Pope esteeming his dignity injur'd, if being gone from *Rome* to speak with *Cesar*, he should suffer him to go out of *Italy*, and not see him; for nothing he could do was able to perswade the Emperour, to come to *Bulloqnia*, though he had sent his son *Pier Luigi* first to him to *Genua*, with this his desire; and afterwards his nephew *Alexander Farneſe*, who although very young, was already made Cardinall; he was content to go further to meet him, *Cesar* having alledged for his excuse, That he could not retard his journey, by going out of his way. The Town of *Busetto*, belonging to the jurisdiction of the Palavisini, was then appointed for this convention, an incommodious and ignoble place; but the issue of this interview was such, as it was foreseen it would be; for nothing was therein concluded, neither for the publick service of Christendom, nor for the particular advantage of the House of *Farneſe*; for *Cesar* was still resolute, to pursue the war against the King of *France*, and the Duke of *Cleves*. And as for the businesse of *Millan*, he would give no absolute negative to the Pope, alledging, that he could not of himself dispose of that State, without the participation and consent of the Princes of the Empire. By which answer, his resolution of not parting with it, was notwithstanding discovered. The convention being dissolved, which lasted but onely three daies, *Cesar* pursuing his journey, entred the State of *Venice*, where he was met upon the confines by the four fore-named Embassadours, and received and accompanied with the usuall demonstrations of honour. As he without any delay went to *Trent*, to go for *Germany*, the State furnished him with all things necessary for his person, and for his attendance, and many offers were made unto him in the name of the publick, but in generall terms, not touching upon any businesse, save onely, that he would be a means to his brother, for expedition in the affairs, belonging to the resolution of *Trent*, wherein they had already interessed themselves as friendly compositors. *Cesar* past from *Trent* to *Ulmes*, and from thence to *Spire*, that he might be neerer the businesse he went about; being followed whereſoever he went by Secretary *Daniel Buonriccio*, Agent for the Common-wealth; for the Embassadour *Ponte* falling desperately sick, was forced to tarry at *Trent*, and to return from thence to *Venice*; and *Bernardo Navagiero*, who was afterwards made a Cardinall by Pope *Pius* the fourth, succeeded in his place. *Cesar*'s first attempts against the Duke of *Cleves*, succeeded well; for he tooke the City of *Dura* from him at the very first; but soon after, by the intercession and entreaties of the Duke of *Brunswick*, and of the Elector of *Collen*, and out of *Cesar*'s own inclination, that he might the more freely, without any hinderance, proceed on against the Kingdom of *France*, he was by him received into favour, and suffered to enjoy his whole Dukedom

of

of *Cleves*, upon the reſtitution of the Dukedom of *Guelders*, which he had poſſeſt himſelfe of.

At the ſame time the War was begun again in the Kingdom of *Hungary*, whither *Soliman* being come with a powerfull Army, making all the Country be ranſackt and ruin'd by his Cavalry; he ſat down before *Strigonia*, and whilſt he was buſied there, he ſent an Embaſſador to *Venice*, to acquaint the Senate with his voyage, and his deſigns; and alſo to learn news of his Fleet, which was buſied at this time in the Haven of *Villa Franca*, about the enterpriſe of *Nice*; and he accordingly was advertiſed, and thanked for his friendſhip to the common-wealth, and for his acquainting her with his actions and counſells. It behooved them to appear pleaſed with this demonſtration of the Turks, to preſerve peace with them, and better reputation with others, by their friendſhip, which was at this time of better eſteem, by reaſon of the Turks joyning with the French, who were not wanting in making often mention of the terror of the Turk's enmity, that they might make the Venetians be govern'd by them. Wherefore *Soliman* having ſent an other Embaſſador to *Venice*, with new advertiſements of his proceedings in *Hungary*, the Senate thought they muſt not be wanting in correſpondence, with demonſtration of like honour, and love towards ſo great a Prince; *Stephano Tiepolo*, was therefore choſen for this Embaſſy, who had already laid down his Commiſſion of Generall at Sea. This man was to go in the ſpring to *Conſtantinople*, where *Soliman*, who was already upon his return, was then to be, to congratulate his happy return, and to promiſe good correſpondency, and continuance of friendſhip with that Court. The buſineſſe of *Marano* was not as yet quieted, but the French were ſtill more hot in maintaining that Fort, and the Dutch in recovering it; ſo as beſides 400 Foot, who were brought thither firſt by Monſieur *de Senei*, the King of *France* ſent a new recruit thither of a good many foot and horſe: And on the other ſide, the King of the *Romanes* ſent ſome Dutch foot companies over the Mountains, under the Conduct of *Giovan Baptiſta Savello*, and muſtred ſome others of his neareſt Territories, to make up a body of an Army, wherewith to beſiege *Marano*; and they were all forthwith ſuffered to paſſe through the Common-wealth, that they might appear free from fiding with any one in this buſineſſe. The Venetians were more troubled at the manning out of a Pinnace, and two *Brigantines* at *Trieſte*, wherewith they began to ſtreiten *Marano* by Sea, entring by the Haven of *Dignano*, becauſe they would of neceſſity draw other armed Veſſels to thoſe parts: and the ſufferance of theſe, ſeemed to intrench upon the Common-wealths pretences to that Haven, and ſhew'd ſome partiality in them, by ſuffering *Maranos* out-rages in the ſame parts, where by formerly deſtroying the Fort, they would not favour her defence: yet the Common-wealth proceeding calmly on, indeavour'd to free her ſelfe from theſe prejudices and jealouſies, rather by negotiations, and by a certain cautiouſneſs, than by open force. Therefore they preſt *Ferdinando* and the Emperour very much, that thoſe armed Veſſels might not tarry in that

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Haven, and at the ſame time cauſed the Captain of the fly-boats, and one well arm'd Gallie to come to the neighbouring ſhores; that the *Trieſteene* Veſſels, which were but weakly furniſht, might be reſiſted, and be made to ſuſpect that force ſhould be uſed againſt them. Whilſt theſe things were in Treaty, *Jovan Franciſco de Pazzi*, a *Florentine*, came to *Venice*, to deliver up the Fort of *Marano*, in the name of *Pietro Stozzi*, to the Common-wealth, receiving a reaſonable reward, and to tell them, if they ſhould not liſten to this offer of his, he ſhould be forc't to treat with ſome other great Prince, who he knew would willingly accept of it. And it was generally ſaid every where, that *Strozzi* being reſolved not any ways to deliver up that Fort to *Ferdinando*, and intending to make what advantage he could of it, might eaſily cloſe with the Turks. The King of *France* had left *Marano* in the free power of *Strozzi*, in reward of the ſervice he had done that Crown; and as others more expreſly ſaid, in account for great debts which he pretended unto; and that he therefore affirmed, *Strozzi* might doe with the Town what he liſted: Yet it was thought, that nothing was done without the knowledge and particular conſent of the King of *France*, whoſe Embaſſador then reſident at *Venice*, as ſoon as the Agreement was made, did much commend the Senates reſolution, and did thank them for it in his Kings name. The Venetians were much troubled at the buſineſſe; for the receiving, or refuſing of the offer, was a trouble unto them in divers reſpects. They deſired to ſhun doing of any thing that might diſpleaſe *Ferdinando*, and much more to occaſion any jealouſies, that they had had any hand in *Strozzi's* Counſells; but to permit that a place ſo near the Towns of *Venice*, ſtanding as it were upon her own ſhore, ſhould fall into the hands of the Turks, was too hard and prejudiciall a buſineſſe, and which might prove injurious not onely to the Common-wealth, but to all Chriſtendom. Being therefore reduced to this neceſſity, they reſolved to liſten to *Pazzi's* propoſall, and two Senators, *Antonio Capello*, and *Franceſco Contarini*, were appointed to treat with him upon the particulars. After many meetings, the buſineſſe was concluded thus; *That upon the delivery up of* Marano *to the Common-wealth*, Strozzi *was to receive* 35000 *Duckets*. Thus *Alexander Bondemiere*, was choſen Commiſſary of the Town, who accompanied by *Pazzi*, and a few foot, was received in, and had the Town delivered into his hands by *Strozzi*, and with the peoples applauſe. Some of the chiefe of them, ſwore allegiance to the Common-wealth: they afterward acquainted the Emperour and *Ferdinando* with all that was done, alleadging juſt reaſons for this their neceſſary reſolution. That their actions for two years laſt paſt, might ſufficiently witneſſe their ſincerity; during all which time, they would not onely liſten to theſe practiſes, which had been proffer'd them ſeverall times before, but had readily given paſſage, victuals, and all other commodities to *Ferdinando's* men, for the recovery of *Marano*; that they had conſidered, that Town was of no moment to *Ferdinando's* affairs, neither for State, Confines, nor advantage that he got thereby; but that it would have been very dangerous for his other Territories, if it

ſhould

ſhould have fallen into the Turks hands, as it was apparent it would have done, if they had continued to have diſpiſed *Strozzi*'s offer: theſe reaſons being handſomely repreſented to theſe Princes, by *Bernardo Navagiero*, and *Marino de Cavalli*, the one being ſent Embaſſador to *Cæſar*, the other to the King of the *Romanes*, did appeaſe them who were at firſt much incenſt at this accident.

But the condition of the Times, did chiefly make them capable of theſe reaſons; for a Dyet being intimated to be held in *Spire*, in the beginning of the year 1544. wherein the chief Lords of *Germany* were to intervene, to treat of important affairs, of making War with the French, and of withſtanding that which the Turks made with them, the Emperour, and the King of the *Romanes*, were wholly bent upon theſe Negotiations and preparations. And as they did much deſire this, ſo they hoped that the Common-wealth, moved by the Authority of ſo many German Princes, and Cities, would ſuffer it ſelfe to be drawn into ſome confederacy, when they ſhould ſee that they had imbraced the enterpriſe againſt the Turks. But the Emperour in particular, was not free from ſuſpitions, that the Venetians ſo often attempted by the King of *France*, ſhould, upon the taking of any diſtaſte at his hands, part from his confederacy, and joyn with the King of *France*, which troubled him the more at this time; for that having made peace with the King of *England*, and the *Swiſſers*, he hoped he might proſper better in his attempts againſt *France*, then he had done the laſt year, wherein the good he had got was not anſwerable to his preparations for War. For the French having lately relieved *Landreſi*, were returned with all their Forces ſafe into *France*; and the imperial Army diſpairing to get the Town, gave over the enterpriſe. Wherefore *Ceſar* intending to fall upon *France* with more forces, at the ſame time that it ſhould be aſſaulted by the King of *England*, was very deſirous of the peace of *Italy*, that his Forces might not be divided by being imployed elſewhere. But on the contrary, the King of *France* knowing all this, placed much of his hopes in being able to defend and ſecure his own affairs, by troubling the peace of *Italy*, by aſſaulting *Napolls*, and *Millan*; ſo as *Ceſar* ſhould be neceſſitated to turn his Forces to defend thoſe States which he ſo highly valued: therefore conſidering the advantage he might make thereby, either forgetting other reſpects, ſo often conſidered, by reaſon of his ardent deſire, or for that he hoped to bring him the more eaſily to ſome Agreement, or that he believed time and accidents might make the Venetians alter their determinations; he reſolved to invite them once more by many offers, to joyn in League with him againſt *Ceſar*; and to the end that the Authority of the perſon imploy'd, might purchaſe more beliefe and honour to the buſineſſe; he ſent the Cardinall of *Ferrara* to *Venice*, who was received there very honourably; and publick Complements being paſt, he was brought, according to his deſire, to private Audience in the Colledge, where he ſpoke thus.

The occaſion of this my coming hither, and the propoſal that I am to make, as it may peradventure be cauſe of wonder to others, ſo ought it to cauſe content, and no ſmall conſolation to you, wiſe Senators, ſince that coming

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from a great King, to make new intreaties, and new confederacy with this Common-wealth, after the having ſo often indeavoured your friendſhip, may be a manifeſt ſign of Francis King of France, his good will towards you, and your affairs, and of the great eſteem he hath of this Common-wealth, and of her Forces; it will ſute with the wiſdome which is attributed to you, Gentlemen, and with the praiſe which is particularly given to your Senate, to know how to make good uſe of this Prince his well wiſhes towards the common good, and particularly towards your proſperity, to know your own greatneſſe and forces; and withall, to know the opportunity, nay the neceſſity which the condition of the Times, and the deſigns of other Princes, doe put upon you, to imbrace theſe great offers which are made you; the which I knowing them to be effectually ſuch, hath made me to undertake this imployment the more willingly, as thinking I ſhall not do ſervice onely to the King therein, to whom I ſtand ſo much indebted, but that I ſhall alſo procure the liberty and greatneſs of Italy: Your not having formerly agreed with our King, and accepted his offers, hath not been eſteemed a coolneſſe in your affection towards the Crown of France, ſince there have been ſufficient both modern and ancient Teſtimonies thereof; nor to any little credit you give to the Kings promiſes, ſince this Common-wealth, hath to her great advantage joyn'd in league ſo often with his predeceſſors, and with himſelfe; nor yet to want of Counſell, or care in Government, your Senate having alwaies been a more vigilant Guardian then any other Potentate, not onely of your own Country, but alſo of the liberty of others, and for a long time a true defender and Arbitrator of the affairs of Italy: but for that in a buſineſſe of ſo great moment as this, you have been pleaſed to proceed with all maturity, leſt you might repent too late the having quitted your Neutrality, and have entred into the charge and trouble of War, ſo as there is none who can as yet blame this your reſolution; but all things which might have cauſed any doubt, are now ſo ripened, that there is no time left for longer delay. Cæſars ends and intentions are now too well known, to be wholly bent upon making himſelfe ſupream Monarch, and in particular, Lord of Italy: Him hath the King oppoſed in theſe things with all his might; and for this is he the more hated by Cæſar, becauſe he ſees he withſtands theſe his machinations; and that he is ready not onely to defend his own affairs, but to become a refuge to others, who have need of aſſiſtance againſt this powerfull Enemy, and hath been able hitherto by the Forces of his own Kingdom, to oppoſe the violence of the Dutch and Spaniſh Forces, able to fruſtrate Cæſars hopes, to maintain his own Dominions, and to repair the eminent dangers of other men. But now that Cæſars power is ſo increaſed, by having the Forces of Germany, of the Swiſſers, and of the King of England joyn'd with him, as that every other Prince ought to be jealous of him, and to be awakned at the aſpect of ſuch greatneſſe, which is in an inſtant both born and ſprung up, and to provide againſt it, before the miſchiefe be grown greater which threatens all men. The King of France his Forces are certainly very great, his mind very ready to imploy them all againſt Cæſars immoderate greatneſſe, wherein he will value, nor labour, nor expence, nor danger, being reſolved to run all fortunes, and never to lay down Arms, unleſſe overcome by utmoſt neceſſity, or that there be no occaſion to make uſe of them: but that he may ſecure theſe his intentions the moſt he may, to ſhew that he doth not undervalue the forces and aſſiſtants of others, when the common

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cauſe is in queſtion: it is therefore that he hath made known theſe his moſt important reſpects to you Gentlemen; 'tis therefore that he hath opened his moſt inward thoughts unto you, and hath indeavour'd a new conjunction between this Common-wealth and his Kingdom, becauſe when the wills and forces of theſe two Potentates ſhall be joyn'd, and that it may in reaſon be thought, that the ſafety of their ſtates is in a good part provided for, Cæſar *may be made to divide his Armies, and no longer think upon uſurping other mens Eſtates, but upon defending his own. The King doth therefore deſire, and this it is that he wills me particularly to propoſe unto you, that your Fleet may be brought to the Rivers of* Puglia, *where, the Towns being unprovided of Garriſons, the people well affected towards the Common-wealth, and declared enemies to the Spaniards, there may be hopes of doing much good ſpeedily: And on his part, he offers to maintain alwaies* 15000 *choice Foot in* Piemont, *or where elſe you ſhall pleaſe, whereby the Imperialiſts being curb'd, your State by Land may be ſafe from all danger; nay the Dukedom of* Millan, *and the Duke of* Savoy's *whole State, whoſe intereſt is the ſame with* Cæſars, *will be ſorely indangered. In this Propoſition, all things will be maturely conſidered; it will be ſufficiently known, that all things do therein concur, which may make a Prince take up Arms: the neceſſary defence and ſafety of his own affairs; hopes grounded upon good foundations, to increaſe Dominion; the aſſured purchaſing of a powerfull and faithfull friend in all Fortunes. The very reſolutions of your Senate ſhew, that* Cæſars *greatneſſe ought to be eſteemed a ſufficient cauſe, to make your Common-wealth take up Arms to keep off further dangers, which much to your praiſe have conſtantly for ſo long a time maintained Wars, not being frightned by any danger, nor changed for any expence or trouble, onely to keep the State of* Millan *from falling into* Cæſars *hands. For you know, it was too great a danger, to have ſo powerfull a Neighbour. But if theſe things were apprehended when they were farther off, and the ſuſpitions therof indeavour'd to be ſecured; how ought they to be ſuffered, now that they are at hand, when* Cæſars *counſells are ſufficiently known, when his cunning is diſcovered, and when there is no more hope left, that he will quit the State of* Millan. *Can it be thought a good and wholeſome counſell, to neglect the occaſion now, which was more deſired by you then, than any thing elſe, to oppoſe* Cæſars *vaſt deſigns, and not to ſuffer the Malady to grow to ſuch a height, as that no remedy will be found for it? Conſider, I beſeech you, if it ſhould ſo fall out, (as all human things are ſubject to various changes) That the Kingdome of* France, *aſſaulted by ſuch powerfull forces, I will not ſay, ſhould be loſt, but ſhould be ſo weakened, as that not any Prince ſhould for many years, be able to counterpoiſe* Ceſar's *power. Who ſees not, to what condition the liberty of* Italy *would be reduced? Who can think himſelf free from his injuries, for not having offended him? Who can hope to work upon his haughtineſſe by ſubmiſſion? Who can think, that his inſatiable thirſt after Government, can ever be ſatisfied by any acquiſition? Ceſar will ſay, that you have oppoſed his greatneſſe, becauſe you have not favoured him; that you have not valued his friendſhip, becauſe you would not make a ſtraiter conjunction with him; though it be known, he ſought thereby to put greater ties upon you, for his own advantage. So as it cannot be thought ſafe for you, to keep at this time in your Neutrality; for it doth neither purchaſe you true friends, nor doth it ſecure you from thoſe*

that are your reall enemies. And if your aim, by this your neutrality, had alwaies been, to obtain peace and quiet, your Common-wealth would never have arrived at ſuch greatneſſe, nor would ſhe have either Dominions or Forces: But depending upon the diſcretion of others, ſhe would have become a prey to any one, who would have oppreſſed her. This deſire of peace kept Greece *a while from the troubles of war, but was the reaſon, why ſhe was afterwards the ſooner ſubjugated by* Philip, *whoſe greatneſſe they had inconſiderately ſuffered to encreaſe too much. It becomes then the wiſdom of this Senate, to know, to foreſee, and to provide againſt theſe dangers, ſince your Common-wealth is more concerned therein, then other Potentates, becauſe the Emperour hath ſo many pretences to the Towns which ſhe poſſeſſeth, and may think, that his deſignes are chiefly hindered by her; ſo as he may hope, ſo to encreaſe his power by her ruine, as all his other vaſt deſignes which he ſummates upon, may prove the leſſe difficult. But he who ſhall conſider it well, will finde, that the eſchewing of theſe evills, and the true and onely remedy for theſe threatning ruins, is the King of* France *his friendſhip; for he keeps his weapons in his hands, not to poſſeſſe what belongs to another, but to defend himſelf, his friends, and confederates. He is a Prince of great Dominions, and mighty in power, but of a benigne and moderate minde; generous, in not ſuffering injuries and inſolencies to be done him by any one; but eaſie in giving, forgiving, and in conferring grace and favour on all; conſtant in his friendſhip, and one who doth carry himſelf ſo to his friends and confederates, as his friendſhip is an advantage and an ornament unto them, no grievance nor prejudice. But, that which ought to be moſt valued by you, Gentlemen, is, that he is ſo affectionate to your Common-wealth, and to your affairs, as thinking his Kingdom concerned in all her fortune. He deſires and endeavours, that there be not onely a good underſtanding betwixt you and him, but a ſtrict conjunction, and that the common intereſts of his Kingdom, and your Common-wealth, may be joyntly treated of, both in war and peace.*

Theſe words were ſpoken by the Cardinall in a very grave and affectionate manner, ſo as it ſeemed, they might have made ſome impreſſion in the Senators; but no reſolute anſwer being as then (according to the cuſtom of the Common-wealth) given to the things propoſed; when they came afterwards to take them into mature conſideration, thinking upon the ſame reaſons, which had perſwaded them to keep Neuters, wherein they had found great good; and not finding any alteration now, in affairs or reſpects, they reſolved to give the ſame anſwer, which they had formerly done, which was, *That the Common-wealth put a great eſteem upon the King of* France *his friendſhip, and would be alwaies very faithfull and ſincere therein; but that being now in peace with other Princes, and having ſuffered much by the late Wars, they neither could nor would enter into the trouble and expence of a new War.* The King was not ſatisfied with this anſwer, but being very deſirous to have the Venetians joyne with him, in the war which he made againſt *Ceſar*: The Cardinall going ſoon after to *Rome*, and thinking that he had received incouragement from the Pope, whereby to make the Venetians put on new reſolves, the King cauſed *Bartholomeo Cavalcanti*, a baniſh'd Florentine, to go from *Rome* to *Venice*, to acquaint the Senate, how well

well he found the Pope enclined to the affairs of *France*, and to renew the Treaty of League; though the King, that he might take the leſſe offence, at the ſo many refuſalls given to his offers, cloaking the buſineſſe, affirmed afterwards, that *Cavalcanti* came onely by the Cardinalls appointment. *Cavalcanti* had a great wit, and was a great Maſter of Oratory, as appears by his Writings, which are now printed. He made an eloquent and long ſpeech, which was read in the Senate, containing the ſame things which were formerly propounded by the Cardinall. But the graver Senators were the more conſtant to their firſt propoſition, not liſtning to theſe diſcourſes, nor ſuffering themſelves to be inſnared by fair appearances and propoſalls; for that they underſtood, a Treaty of peace was begun between the Emperour and the King of *France*, which did much impede the King of *France* his hopes, of having the Common-wealth joyne with him, in his continuance of war; and to hinder Chriſtendome from ſo great a good, as Peace, and ſo long deſired by all good men, ſeemed not to become a Common-wealth, whoſe actions had alwaies been upright. Moreover, it appeared not to be a good or uſefull reſolution, to incenſe *Ceſar* at a time, when he might be free from all other wars, and reſent injuries. And the Pope, though he, not to make the King of *France* diſpair, or perhaps for ſome particular end of his own, ſeemed not averſe to confederate with him; yet employing his whole endeavours upon peace, he had choſen the chief Cardinalls of his Court, to go as his Legats to theſe Princes; *Morone* to the Emperour, and *Grimani* to the King of *France*; and at the ſame time he exhorted the Venetians, to chuſe Embaſſadours extraordinary, as they had formerly done upon the like occaſion, at the meeting at *Neece*, to the end, that their joynt endeavours might be of more force, to perſwade to ſo good a thing, and ſo becomming the piety of every Chriſtian Prince. But the Senate, though they would very gladly have ſeen peace and union between theſe Princes, yet it behoved them for ſeverall reſpects, to proceed therein with great caution; for they had often had their good intentions ill interpreted, at the Courts of Chriſtian Princes; and the like to be done under falſe pretences, and to their prejudice, at *Conſtantinople*. Therefore content with what might be done by their Embaſſadors in ordinary, they avoided theſe vain and prejudicial appearances. The Embaſſadors, in their relation they made unto the Senate, ſaid, That in the diſcourſes had between theſe Princes, concerning peace, they diſcovered a great inclination thereunto, being thereunto induced, as they believed, rather by wearineſſe of war, and by neceſſity, then for that they had laid aſide their animoſities, or out of any deſire of friendſhip or agreement. For the King of *France* being at this time in great trouble and danger, by reaſon that his Kingdom was aſſaulted by the King of *England*, who having landed a great many men at *Callice*, was come himſelf in perſon, and had laid ſiege to *Bullen*; and for that the Imperiall Army, after a long and ſtrict ſiege, had taken the Town of St *Deſire*, a frontier, of great importance, upon the River *Matrona*; by the getting whereof, way was made for further progreſſe in-

to *France*; deſired to free himſelf by agreement, from ſo many troubles, and to leſſen the numbers and forces of ſo many enemies. And on the other ſide, the Emperour, being highly exhauſted of mony by ſo continuall Wars, and the danger of his affairs in *Italy* encreaſing, by reaſon of the numbers of men which were raiſed in the King's name, about *Mirandola*; being alſo doubtfull of the iſſue of War, by reaſon of the many Swiſſers that were taken into pay by the King, and which were ſtill added unto his Army; but chiefly being deſirous to ſee the Duke of *Savoy* re-poſſeſſed of his State, which he had loſt in his ſervice, whereof he had but little hopes, ſave by way of agreement, by reaſon of the conveniency the French had to ſuccour, and to put garriſons into the places which they had taken; & for the affection which thoſe people bare unto the French, it became him to think of peace, and to deſire it. And both theſe Princes being thus well diſpoſed, each of them ſtood expecting, that the motion ſhould be made to him. Wherefore the Queen of *France*, who was ſiſter to the Emperour, ſent her Confeſſor, Father *Gabriel Guſman*, a Spaniard, to the Imperiall Camp, to the end that he might diſcourſe thereof with the chief Officers, and might introduce the Treaty, knowing that ſhe therein did what was acceptable, both to her husband, and to her brother; and that Princes, in the greateſt managements of State, do often lend an ear to people of mean condition, eſpecially to thoſe of the Clergy, to ſhew, that nothing but Religion induceth them to give ear thereunto. The agreement begun by *Guſman*, who paſſed often between the two Camps, was quickly brought to a good end, ſo as the Cardinall Legats came not time enough, to have a hand in it. For the Admirall of *France*, and Secretary *Baiardo*, meeting with Monſieur *Granville*, and Don *Ferrante Gonſaga*, they, in the behalf of their Princes, agreed upon theſe conditions: *That all Towns which were taken after the Truce at* Neece, *ſhould be by both reſtored, and that any differences that might ariſe therein, ſhould be decided by* Commiſſioners, *who were to meet for that purpoſe at* Cambrei. *That the King of* France *ſhould aſſiſt* Ceſar *with ſome Foot and Dragoons, together with* Germany, *in caſe of any war made with the Turks. That the Duke of* Savoy *ſhould be reſtored to all his State, taken from him by the French in the war, except ſome Towns, to which the* Crown *of* France *laid claim. And that for eſtabliſhment of this agreement, the marriage ſhould be made between the Duke of* Orleance, *ſecond ſon to the King of* France, *with the Emperours daughter, or with one of his nieces, daughters to* Ferdinando, *the choice being to depend upon* Ceſar, *who had four months given him to reſolve therein, but with different portions; for he was to give* Flanders, *and all the Low-Countries, with his daughter; and with his niece, the State of* Millan, *with other conditions concerning it, which were to be regulated, according to divers accidents which might fall out. That the Venetians ſhould be nominated in this peace, as friends both to the King and Emperour, who had proceeded ſo equally, as both theſe Princes were either content, or not diſ-ſatisfied. But it fared not thus with the Pope, of whom the French complained, for that being very fervent for them, he had not, notwithſtanding, done any thing for them, in their ſo great need: And the Imperialiſts, plainly accuſing the Pope's intentions and*

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deſignes, ſaid, That his not declaring himſelf openly for the King of France, *was not for any want of will, nor out of any reſpect of not offending* Ceſar, *but for fear of his forces. Inſomuch as the Pope's Legats could not, without much difficulty, obtain, that the Pope ſhould be admitted into this agreement; which was at laſt granted, rather out of decency, then out of any ſincere affection, it not being fitting, that the Pope, who is the head of Chriſtians, ſhould be left out in that Peace, which was ſaid to be made for the common good of* Chriſtendome. This Peace inſuing in a time, and in a manner, ſuch as was leaſt expected by thoſe, who were beſt experienced in the management of affairs, though it was much deſired by all, afforded occaſion of many ſeverall diſcourſes; the ſecrets of theſe Princes not being eaſily to be ſeen into, nor could it be prognoſticated, of what continuance it would be; every one ſpoke diverſly of it, according to their paſſions, or intereſts: Nay, thoſe that had the ſame relations, did not agree in their judgments. Some Venetians thought, that this peace would continue long between theſe Princes; for the King of *France* getting thereby the State of *Millan*, or in lieu thereof the States of *Flanders*, a rich Country, and lying very conveniently for the Crown of *France*, might now appeaſe his thoughts. And the Emperour, having put the Duke of *Savoy* into his State, married his daughter nobly, and into his own blood, and being now weary of war, might peacefully enjoy the glory he had won, and his exalted fortune. It was likewiſe thought, that this Peace, as very durable, would be acceptable and advantageous to the Common-wealth, for thereby the power of Chriſtian Princes would be preſerved, and they might the better reſiſt *Soliman*'s ſo vaſt Forces, which were bent upon the ruine of Chriſtendome. And that it made likewiſe much for her ſervice, that the Forces and greatneſſe of theſe two Princes, ſhould be ballanced as equally as might be, which proportion was likely to be deſtroyed, or weakened, if the war ſhould have continued, by which the King of *France* was forced to fight within the bowells of his own Kingdom, in defence of his own affairs, againſt powerful Armies. And moreover, the parting of the Dukedom of *Millan* or *Flanders*, from the ſo many States, which were fallen to the Crown of *Spain*, could not but be commodious for other Princes, who were to be jealous of ſuch greatneſſe. Others notwithſtanding were of another opinion, thinking that this agreement would be to no purpoſe; for that Ceſar, who would not ſee *France* oppreſs'd by the King of *England*, which had made him make this agreement, would not likewiſe ſuffer it to encreaſe and flouriſh by peace, and by the acquiſition of ſo noble Dominions. And that King *Francis*, who was naturally very unquiet, not content with what he might have got by agreement, but aſpiring ſtill after new things, might very likely give occaſion of re-aſſuming Arms. But ſay that, this were to prove a good and true union, the Common-wealth had reaſon to ſuſpect it, ſince ſo many men as were in theſe Princes Dominions, could not keep long idle; that there was no thought of ſeeing them doe any thing againſt the Turks, ſince there was ſpeech already, that they were to ſend Ambaſſadours joyntly to *Soliman*,

to treat of Peace, or of a long Truce. That it was likewiſe to be conſidered, the Common-wealth would be of leſſe eſteem, when neither the King of *France*, nor Emperour ſhould need her friendſhip; that the jealouſie which theſe two Princes had for a long time, to ſee this Common-wealth joyn with either of their Rivalls, or Enemies, whereby either of them might grow more powerfull then the other, had brought much ſafety and reputation to her affairs, each of them forbearing in this reſpect to injure her, or rather ſeeming to value her very much, and deſirous to make her partiall to them. But in this diverſity of private opinions, all men appeared to make publick ſhew of rejoycing for the concluſion of this peace: for which thanks were given to God with much ſolemnity, and the wiſdom and piety of theſe Princes were much commended, every one expecting what fruit it would in time produce.

This mean while *Barbaroſſa* being gone from *Porto Hercole*, to return to *Conſtantinople*, coaſting along the Rivers of the Kingdom of of *Naples*, had plundred and burnt much, particularly in the Iſlands of *Iſchia*, and *Lipari*, which were almoſt barbarouſly deſtroyed, paſſing from thence to *Corfu*; and being there friendly ſaluted, he received the accuſtomed preſent, dealing friendly with all men, not ſuffering any the leaſt injury to be done to the Iſlanders. *Polino* was with the Fleet, who followed it with five Gallies, and ſome few Ships, and ſeeming deſirous to come to *Venice*, the Venetian Commanders offered to conduct him thither with their Gallies: but afterwards, changing his mind, and accompanying the Turks as far as *Lepanto*; he returned with his Veſſels to *Marcelles*. The Turks were much troubled at the news of Peace between Chriſtian Princes, thinking it might hinder their going againſt *Hungary*, or *Tranſilvania*, for which enterpriſe they did already prepare. But they ſought to conceal this their diſpleaſure, the better to ſuſtain their reputation, being accuſtomed to make little account of Chriſtians. They did not onely therefore not forbear their former intentions, but made greater preparations then uſuall, by publiſhing, to make War the next ſpring againſt the Houſe *Auſtria*; and yet they ſaid at the ſame time, that if the Embaſſadors of theſe Princes ſhould come to that Court, they ſhould be willingly received and heard; for by their Law none was refuſed to be heard, who came to demand friendſhip, and peace, from their Grand Siginor. The terrour of their Arms being increaſed by the news of theſe preparations and the late ruines, made *Ceſar* and *Ferdinando*, haſten their reſolution of ſending people expreſly to that Court, to treat of Agreement; And to make their way the more eaſie, they got the King of *France* to ſend a ſervant of his, to diſcover what *Soliman*, and his Baſhaw's minds might be therein and to deſire a ſafe conduct for their Embaſſadors. The King accepted this imployment willingly, as well in reſpect of the Articles he was entred into by the laſt Capitulation, of aſſiſting *Ceſar* upon any occaſion of warring with the Turks, as alſo to acquit himſelfe in part of that infamy which lay upon him, of making uſe of the forces of Infidels againſt Chriſtians, he himſelfe being a Chriſtian Prince. Wherefore his Embaſſador acquain-

ting them of *Venice*, with his departure for *Constantinople*, told them by order from his King, that his King kept friendship with the Turks, to no other end, but that upon such occasions, he might make use thereof for the good of Christendom. He therefore sent a Gentleman of his, one Monsieur *Dalla Vigna*, to *Soliman*, to effect this, who found him very ready to grant all that was desired, not out of any desire to pleasure the King, but for his own peculiar interests; for new Tumults were raised upon the confines of *Persia*, which necessitated him to turn his Forces into those parts, to resist that warlike Nation.

The safe conduct being gotten, which was in the beginning of the year 1545. *Girollomo Adorno*, went to *Constantinople* in *Ferdinando's* name, who going from *Vienna*, took his way by *Servia Valacchia*, and *Bogdania*. But the Emperour having chosen Doctor *Girarda* for this employment, made him go first to *Venice*, and being accompanied by Monsieur *di Monluch*, who was at that time the Kings Embassador in that City; they went to the Court at *Constantinople*, being carried by the Common-wealths Gallies to *Ragugi*. These men, before their departure, had requested the Senate in their Prince's name, that they would enterpose themselves by the means of their Consull, which they did, and he readily obeyed, but so dexterously, as the Turks might not suspect his words, nor actions, whereby more harm might have insued to the Common-wealth, then good to any others; for it was very certain, that by reason of false imputations laid upon the Venetians, by those who did either seek to disturb their quiet, or to make use thereof in some other of their occasions; those people being naturally jealous, did so suspect the Venetians friendship and fidelity, as they watched diligently over their wayes. At the same time an accommodation was treated of at *Venice*, of the differences which yet remained undecided between *Ferdinando*, and the Common-wealth, as well in old affairs, (no means being as yet found to fulfil the decree of *Trent*) as touching the more recent differences of *Marano*. For which Treaties, Doctor *Antonio Querta*, who had been there many times before, was sent again to *Venice*, where many things were treated of concerning those businesses; and it was at last concluded, that as for the affairs of *Trent*, Commissioners should be sent, who should end those differences upon the place: *Francisco Michaele*, Advocate of the Treasury, one who was well informed of the publick interest, was chosen by the Venetians for this Imployment; and the Major and Captain of *Istria*, for what belonged to that Territory, the Major of *Cividale* for those of *Friuli*; and the Captains of *Vicenza*, and *Verona*, for the confines of *Trent*. But the businesse of *Marano* was referr'd to be discust at *Cæsars* Court, whereof one of the chief conditions was, that the Venetians should pay 75000 Duckets to *Ferdinando*, which when other differences should be accorded, they promis'd to pay in three years, by three equall proportions. These Treaties, though they wrought not the accommodation that was expected, were notwithstanding malignantly interpreted by such as went about sowing of discord, and were reported to *Soliman* as

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Treaties of Leagues against him, and in favour of *Ferdinando*, to whom the Turks said, that the Venetians gave this money, to raise Souldiers, according to the obligation they had undertaken: the which reports, being afterwards justified to be false, by the truth of the action, and *Soliman* being satisfied, it was not thought good to give him new occasions of jealousies; wherefore the Consul forbare visiting the Embassadors, and all other publick demonstrations, though he forbore not to do all good offices that he could in his private discourses with the Bashaws, that the Agreement might proceed; wherein, because the Common-wealth had no other end then the common good and quiet, the Senators desired the Bashaw, that *Cesar* and *Ferdinando* might be bound not to wage War in *Italy* during the Truce; but *Rustan Bashaw* hearing this proposall, and being desirous to do something, to the particular satisfaction and advantage of the Common-wealth, said, he would have her named in what soever agreement should be made, as a friend to the Grand Seigneur; nay, that it should be declared in expres words, that the State of *Venice* should not be molested during that Agreement, by those Princes that were therein comprehended; and that if it should happen otherwise, the Agreement with *Soliman* should be taken as broken; and yet there was an opinion, that the Venetians opposed the Truce, which, there being no hopes of Peace, was treated of: wherefore *Cesar* made his Embassador *Mendoza*, return from *Trent* to *Venice*, not cloaking this suspition, but attesting howsoever his great good-will to the Common-wealth, and praying the Senate to favour the treaty of Truce, which was said to be already well begun at *Constantinople*, and would be the easilier brought to a good end by the assistance of the Common-wealth, promising to make her be named therein on their behalfe, and included as a friend. These things made the Venetians the more desirous to indeavour a suspension of Arms between these Princes, because besides other no small considerations, they thereby received much safety and honour, being to be declared friends to both Parties, and to receive and injoy the benefit of peace, which might arise from that Agreement, which made the Senators more zealous in interposing their Authority, knowing very well how much it might make for them, to make the Turks believe that she was in good esteem with the Christian Princes, and the same Christian Princes that she was so valued by the Turks, as that they were stedfastly resolved to keep peace with her. It was thought the Emperour did so very much indeavour the conclusion of this Truce with the Turks, because he was not onely out of all hopes of being assisted by the German forces against them, but inforced to take up Arms against the chiefe Lords and States of *Germany*, who contaminating both sacred and prophane things, to the great disparagement of the Church of *Rome*, and Majesty of the Empire, did dayly plot more Novelties, breaking forth into open Rebellion: Wherefore the Emperour, who to purchase their loves had formerly yeelded, not without the Popes resentment, that the Councill should be held in the City of *Trent*, with great prerogatives on the *Germans* behalfe,

halfey did afterwards repent himself, knowing that he had done little good to the cause of Religion, lost much ground with the Pope, and gotten nothing with *Germany*, and sought to moderate the conditons, whereupon the Councill was to meet; he therefore sent his Embassador, *Don Diego de Mendosa*, to the Common-wealth, to bridle the liberty which some of the most licencious, and worst affected towards the Court of *Rome*, used. But the Venetians knowing that the calling of the Council was not acceptable to the Pope, as being done at an unseasonable time, and in an unfitting place, and in a manner little becomming the dignity and authority of the Apostolick See thought they would not openly oppose it, would not send their Embassadors thither: But the Agreement at *Constantinople*, which was so hopefully brought neer a conclusion of Truce for many years, no way of accommodation being to be found, for the difficulties which arose touching the restoring of some little Castles in *Hungary*, ended in a short suspension of Arms for but one year; but with intention, as it was said, and written also from *Solamons* selfe to the King of *France*, that things being better debated at *Ferdinando's* Court, the Embassadors were to return again the next year to the Court at *Constantinople*, with new Commissions, to establish peace for a longer time.

New dislikes arose this mean while, between the Turks and Venetians, upon occasion of the Confines of *Dalmatia*, where the *Sangiacchi* of *Bossina*, and *Clissa*, desiring to trouble the quiet, for their own advantage, or else to pillage the Country, or to make the Venetians give them something to avoid those troubles, went about to usurpe a good part of the Territory of *Zara*; alleadging, that a Country which contained 49 Towns, did belong to the Towns of *Nadino*, and *Urana*, as the proper Territories thereof, which being by the last conventions granted to belong to the Grand Seigneur; they said their Territories belonged unto him too, wherefore they threatned the Inhabitants of these places, upon pain of great penalties, not to acknowledge any other Government then *Solimans*. This did much trouble the Venetians, this Country being of great concernment both in it self, and for the preservation of the City of *Zara*. And though their claim was clear, for *Nadino* and *Urana*, being small Castles, have no peculiar Country; but the Towns thereabout make up a Country, together with *Zara*, the chief City of that Province; yet by reason of the strange and insolent proceeding of the Turks in such like affairs, laying claim to any whatsoever Country, whereupon the Grand Seigneurs Horse hath once set his foot; they feared this might be the occasion of longer and greater trouble. But *Soliman* being acquainted with the businesse, referr'd the examination of the difference over to the *Sangiacco*, of *Chersego*, and to two *Cadi's*; (these are the ordinary Judges in point of justice) and what they should determine should be done, who were to meet upon the place to that purpose, with the Representatives of the Common-wealth. The Senate chose *Luigi Reniero* for this employment, who handled the businesse with such dexterity and wisdome, as the possession of that whole Territory which was in que-

sion, was left free and quiet to the Common-wealth. And new difficulties being raised again upon what had already been decided, according to the Turkish customs, *Renieri*, as being well acquainted with the businesse, was sent Consull to *Constantinople*, who making our claim appear clear to *Solyman*, did not onely obtain that these pretensions should never be any more questioned, but that some other Towns formerly usurped, and till then injoy'd by the Turks, should together with the 49 Towns be restored to the Venetians. So great a friend was this Prince to what was just and honest, unlesse he were misled by false suggestions. This year the Doge, *Pietro Lando*, dyed, leaving behinde him the reputation of a good and wise Prince; and *Francisco Donato* was chosen Prince in his place. Nor did any thing else worth memory happen this year.

The next year, 1546. those who desired the peace of *Italy*, were sorely afraid, that she would quickly return to her former troubles; for the peace between the Emperour and the King of *France*, not having effected the most important affairs, which were agreed upon between them, it remained to loose, that nothing but opportunity of time was expected, to make them re-assume Arms; both their forces and thoughts for the present, being otherwise employ'd. The King of *France*, by the unseasonable death of his son, the Duke of *Orleans*, could not obtain the Dukedom of *Millan*, promised him in consideration of the marriage; but his antient desire of possessing it was no whit lessened. Nor was the Duke of *Savoy* re-possessed of his Towns, the King detaining them under various excuses, hoping to satisfie *Cesar* some other way. An other novelty likewise hapned, which was thought, would add fuell to this fire of war, which was a kindling. The Pope finding his other designes, for the agrandising of his house, prove vain, the City of *Parma* and *Piacenza* being severed from the Church, which were thereunto joyned by *Julius* the 2 d. gave them in fee-farm to his son *Pier Luigi*, obliging him to pay 8000 Crowns a year for them, by way of tribute; and in lieu thereof, to yield up the Dukedome of *Camerino*, and the Signiory of *Nepi*, wherein his son *Ottavio* was but a little before invested, to the Apostolick Sea. *Cesar* was so much displeased hereat, as he could by no means be brought to assent thereunto, nor give way to the investment thereof, desired of him by the Pope, as being Lord of the State of *Millan*, whereof these two Cities had wont to be a member. This obdurancy of *Cesar* did so alienate *Piero Luigi*'s heart from him, who was formerly sufficiently enclined to the French, as it was thought, he would embrace any occasion that should be offered, to witnesse his ill-will, and to damnifie *Cesar*. The Pope being for these respects grown suspected by both sides, and equally mistrusting both *Cesar* and the King of *France*; but being notwithstanding resolved, come what will come, to make good what he had done, touching the setling of the new Dukedom upon his son, he had much discourse with the Venetian Embassador, shewing in what danger the affairs of *Italy* would be, as soon as the King of *France* should have rid his hands of war with the King of

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England, with whom he was in treaty of peace: Or when *Cesar*, having reduced the Protestant Princes to his obedience, at the Dyet at *Ratisbone*, should have no need to take up Armes against them. He therefore desired, that the Senate would joyne in close intelligence with him, concerning the common interests; and in signe of greater confidence, he made the new Duke send *Agostino di Laudi*, as his Embassador, to *Venice*, who acquainting the Senate with the dignity conferred upon him, offered both himself and State to be at the Common-wealth's service. Correspondence was had hereunto in a friendly manner, but in generall tearms, which might not any waies oblige, nor whereby the Pope might be the more encouraged, to do any thing upon these hopes, which might disquiet *Italy*. But minding their own defence, and providing for what might happen, the Senate took *Guido Ubaldo*, Duke of *Urbin*, into the service of the Common-wealth, with the title of Captain Generall of the Militia, allowing him 5000 Crowns a year pay for himself, and 15000 for a hundred Curassiers, and a hundred light Horse, which he was bound to have alwaies in a readinesse for the Common-wealth's service.

But *Italy*'s safety consisted, in the troubles which were to continue between the Emperour, and the King of *France*; for the latter could not, by any forces, though very great both by sea and land, and byhazarding all fortunes, recover the City of *Bullen* from the English, who were resolved not to restore it upon agreement. And *Cesar* having assembled the Protestant Princes in the Dyet at *Ratisbone*, to treat of things touching Religion, could do no good upon them, though he went there himself in person. But whereas they first seemed contented, that the Councill should be held in *Trent*, promising to send their Doctors thither, to treat of the points of Faith, and to stand to what should there be decided; they now demanded, that a Nationall Councill might be called in *Germany*, which being afterwards reduced to *Trent*, that the meeting might be in all parts free; and other more exorbitant things. Whereby the Pope argued, that making use of this occasion, he needed not to fear the Councill, but might secure his son in *Parma* and *Piacenza*; since both *Cesar*, and the Princes, and people of *Germany*, had turned their thoughts else-where, and were to end bitter contestations by war. He therefore began to incite *Cesar*, by frequent messages, who was already sufficiently incenst against many German Princes and Cities, exhorting him, for his honours sake, to take up Arms against those Rebells, and promising him great assistance, not onely by concession of many boones in *Cesar*'s States, but by contributing a great many Foot & Horse, to be paid by the Apostolick Sea. The Senate had at first a hand in this businesse, seeking, as they formerly had done, to slacken the Pope's fervour, in undertaking this war, whereby they thought *Italy* might receive prejudice, and no certain hopes, that the affairs of Religion would fare the better by force; for whole *Germany*, a great and powerfull Province, being, as it was said, to concur therein, whereof many of the chief Hans-Towns had already declared for the Protestant Princes, who were risen, for fear,

leſt the Emperour might, under other pretences, bereave them of their libertie; and the name of the Pope being grown greatly hatefull in *Germany*, there was reaſon to feare, that that warlick Nation might overflow *Italy*, and they be prejudiced thereby, who had no hand in that commotion. Or if *Ceſar* ſhould ſubdue *Germany*, his forces and reputation growing greater by this victory, his power would be more dangerous for the Princes of *Italy*. But afterwards, knowing the Pope's reſoluteneſſe herein, and that being carried away by two powerfull affections, fear and hope, touching State reſpects, and his own greatneſſe, and the like of his family, he would not be brought to liſten to any other counſell.

The Senate forbare any ſuch courſes, and rather ſought to go by the way of diverſion, in the diſcourſes which were often held with them to this purpoſe, by the Pope's and *Ceſar*'s Embaſſadours; that they might not offend *Ceſar* without any advantage, by adviſing him againſt the enterpriſe; or, by commending it, make him demand more expreſſe aids of them. Notwithſtanding all this, it was ſaid, that the Common-wealth was comprehended in the League, which was made at *Rome*, which ſome did ſo aſſuredly aver, as in the notes which were publickly given about, of the confederates contributions, and of the preparations for war, five thouſand Foot were reckoned to be paid by the Venetians; who being deſirous to ſatisfie theſe Princes, in what might neither coſt them monies nor trouble, did, upon requeſt, willingly grant paſſage to the Pope's Souldiers, who being muſtered in *Bologna*, to the number of 12000 Foot, and 500 Horſe, were to paſſe to *Trent*, through the territories of *Verona*; and the like was done to *Ceſar*'s Souldiers, they being furniſh'd with victualls, and all other conveniences. The Pope's Army was made up of the beſt Souldiers of *Italy*, and commanded by valiant Captains; of all which, the Pope's nephew, *Ottavio Farneſe*, was General; a young man, but of great hopes, and who had been trained up ſome few years before in the Militia, when he went with his father in Law the Emperour to the African wars. But people from ſeveral Nations were flock'd to *Ceſar*'s Army, and many out of *Germany* her ſelf, drawn out of the Patrimoniall States of the Houſe of *Auſtria*, and out of thoſe of the Dukes of *Bavier* and *Cleves*, and of the Marquis of *Brandeburg*; which Princes adhered unto the Emperour: So as he might muſter about 40000 Foot, and 5000 Horſe. At the ſame time the proteſtant Princes, whoſe chief Commanders were *John Frederick*, Duke of *Saxony*, Elector of the Empire; and *Philip* Lanſgrave of *Heſſe*, endeavoured to get more Lords and German Cities to joyne with them, and uſed all the means they could to encreaſe their numbers, making profeſſion to defend the liberty of *Germany*, and cauſing thoſe who joyned with them, to ſwear fidelity to the Empire, which they ſaid, *Ceſar* would poſſeſſe himſelf of, as of his own peculiar State, and turn it into a tyrannicall Government. Wherefore many chief Lords and Cities, embracing this as the common cauſe, took up Arms againſt *Ceſar*, as, the Duke of *Wirtemburg*, the Count Palatine, the Communalty of *Argentine*, *Ulme*, *Franckfort*, and *Noremburg*, the City of *Auſpurge* being long before

declared. Theſe ſent their Embaſſadours to *Ulms*, where a Dyet was intimated, to treat particularly of preparations for war, any where there was ſuch a concourſe of almoſt all Germany, as they ſoon got an Army of 80000 Foot, and 10000 Horſe, with which Forces they hoped the rather to beat *Ceſar*, and to drive him (as they ſaid) out of *Germany*; for that they ſaw, he could not raiſe any conſiderable Army of Germans; they onely apprehended forrain ſouldiers, and chiefly the Pope's Italian Foot, which they being deſirous to keep from comming, they writ very earneſtly to the Venetian Senate, declaring the good-will they bore to the Common-wealth, which was highly eſteemed by the whole German Nation; deſiring them, that they would not afford paſſage to thoſe people, which the Emperour ſought to bring in to their prejudice, and to enſlave all *Germany*, to the pernicious example of all other Countries. The Senate replyed to this, That they did very much cheriſh the friendſhip of thoſe Princes, and of all thoſe people, to whom they had alwaies correſponded with like affection, and eſteem of their particular perſons, and of the whole noble German Nation. But that their Country being plain and open, they could not hinder ſouldiers from paſſing through it, unleſſe by ſtrong force of Arms, which their Common-wealth was not wont to do, unleſſe to their declared enemies. Soon after, there came particular Letters from the Duke of *Saxony*, and from the Lantgrave, wherein declaring their deſignes, and their neceſſities, and that they had taken up Arms in their own defence, they deſired to be befriended by the Common-wealth, with a certain ſum of mony. Which deſires of theirs were much furthered and aſſiſted by the King of *England*, who employ'd his ſecretary therein, he being then reſident in *Venice*, who preſented theſe Letters. The King was moved to defend the cauſe of theſe men, though not altogether openly, either for their joynt diſſenting from the Church of *Rome*, or for that he was not well pleaſed with *Ceſar*, for the agreement with *France*; and that he was troubled at his greatneſſe. But the Senate continuing their wonted anſwers, ſaid, That they eſteemed thoſe Princes as their very good friends, and wiſh'd them all good ſucceſſe; but that they could not pleaſure them in this, leſt they ſhould offend other princes, whoſe peace and friendſhip they deſired to preſerve. Theſe reſpects being ſet aſide, the Senate ſeemed very well minded toward the German Nation. Alſo when the City of *Auſpurge* had by expreſſe Letters recommended their Merchants to the protection of the Common-wealth, many whereof were already in *Venice*, and others came thither daily in greater numbers, by reaſon of theſe commotions, that their perſons and goods might be ſafe. For after this City had declared enmity to the Emperour, they had received ill uſage in other Cities, where they had been for their own private affairs. Anſwer was made, that the people of that City, and all other people, had alwaies been welcome, and well received, as if they had been their own Citizens, and that they would ſtill keep all tearms of juſtice and civility with them. The City of *Venice* keeps alwaies great commerce with *Germany*, becauſe of many

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things which come from the *Levant*, which the Germans have need of, and which are brought unto them by Venetian Merchants ships, as Spices, Cottons, and severall other Merchandizes; and likewise many other things, which grow abundantly in their Country, are brought to *Venice*, and carried from thence to other parts, to the great advantage of private men, and of the publick customes; wherefore for the better conveniency of the German Nation, there was long before this, a great and Noble Pallace, or Warehouse built in *Venice*, upon the *Rialto*, standing upon the *Canale Majore*, in the fairest and most frequented place of all the City, where usually many of this Nation are, and whereof many of them, finding themselves so well treated, live all their life, chusing this City for their Country, where they purchase Estates, and build particular Houses to themselves.

Whilst all sides were thus intent upon making War, and that a mass of Souldiers being got together, they were ready to march, news was given out that peace was made; and though the conclusion thereof was not certain, it was most certain, that messengers were imploy'd on both sides to treat thereof; whereat the Venetians were not a little troubled, considering that when so great Armies were in *Italy*, they might peradventure betake themselves to other enterprises, and, other States being unprovided, might cause much apprehension in them all. Therefore the Pope, fearing lest the Senate might joyne in some straiter friendship, and Intelligence with some others, which might be contrary to his designs; discourst long with the State's Embassador, shewing that he had been alwaies desirous to keep the peace of *Italy* for the Common good, but that he had continually had a particular eye to what might concern the Common-wealth's safety and greatnesse; he wisht him therefore to assure the Senate of his good-will, and that he would keep good intelligence with him still, which would be the way to preserve both their States, and the rest of *Italy* quiet. That he had renewed this his desire purposely at this time, when he himselfe being armed, and free from offence, it might be believed, that it was not fear, but true zeal which made him thus unbowel himselfe unto them. But the indeavours of Peace proving vain, the Armies of both sides were drawn into the field, in one and the same Country; for though the Protestants (which was the denomination they gave themselves, who were in league against the Emperour, by reason of their protestations made in matter of Religion) indeavouring to do that for themselves, which they could not get others to do; to wit, to stop the passage of such as came against them through *Italy*, had possest themselves of the Castle of *Chiusa*, in the County of *Tiroll*, placed amongst the Mountains, by which way they thought the Enemy was to passe. But the Papall, and Imperiall Army, being gone by the way of *Isprach*, were entred into *Bauaria*, and were pass'd from thence towards *Ratisbone*, where the Emperour waited for them with more men. Both sides stood a long while idle, each of them expecting some advantage: And though the two Armies were often approached so near one another,

other, as great skirmiſhes paſt between them in face of both the Armies; yet they came not to a joynt battel, which *Cæſar* wiſely fought to evade, that he might draw the buſineſſe out in length, and ſo break the Enemy, who had ſeverall Commanders, and were of ſeverall opnions; as he did. For the people and Souldiers beginning to fall from their firſt high conceits of being able quickly to overcome and chaſe *Cæſar*; and being troubled with the great contributions for war, and King *Ferdinando* being at the ſame time entred with an other great Army into the State of Duke *John Frederick*, accompanied and adhered unto by Duke *Maurice* of *Saxony*, who was *Fredericks* Enemy; the Enemy was ſo confuſed and terrified, as ſuffering many Caſtles to be taken within ſight of their Army, and the Army beginning already to moulder away of it ſelfe. *Charles* the Emperour with unexpected ſucceſſe, was able in a ſhort time to bring that dangerous War, by unexpected ſucceſs, to a good end. For having by this his firſt good fortune won much reputation, many Princes, and Hans-Towns, came in unto him, and craved his pardon, ſo as in a few moneths ſpace he had ſubdued a great Tract of ground, belonging to powerful Princes, and warlike people; a thing which he could hardly have hoped to have done, with much hazard, and in a long time. The War being thus ended for this year, and winter being already come on, *Cæſar* diſmiſt the Pope's Forces, who being disbanded, returned for *Italy*; and Cardinall *Alexander Ferneſe*, the Popes Nepew, who was his Legate in the Campe, being to return for *Rome*, would take *Venice* in his way: where though he underſtood he was to be received with great honour, yet he reſolved to come thither privately; but he was ſo joyfully ſeen, and honour'd by all, and ſo complemented both in publick and private, as he departed very well ſatisfied. The Cardinall was much favour'd and beloved by the Venetians, not onely for his being ſo near in blood to the Pope, but for his noble qualities, and for that he was lately received into the number of the Gentlemen of *Venice*: For not long before, at the Popes deſire, the honour of being a noble Venetian, was conferr'd upon the Family of the *Ferneſe's*, an honour highly eſteem'd by perſons of the beſt degree, by reaſon of the Antiquity of the Common-wealth, and for the unblemiſht reputation ſhe holds of liberty, with the dignity and authority of no ſmall Dominion: and ſince ſome mention happens to be made thereof here, it will not be amiſs to underſtand ſome particulars touching it.

Thoſe are called noble Venetians, *who partake of the Government of the Common-wealth, that is, who have authority to chuſe, and may themſelves be choſen publick Magiſtrates, which power is gotten by birth, not by the uſuall way of votes. For he that is born of Noble Parents, is Noble, and at a certain time, and in a manner prefixt by the Laws, may enter into the great Councill, wherein the uſuall diſpoſall of Magiſtrates is made. Such are admitted into this order, who either have deſcended from the firſt inhabiters of the City, and who have more eminent then others for worth, or wealth, have from the beginning had the mannaging of publick affairs; or ſuch as have at ſeverall times, and by various accidents, been received there-*

thereinto for some famous and signall service done for the good of the Common-wealth, who for the most part are of noble Families of other Countries; or some others, who have the honour of this order conferr'd upon them, out of particular grace and favour, wherein such a measure is notwithstanding kept, as it is onely granted to Lords of great quality: and by this way were the Families of Este, *of* Gonsaga, *and some other chief Families of* Italy, *admitted thereinto; and* Henry *King of* France, *being at* Venice *the year* 1574. *amongst many other honours received that of a Noble-*Venetian, *which he seemed to be very well pleased withall. And it hath been the indeavours of many Popes in these latter times, to get their Families admitted into the* Venetian *Nobility, esteeming it a great honour to them in prosperous fortune, and in adverse fortune, a safe refuge. This honour is continued in all those that descend from any one that hath once been received into this Order, and great care is had, that it be preserved pure and immaculate: so as it is required, that in the birth of those that are admitted into the great Councill, the Fathers nobility be not onely considered, but that they be born in lawfull Marriage, and of no mean woman, but of one of good condition. The charge whereof is particularly committed to a chief Magistrate, called,* L'Auogaria del Commune, *who keeps Books, wherein the names of all the Nobles that have been from the beginning, are written. Into this order was the Family of the* Ferneses *thus received, at the importunity of Pope* Paul *the Third, and hath ever since been, and is still, esteemed a friend and confident to the Common-wealth.*

But to return to our Narration. *Cesar* was mightily cry'd up every where, for the successes of *Germany*; his glory therein being the greater, for that by this act he witnessed to the world, that the victories which he had won by the *German* Forces, were gotten by his own worth and felicity; since the same, who whilst they fought under his guidance and fortune, were Victors, when they became his enemies, were subdued and overcome by him: and though, to quench the remainders of this War, there remained nothing but his overcoming of Duke *Frederick* and the *Lansgrave*, who dispairing of pardon, as having been the heads of these Tumults, continued in their contumacy against *Cesar*; yet it was easily seen that their Forces were not sufficient to hold out long against so victorious a Prince. Upon better considerations, the Pope found by this businesse, that the Venetians had advised him well, which made him praise the Senate's wisdome therein: He saw that none of these things had succeeded, which he had propounded to himselfe. The Councill was still open, though some Prelates were gone from thence, by reason of the Wars approaching: nay it grew more dangerous for him, for that *Cesar* desired to give some satisfaction to the people of *Germany*, whereby to continue them in his devotion, by waging War out of *Italy*. Nor was Duke *Pier Luigi* very safe, since the Emperour was so soon to be rid of that war, which was thought would have continued longer: and in the opinion of men, he was cheated in the glory which he hoped to purchase to his name; for it was wholly attributed to *Charles*, who by his wit and worth, had overcome all difficulties. Therefore recalling his men from the Imperiall Campe, he openly complain'd, that *Cesar* had not shared

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the advantages of war with him, by giving him part of the monies, which were paid by thoſe that compounded; nor having communicated the moſt important advices of peace or war to him, nor his repreſentatives, as he ought to have done, ſince he ſhared in the expence and hazard. But on the other ſide, *Ceſar* ſaid, that the Pope had fail'd him in his promiſe, and devoire, ſince, the war not being yet fully ended which he had undertaken, chiefly at his entreaty, and by his advice, he had recalled his men, whereby he did not onely deprive him of that aid, but did diminiſh the forces and reputation of his Army, whereby there was yet a great ſtrength of men to be overcome in *Germany*, under the conduct of *John Frederick*, and of the Lanſgrave; the one of which, for the antient blood of *Saxony*, and the other, by reaſon of the love the people bore him, would be able to raiſe ſo great an Army, as without due providing for the contrary, might yet queſtion the victory. Theſe things did *Ceſar* amplifie, either to draw the Pope to a new contribution of Monies or Foot, or to get leave, as he had often deſired, to make uſe of the revenues of the Church in *Spain*, for this war; or peradventure to make his victories appear the greater, by magnifying the forces of the enemie. But the Pope, being far from favouring *Ceſar*'s deſignes any further, prefer'd the apprehenſion of his greatneſſe, and his being very ill ſatisfied with him, before all other reſpects.

But the occaſions of dividing the Pope from the Emperour, grew much greater the next year, 1547. For *Ceſar*'s power and reputation daily encreaſing, he grew the more ambitious of Government. He did ſo proſper in *Germany*, as bringing the Duke of *Saxony* to Battle, not affording him time to withdraw into the ſtrong holds in his own Conntry, as he deſigned to do, he won ſuch a victory, as he thereby put an end to the war, the Duke being taken priſoner, and his forces ſo utterly defeated, as the Lanſgrave diſpairing to ſave himſelf by force of Arms, or by any other means, put himſelf willingly into *Ceſar*'s hands, who poſſeſſing himſelf of the Forts of *Heſſen*, detained him priſoner. So as all things being peaceable and quiet in *Germany*, he entred as it were in triumph into *Auſpurg*, where he ſummoned a Dyet from all the parts of *Germany*, wherein he obtained many things for his advantage and ſatisfaction; amongſt the reſt, a great contribution from all the Princes and Haunſe-Towns, whereby to take 20000 Foot, and 4000 Horſe into pay, for the ſervice of the Empire; wherein he comprehended his own patrimoniall eſtate, and the like of his Family: Betwixt which, and the Princes, and Haunſe-Towns of *Germany*, a perpetuall League was made for the common defence. Yet theſe his great proſperities, did not at all quench his thirſting after new acquiſitions and glory; his chief aime was at *Italy*, and together with other higher deſignes, to ſettle himſelf faſt in the State of *Millan*, whither he ſent great ſtore of Artillery, which were preſented him by divers German Lords; and afterwards a good number of Spaniſh Foot, making of them an ordinary Garriſon in that State, eſteeming them moſt faithfull to him. He alſo made the people ſwear fealty to

him, and to whomsoever he should name to be Lord over them, intending that Government to his son *Philip*, who to that end, was to go quickly for *Italy*. And he treated still with the Swissers, capitulating with them to defend the State of *Millan*. He moreover had placed a guard of 400 Spanish Foot in *Sienna*, and an Officer of his, who exercised much authority in many things, and attempted to build a Fort there, intending, as it was thought, to bring them under the yoke of servitude, for the which, occasions were not wanting, by reason of commotions raised in the City; the people whereof not being able to see themselves inslaved, had driven out the Spanish Foot, and done many other things, contrary to *Cesar*'s dignity. He sought also to possesse himself of the Town of *Piombino*, and to take it from the Lord thereof, upon severall pretences, promising to recompence him with other territories; that he might make use of that scituation, which lay upon the Sea-coast of *Tuscany*; and was very commodious in other respects, for affairs at Sea. But above all other things, the taking of *Piacenza*, which was done, as shall be said, together with the death of Duke *Pier Luigi*, caused fear in all men, and particular affliction in the Pope; and two of the prime Princes of Christendom, *Francis* the first of *France*, and *Henry* the eighth of *England*'s death, which ensued not long after one another, all things seemed to smile upon *Cesar*: For these Princes, of great power, and mature counsell, being taken away, he remained in supream authority, and sole arbitrator of affairs. The King of *France* his death begot more alteration in thought, than in effect; for *Henry* his third son, comming by the death of the *Dolphin*, and of the Duke of *Orleance*, to the Crown, who was brought up under his father's discipline, and did inherit his affections, especially his hatred to *Cesar*, appeared soon ready to tread in his fathers foot-steps, and not to yield any waies to *Charles* his fortune. But the King of *France* his death was severally interpreted by the Italians; some thought, that the occasion of many troubles to *Italy* was taken away, which by reason of his unquiet nature, of the bitter hatred which he bore to *Cesar*, and of his obstinate resolution of getting the Dukedom of *Millan*, was never to have an end, but by his death. Others were of a contrary opinion, who thought, the new King would not so soon forego his fathers resolutions and enterprises; which though he should do, they thought, that more prejudice then advantage, would redound thereby to the Italians, who, the counterpoise of the French forces being taken away, were, with little cure to their libertie, to depend the more upon the Spaniards will. Some in *Venice* did, with much griefe, call to minde, the love which the late King bore to the Common-wealth, his readinesse to assist her, in her lowest ebb of fortune, and chiefly his assisting her, in the recovery of *Verona*. They likewise alleadged, as signes of his good-will, his having so often desired a new conjunction with the Common-wealth; not being any waies scandalized at his so many repulses, which had won no small honour to the Common-wealth, and had made her be the better esteemed by *Cesar*'s self. Others, not without some bitternesse of spirit, remembered the fickleness used by

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this King, upon many occaſions, and his great ingratitude towards the Common-wealth, which having with much readineſſe taken up Arms, and expoſed her ſelf to ſo much expence and hazard of war, firſt for his own freedom, and then for the like of his ſons, from *Ceſar*'s hands, had been ſo ſcornfully abandon'd by him, as that in his agreement made with *Ceſar*, he had made peace, not onely without making any mention of her, but with much prejudice to her affairs, and not acquainting her with any ſuch reſolution: And that the eſtimation he ſeemed to put upon the Common-wealth, proceeded onely from his own intereſts; which when they were ſevered from thoſe of the Common-wealth, he valued her honour nor ſafety no longer. Yet in this variety of opinions, all agreed, in preſerving friendſhip with the Crown of *France*, as they had done of late years, without quitting their Neutrality: Wherefore as ſoon as they heard of King *Francis* his death, they choſe two Embaſſadours, *Vettor Grimani*, and *Matteo Dandelo*, who were to go forthwith for *France*, to condole, according to cuſtome, with the new King, and Court-Lords, and then to congratulate the King's ſucceſſion to the Crown; affirming, that the Common-wealth was willing and ready to continue peace, with the ſame obſervancy, with *Henry*, as they had done with his father, and according to the uſuall and antient affection, born by the Venetians to the Crown of *France*. The Italians made leſſe account of *Henry*'s of *England*'s death, he being leſſe intereſſed in the affairs of *Italy*, by reaſon of the far diſtance of his State; but the Venetians valued the friendſhip of that King and Kingdom, more then the reſt; not for any reaſon of State, but for that by holding good intelligence with the Engliſh, they received many conveniences in their Merchandiſing; for divers ſorts of Merchandiſe were uſually ſent from *Venice* to *England*, ſo as the commerce with that Nation, was very advantageous to the Venetian-Citizens, and Merchants: Wherefore the Common-wealth kept uſually an Embaſſadour in Ordinary in *England*; who being upon ſome occaſions removed, in the time of war with *France*, upon the enſuing peace, the ſame King deſired the Embaſſadour might return; and *Bernardo Navagiero* was choſen for that employment, whoſe journey was ſtopt by *Henry*'s death, who, by reaſon of this commerce, had tane a great affection to the Venetians, and did much favour the affairs of the Common-wealth, in her times of greateſt trouble, as may be known by the precedent Narrations. And though being alter'd in his own conditions, his minde was ſometimes alter'd in this point, and his friendſhip leſſened, he continued notwithſtanding, to make much of thoſe of the Nation, particularly of the Nobility, in whom, upon many occaſions, he did confide, in many moſt important buſineſſes; and lately, in the Treaty of peace with *France*, he made uſe of *Franceſco Bernardo*, a young man, full of ſpirit, who for ſome occaſions of his own, kept in that Kingdom, and paſt often, by order from the King, into *France*, and was the chief inſtrument in making the peace. King *Henry* was ſucceeded by his ſon *Edward*, who not being yet eleaven years old, the government of the Kingdom was put into the hands of ſome of the

chief Barons. The Senate chose *Dominico Bolani*, their Embassadour for *England*, who met with excellent correspondency in the chief Lords, and those of greatest authority, touching the maintenance of friendship and commerce with the Venetians; with promises of giving fair entertainment to all Venetians, who should come to that Island. But the peace between the English and the French lasted but a while, the Inhabitants of both Nations being naturally enemies; for the King of *Scotland* having left one onely daughter, heir to his Kingdom, King *Edward*'s Governours desired, she might be married to their King, to as those two Kingdoms might be joyned under one Government, as they are joyned in neighbourhood. But the Scots abhorring to be brought under the obedience of the King of *England*, to preserve the honour of their Kingdom, and through a naturall hatred which they bear to all the English, would not give ear thereunto, and had recourse to *France* for help, if the English should endeavour to compell them by force of Arms, promising their Queen to *Henry*, for wife to one of his sons, together with the succession of that Kingdom; and obliging themselves to bring her into *France*, as a pledge of their fidelity. These offers were the readilier accepted by King *Henry*, who took upon him the protection of the Infant-Queen, and of the Kingdom of *Scotland*: For that being desirous of acquiring new Dominions, he was not well pleased with the agreement made by his father, whereby the City of *Bullen* was to remain in possession of the English: So that a bitter war began already to be kindled between these two Kingdoms. Those that dreaded *Cesar*'s power, did much dislike, to see the new King busied in this enterprise, whereby he was to give over the thoughts of *Italy*, and leave *Cesar* free, to prosecute his own designes: But of all others, the Pope was most troubled hereat, who not onely for the common cause, but for his own private interests also, had designed to bridle *Cesar*'s greatnesse, by the French forces: He therefore resolved to send Cardinall *St. George* into *France*, to procure, as it was given out, that the French Prelates might come to the Councill of *Bullogna*; but indeed, to make the King set his minde to oppose *Cesar*'s greatnesse, offering him therein his friendship and assistance. Whereunto *Henry* willingly listned, as he, who being strangely ambitious of warlick glory, would not let any occasion slip, of making war, upon hopes of doing some remarkable action; for which, the Pope was thought a very fit instrument, in regard of his forces, for the opportunity of affairs in *Italy*, and much more in respect of his authority. Wherefore being easily perswaded to attempt novelties, he set his minde upon encreasing his faction in *Italy*, by all means that he might, and to gain friends; and amongst the rest, he sent for *Pietro Strozzi*, whom he honoured with the Order of *St. Michael*, which was then in great esteem, and given onely to people of great birth, and such as had deserved very well of the Crown of *France*, esteeming him for the vivacity of his spirit, for his being an enemy to quietnesse, and for his being greatly followed by out-lawed Florentines and others, to be an apt instrument, to make some important commotion, for the service of the

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Crown of *France*, by disturbing the affairs of *Italy*. He also fomented the rising of those of *Siena*, and incited them to defend their Liberties, out of hopes of his assistance: but the Pope, and King of *France*, (between whom a union was already sealed and confirm'd, *Horatio Farnese*, Son to *Pier Luigi*, having married a naturall daughter of *Henries*) bent chiefly all their indeavours to get the Venetian Senate to joyn with them; whereupon they thought they were to ground their chief foundation, of attempting any thing in *Italy* against *Cæsar*, to which purpose the King sent Monsieur *de Soissonne* to *Venice*, a man of great account for his births sake, and to the same purpose made use of Monsieur *de la Casa*, who was the Popes Nuncio there. These hoped to finde the Venetians more ready hereunto, than they had been formerly, for what hath been already said of *Cæsars* Atchievements, and particularly in consideration of the weightinesse, and unworthinesse of the action committed upon the person of Duke *Pier Luigi*, who was slain by some Gentlemen of *Piacenza*, who had conspir'd his death, by the assent and foreknowledge, as was commonly believed of *Don Ferrante Gonsaga*, *Cæsars* Lieutenant in *Italy*, and the City of *Piacenza* was possest by a good number of Spanish Foot, led on by the same *Don Ferrante*, and was still held in *Cæsars* name; whereby it was perceived, that *Cæsar* aspired to possess himselfe of other mens states, not onely by force, but by fraud. It was known that this action would be very displeasing to the Venetians: wherefore *Gonsaga* had quickly sent *Giovan Battista Sbrizzo* to *Venice*, a Senator of *Millan*, to affirm that he had not any ways been the Author thereof; but that he could not notwithstanding refuse, being thereunto call'd, and requir'd by those that had slain the Duke, and who had quickly had recourse to him at *Millan*, to receive that City in *Cæsars* name, till such time as his will should be known, who they knew to be a friend to what was just and honest: yet his actions perswaded to the contrary; for at the same time he caused the building of the Fort to be continued, which was begun by the Duke, made the people and Nobility swear fealty to *Cæsar*, and possessing himselfe of many Castles, fortified them, and prepared to besiege *Parma*; *Ottavio* complaining in vain that such injury should be done to him, who was the Emperour's Son in law.

This Commotion made the Venetians bestir themselves in making better provision for their own defence. They made *Stephano Trepolo*, their Commissary Generall on *Terra ferma*, that by the Authority of the supream Magistrate, he might order their Militia, view their Forts, and speedily provide for what was needfull. They had likewise recalled the Duke of *Urbin*, Generall of the Commonwealth's Forces, into the State, who was at this time gone to *Rome*, upon occasion of his marriage formerly concluded, with *Virginia*, Daughter to the late Duke *Pier Luigi Farnese*. And they commanded *Antonio da Castello*, who was a man well reputed, and Captain of the Artillery, to go to *Brescia*, and to increase the ordinary Garrison, with the Country-people. They did the like at *Verona*, whither the Commissary-Generall hasted, and great care

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was taken for the ſafe cuſtody of all other places of concernment; and all things ſeemed full of ſnares and jealouſies. Things being in this condition, the Pope and King of *France* ceaſed not to try the Venetians, inviting them not to delay declaring themſelves any longer, and not to ſtay applying remedies to the eminent danger, till there was no remedy to be found, but that all *Italy* muſt run the ſame fortune by the totall ruine and loſs of Dominion and Liberty. But the Senate would not be eaſily moved to take up Arms againſt a powerfull Neighbouring-Prince, in the height of his proſperity and greatneſſe. For the Common-wealth was not in ſo weak a condition, as that any enterpriſe might be eaſily undertaken againſt her by any whoſoever, nor yet in ſuch a height as to infuſe fear into others, and make them ſeek to ſecure themſelves by abaſing her; ſo as her condition ſeemed to differ from the like of the reſt; and therefore the Common-wealth being ſome-what freer from fear, of being moleſted by *Ceſar*, might wait the advantage of Time, and till by the variation of the preſent condition of affairs, a way might be opened to ſafer reſolutions. *And what reaſon have we (ſaid the Senators, whilſt they adviſed upon what anſwer ſhould be return'd to the Pope, and to the King) to part from* Cæſars *confederacy, and to enter into other Leagues, and union? what ſhould perſwade us to ſeek for ſafety, by expoſing our ſelves to nearer and more certain dangers? Wherein hath* Cæſar *failed us, for the ſpace of near upon theſe eighteen years that we have had peace with him? By what injury hath he provoked us? The Common-wealth was never more quiet at Land then now; And if it were not that War by Sea doth trouble the ſo many advantages of Peace, certainly this our City would be now in the height of all proſperity. And ſhall we, by ſeeking after better fortune, bereave our ſelves of Peace? and vainly think that we ſhall be bereft thereof by others? Who knows not, that the League which is propounded to us onely by way of defence, will quickly neceſſitate us to offend others, and expoſe our ſelves to the offences of others? It is uſed as a forceable argument to make us imbrace a new League, that* Cæſar *is deſirous to acquire glory, and dominion: But I beſeech you, is not this ſo proper to every other great Prince, as who ſhould be otherwiſe, would be deſpiſed by others, and by his own ſubjects? Hath not the King of* France *the ſame thoughts? Shall we peradventure perſwade our ſelves, that we ſhal be at more quiet, if we have him for our Neighbour in the State of* Millan? *We have tried oft enough, when the French were in* Italy, *how unquiet they are, and eaſie to break peace upon any ſleight occaſion: Wherein hath this ambition of* Cæſar's *hurt us? when did he ever ceaze upon any thing that was ours? what ſign hath he given us of his ill will towards us? what neceſſity have we to be at expence, to ſecure our ſelves from his miſchiefe? But on the contrary, what diſlikes, nay what open enmities have there been between the Pope and Emperour? what ancient, and inveterate hate between the French and Spaniards? how great emulation between the Kings of* France, *and Houſe of* Auſtria? *The French cannot indure* Cæſar, *not only out of fear of his greatneſſe, but for meer hatred to his partieular perſon, and meaſuring things rather according to their deſire, than to the likelihood of ſucceſs, they would drive him out of* Italy; *But what is there of like in us? If we may ſay truth,* Cæſar *hath not onely abſtain'd from injuring us,*

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but hath alwaies ſeemed to honour and eſteem the Common-wealth very much, and hath rather been an inſtrument to preſerve, then to diſturb our peace. How oft, and with how much readineſſe, and affection (were it, or reall, or feighned) hath he interpoſed himſelf to accommodate our differences with others, particularly with his Brother, and in the buſineſſe of Marano? *All men ſay, that he helped much to pacifie* Ferdinando; *why ſhould we then joyn with them in theſe commotions, not having the like cauſe to take up Arms, either for fear or revenge? 'Tis true, we are ſomewhat troubled at the taking of* Millan; *but it is as true, that it was chiefly for our ſakes, that he went about to replace Duke* Francis Sforza *in that State; and afterwards, upon our preſſing, promiſed to grant it to the Duke of* Orleans, *though at laſt by his death, and to the almoſt fatall misfortune of* Italy, *it be fallen again into his own hands: and how often hath he asked our advice, and ſeemed chiefly deſirous to ſatisfie us, touching what he ought to do concerning that State? wherein our proceedings have been ſo cool, and ſo full of circumſpection, as we may partly blame our ſelves, if we have not met our deſires therein. And if he had ſo great a mind to ſuppreſs the Common-wealth, as is affirmed: when could he have better done it, then of late years, when we have had our hands full of war with* Soliman? *yet he hath rather indeavour'd our maintaining, then our ſuppreſſing, having ſent his Fleet to aſſiſt us; and he hath increaſed our honour and our Forces, to defend our ſelves againſt ſo powerfull an Enemy, by the new confederacy he made with us; and if his proviſions for War may ſeem to have been ſhort, and tardy, in reſpect of our neceſſities and deſires, and that his actions have not been anſwerable to his promiſes, we muſt be content to have received ſuch uſage, as all men do receive by the Law of Nature; that he minded more his own intereſt, then that of others: and if we meaſure this very thing more by affection then by true reaſon, it is a uſuall thing for humanity to doe ſo.* Cæſar *would aſſiſt us to ſuch a degree; but he did not think it became him, to expoſe his Fleet to the ſame danger as we would do ours, his cauſe not being the like to ours. He would not ſee us fall, yet he would not ſee us grow too powerfull, leſt he might have reaſon to apprehend our greatneſſe, as we now fear his. Theſe are paſſions common to all men, and very uſuall in Princes: but if we weigh all things well, we are not onely not neceſſitated, but we have no reaſon to make Warre with* Cæſar; *neither for any injury we have received, nor for any we are likely to receive.*

Theſe reaſons were the more eaſily credited, becauſe they tended to the preſervation of Peace, to which every one was of himſelfe well inclined; and *Ceſar* indeavour'd much to keep them in this mind, promiſing faithfully to preſerve Peace and Friendſhip with the Common-wealth. The Pope's, and King of *France* his deſires were conformable, but, by ſeveral meſſengers, thus anſwered: *That the Senate commended the care they took of the common good, and for the defence of their own affairs, that they would take example by them, and watch the more narrowly over their State, which they thought would prove a ſufficient remedy at this time againſt ſuch dangers as were to be feared; wherefore they ſaw no reaſon of comming to a ſtraicter and more particular union, by which they might provoke ſuch as went about to diſturb the Peace.* Though the Pope, nor King of *France*, were not well ſatisfied with this

this anſwer, yet they ſeemed to be ſo, to keep from alienating the Venetians further from them, hoping that they might at laſt be brought to alter their minds, and adhere unto them; therefore prayſing the mature wiſdom of that Senate, they ſaid, that *Ceſars* intentions, which could no longer be concealed, being now better diſcovered, and the world believing no longer that they had ambitious ends, they would ſpeedily reſolve upon aſſured and good grounds, to ſecure the affairs of the Common-wealth, and of all *Italy*. But though the hopes of any good ſucceſſe in their indeavours againſt the Emperour, were leſſened by this the Venetians reſolution; yet the Pope's, and the King of *France* his deſire of taking up Arms, was not much leſſened; which they were kept from doing, rather by the difficultie of the buſineſſe, then for any want of will. But though they could not uſe open force, the French and the *Ferneſes* held private intelligence in divers Cities of *Italy*, particularly in *Genua*, *Sienna*, and *Mil'an*, Cities which were infected with humours of ſeverall factions, and therefore the more eaſie to mutiny; for that upon finding a good Inclination to Novelties, they might with the leſſe forces compaſſe their deſigns. It is certainly worth conſideration, to think how great human Imperfection is, and into how many exceſſes they fall, who give themſelves over in prey to their own affections. Pope *Paul*, who was a very wiſe man, ſo many years vers'd in the waightieſt affairs of the World, being by the unavoydable laws of nature, brought to the extream period of life, yet being carried away by vaſt deſigns, and irregulate thoughts, did not value the expoſing Himſelfe, his Family, the Church, and all *Italy*, to the greateſt labours, and dangers of eminent ruine, by taking up Arms againſt *Ceſar*, ſo powerfull, and ſo proſperous a Prince, at a time when he had whole Germany to joyn with him, which was implacably offended againſt the Pope, and Court of *Rome*, for the difference of Religion, for the counſell given by the Pope to *Ceſar*, to wage War with them, and for not being able to obtain, that the Councill of *Trent*, which they had ſo earneſtly deſired, and which was now granted, ſhould be perfected; and on the other ſide, he being ſo ill provided of men, monies, and friends, to withſtand ſo great a force of War, as he drew upon him; and being bereft amongſt thoſe Hereticks, of that ſacerdotall Majeſty, and reſpect, by which Popes have kept themſelves free from injuries, more then by forces; which things being ſeen and well known by the Venetians, they were much troubled at, inſomuch as though their Counſels were not liſtned too, and ſuſpected, they forbare not notwithanding, when they found the Pope, after their anſwer, ſtill reſolute in his former opinion, modeſtly to repreſent unto him theſe things ſo worthy of conſideration, to which he had ſometimes given ear, when his reaſon prevailed over his ſenſe; wiſhing him therefore to be ſomewhat more circumſpect in theſe his intentions, and in delivering himſelfe, as it were a prey, into the power of the French.

The next year, 1548. was ſpent in almoſt the ſame Negotiations, in indeavours of Leagues, ſecret Treaties, Princes machinations upon

on other mens eſtates, preparations for Arms, and in a deſire of attempting novelties, but without any great effect or commotion. For though the King of *France* did very much deſire, to trouble the affairs of *Italy*, ſo to keep *Ceſar*'s thoughts and forces buſied there; yet he thought, his hopes in the Pope were but ſmall, who was already very old, in almoſt a decrepit age, having little mony, and peradventure no conſtant reſolution to maintain the war; if any accommodation ſhould at any time be propoſed by the Emperour, (as might eaſily happen, by his alliance with *Octavio Ferneſe*.) He ſaw the Venetians reſolved, though Arms ſhould be taken up, not onely to keep their neutrality, but ſo joyned in amity, by the friendſhip of ſo many years, with *Ceſar*, as he thought it impoſſible to divide them. He had alſo a minde, and had already turned much of his forces, to proſecute war againſt the Engliſh, hoping by reaſon of many diviſions, riſen between the Governours of the young King, in point of religion, and out of particular contentions, not onely to defend *Scotland*, by vertue of the marriage between the young Queen thereof, and his eldeſt ſon, who was deſtin'd to be her husband; but alſo to recover *Bullen*, which was by his fathers agreement, yielded up to the Engliſh. For which reſpects, he entertained divers practiſes, not onely with the Pope, touching the affairs of *Parma*, but alſo in *Genua*, and in *Sienna*, to alter the Government of thoſe Cities, which depended upon *Ceſar*'s authority. Yet did he not prepare to put theſe his deſignes in execution, nor did he openly declare himſelf an enemy to *Ceſar*. But on the other ſide, the Pope, though he had a very great deſire to revenge the injuries done him by *Ceſar*, and to recover *Piacenza* to his family, yet he was doubtfull, whether he ſhould attempt this by force, or by treaty. Sometimes he was induced to hope well, conſidering that the Emperour, who was Lord of ſo many States, though he appeared more ſevere unto him then, to the end that he might obtain other things of him, might not at laſt deprive his ſon in Law *Octavio*, and his children, of that State, and reduce him to a private condition. He had therefore often ſent ſeverall expreſſes to him, deſiring, that *Piacenza* might be reſtored to *Octavio*, and that he would ceaſe troubling him in the poſſeſſion of *Parma*. But at the ſame time he negotiated a League with the King of *France*, by which the King was to take Duke *Octavio*, and the City of *Parma*, into his protection, and to defend it againſt the Imperiall forces. Sometimes, to honeſt, and to facilitate the buſineſſe, and to ſatisfie himſelf at leaſt, in taking this City from *Ceſar*, he thought to re-aſſume it into the obedience of the Church. Nor did he ceaſe to ſolicite the Venetians, ſometimes by promiſes, ſometimes by minding them of the fear of *Ceſar*'s forces, to joyne with him in the defence of *Italy*, for which, he ſaid, he was no leſſe troubled, then for his nephews intereſt. And ſometimes he complaines, that they were too much Imperialiſts, and did glory in *Ceſar*'s friendſhip and favour; which was occaſioned more by *Ceſar*'s own words, then by the Venetians; for in his publick diſcourſe of the Common-wealth and Senate, he named them with love and honour, meaning, it may be, to make them by this

means more his friends. But he did not much confide in the King of *France*, whom he named his friend and confederate; ſuſpecting leſt the King, who demanded, that the City of *Parma*, preſerved by his forces, ſhould not be given to *Ottavio*, of whom he might alwaies be jealous, as being the Emperour's ſon in Law; but to *Horatio*, who was not onely the Popes nephew, but his ſon in Law. When he ſhould have gotten that City, which lay very opportunely for the moleſting of *Millan*, might keep it for himſelf. Moreover, what could make him diſpair more, of finding favour at *Ceſar*'s hands, then to ſee, that that City ſhould be given into his enemies hands, and by whom he might be much prejudiced, by the *Ferneſe*'s means? Being much diſtracted in his thoughts, by reaſon of theſe conſiderations, after long and various diſputes and difficulties, touching the Councill, which the one would have celebrated at *Bullen*, the other at *Trent*; the Pope, to give ſatisfaction to *Ceſar*, reſolved, after having ſent the Biſhop of *Fano* his Nuntio to him, to ſend alſo the Biſhop of *Verona*, his Legate into *Germany*, with authority, to diſpence with the Germans in many things, which were demanded by them, and with ſome alteration of the uſuall rites of the Church of *Rome*; a thing which *Ceſar* had very earneſtly deſired, to curb thoſe people, who not having obtained the generall Councill, which was promiſed them by *Ceſar*, and many of them not having accepted of a certain reformation, made for a time, and therefore called the *Interim*, till the Councill ſhould be celebrated, threatned to mutiny again, unleſſe they might receive ſatisfaction in ſome of their obſtinate demands: Whereat *Ceſar* was much troubled, becauſe it hindered his other deſignes. But he minding onely his own affairs, and not being moved by any affections, or reaſons, which were contrary to the intereſts of his Dominions, did wiſely nouriſh certain uncertain hopes in the Pope, and in Duke *Ottavio*, whereby he kept them unreſolved, and in doubt: Sometimes he propounded propoſalls of accommodation, with recompence of Territories elſewhere; ſometimes he ſaid, he would have it tryed, whether the Church or Empire had more lawfull pretence to thoſe Cities; and ſometimes, ſeeming much incenſed, inſtead of reſtoring *Piacenza*, he demanded, that *Parma* ſhould be delivered up unto him. But in fine, it was conceived by thoſe, who ſaw further into his deſignes, that by theſe uncertainties, he would keep the Pope in perpetuall doubts, being already reſolved, by no means to part with *Piacenza*, as lying very opportunely for the State of *Millan*; but that he went about to protract time, and to ſhun the neceſſity of taking up Arms, expecting the Pope's approaching death, that he might the mean while put an end to his other deeper deſignes. He thought to ſettle a mighty Monarchy upon his own Line, making the Empire, together with ſo many other Kingdomes and States, deſcend upon his onely ſon *Philip*; and his brother *Ferdinando*'s claim to the Empire ſtanding in his way, as to that, who was ſome yeers before made King of the *Romans*, (a title confer'd upon ſuch as are declared to ſucceed in the Empire) he ſought by ſeveral waies to perſwade his brother, to give way unto his ſon, promiſing to give the Dukedom of

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wittemberg to *Ferdinando*, to help his ſon *Maximilian* to be choſen King of *Bohemia*, to give him his daughter for wife, with ſome Territories for her portion, to make him Governour of his Kingdoms of *Spain*, in his ſons abſence, and other things, which were not afterwards altogether effected. But *Philip* paſt from *Spain* into *Italy*, whither *Maximilian* was gon before, to celebrate the marriage concluded, with 300000 Crowns for portion; but no Dominion; and to tarry there as Governour of thoſe Kingdoms: for *Philip* was to go into *Germany* to his father, who was gone to *Bruſſells*, to eaſe *Germany* of the Spaniſh Souldiers, part whereof he ſent to meet his ſon in *Italy*, and led part along with him into *Flanders*. The Prince was received with great pomp and honour in every place; he was met at *Genua*, where he landed, by many Embaſſadors from ſeverall Princes, and particularly by *Frederick Badoaro*, in the behalf of the Common-wealth, whoſe Commiſſion was meerly Complement, and to attend the Prince, whilſt he paſſed through the State of the Common-wealth, which he was to do, as he went from *Millan* towards *Germany*. A ſtately Bridge, richly adorned, was built over the River *Adice*; and upon the confines of *Verona*, he was met by the Captain of that City, nobly attended, and by a great concourſe of people, who were come from ſeveral parts to ſee him, who was born to ſo great an Empire, and to ſucceed in ſo many Kingdoms, and united States, as he was likely to have been the greateſt Prince that ever was in Chriſtendom. This Prince did not, upon this occaſion, ſatisfie mens expectations, but was held to be very haughty, being as yet very young, unexperienced in affairs of the world, having never been from home before, and bred up by his mother in great pride and elation, according to the cuſtom of the Portugalls. But afterwards, when he came to mature years, he proved a Prince of ſingular worth, and full of modeſty and temper, treating with all men with a miraculous comelineſſe, ſo as greater civility nor gravity was not to be deſired in him.

Whilſt Chriſtian Princes were thus full of diſorderly and unquiet thoughts, their States and Dominions were not troubled by the Turkiſh Forces; by reaſon of an unexpected advantage, which aroſe from new reſolutions put on by *Soliman*, of turning his Forces againſt *Perſia*, which were firſt deſtin'd for *Hungary*: For being eg'd on by a fervent deſire of glory, which he thought he might acquire, if he could beat *Tamas* his forces: Being deſirous to effect this his deſigne, he liſtned more willingly then before, to new treaties of Truce; to which end *Ferdinando* had ſent his Embaſſador, *Juſto de Giuſti*, to *Conſtantinople*, with new Commiſſions; and Truce was at laſt eſtabliſhed for five years, upon engagement, that *Ferdinando* ſhould pay 30000 Duckers yearly to *Soliman*, by way of Tribute, for the Towns of *Hungary*. The Common-wealth was named by both ſides in this Agreement, which redounded, in mens opinion, much to her honour and ſafety; eſpecially, becauſe it was therein expreſt, that none of the within named, ſhould diſturb the peace or quiet of reſt, during the time of the Truce. And truly it was worth obſerving, how our Princes did by their want of Truſt,

leſſen their own reputation, and add to the authority and daring of the common enemy. *Ceſar* demanded, that, the King of *France* being to be comprehended in this Convention, ſhould be bound to obſerve thoſe things, which were promiſed him by his father King *Francis*. And on the other ſide, the King of *France* deſired, that by the Articles of Truce, *Ceſar* ſhould not make war with any Chriſtian Prince, during the ſaid time. And the buſineſſe proceeded ſo far, as King *Henry* ſent his Embaſſadour, Monſieur *de Codogne*, in all haſte, to *Conſtantinople*, to diſturb the agreement, though the directions of Truce were diſpatched; affirming, that *Ceſar*'s onely end in making this Truce, was, that he might the more freely make war with him; and that it became the wiſdom of *Soliman*, not to ſuffer *Ceſar*'s power to encreaſe; for he would obſerve the Truce no longer, then might make for his own advantage. Monſieur *de Codogne* ſaid the ſame things at *Venice*, minding them likewiſe of *Ceſar*'s greatneſſe, and exhorting the Senate to joyn with him, in keeping the Treaty from being effected: Which though the Venetians did not aſſent unto, yet he paſſing on to *Conſtantinople*, and finding the Truce already concluded, procured a Letter from *Soliman* to *Ceſar*, and to *Ferdinando*, written in an imperious manner, but containing things becomming a great and juſt Prince: *That he did willingly accept of the Truce, but with an intention, that Arms ſhould be laid aſide every where, by thoſe who were friends to either parties. And that therefore, if any of the within named Princes, ſhould make war with the other, he would with his forces aſſiſt the injur'd party, againſt him that ſhould firſt diſturb the peace.* The King of *France* upon this occaſion grew jealous of the Venetians, that out of a deſire that this Agreement might be concluded, wherein they were to be comprehended, not caring for the intereſt of him their friend, they had too much favoured *Ceſar*'s and *Ferdinando*'s affairs. And on the other ſide, *Ceſar* complained, that this counſell was firſt given to the King of *France* by the Venetians, and was afterwards countenanced by them in *Conſtantinople*, to the end, that he might be the more ſtraitly obliged, to keep peace with the King of *France*, out of a deſire, that he might have no occaſion of renuing war in *Italy*, which would be very inconvenient for them. But the truth was, that after the firſt treaty for univerſall peace and quiet, the Venetians medled in nothing, but what concerned the intereſt of their own Common-wealth, knowing that theſe Princes would be jealous of every thing.

At the ſame time, great diſlikes grew between the Pope and the Emperour, and there was great appearance, that they would come to an open breach; for *Ceſar* was ſtill for the celebration of the Councill, as it was firſt intimated, and already begun, at *Trent*, as well to content *Germany*, which deſired it very much; as alſo for that he thought, it would detract from his reputation, that the Councill which was already proclaimed by his authority, nay, at his deſire, to be held in *Trent*, ſhould now, without him, and contrary to his will, be diſſolved, and transferred to another place, and the Pope was as reſolute, that the Councill ſhould be celebrated

ted in *Bollogna*, whither many Prelates and Biſhops were already gone by his order. But the Imperialiſts, though the Pope had made it be intimated unto them, that they ſhould depart; affirming, that the Emperour was protector of the Council, but that he had no power to call it, tarried ſtill at *Trent*, obeying *Ceſar*'s power and commandement; who, on the contrary, proteſted againſt the Prelates which were at *Bollogna*, and againſt the Pope himſelf; and to give it the greater force, ſent the Cardinall of *Trent*, of the Houſe of *Madrucci*, a Prince of the Empire, to *Rome*; affirming, that he would not give his aſſent to any Councill, ſave that which was ſummoned at *Trent*, which if it ſhould be diſturb'd, and that thereupon great miſchiefs ſhould enſue, he deſired to be juſtified before God and Man. Though theſe things were very grievous to the Pope, eſpecially being added to the ſucceſſe at *Parma*, yet his hopes of agreeing with *Ceſar*, made him proceed more cautiouſly. But whilſt the time was ſpun out in many negotiations, *Ottavio* being impatient to wait any longer, for the recovery of *Parma*, having in vain endeavoured to reduce it into his own power; for *Camillo Orſino*, who had the cuſtody of the City, had forbid him comming into the Citadell, reſolved raſhly to throw himſelf into the power of the very Spaniards themſelves, from whom he had ſo lately received ſuch injuries, to get poſſeſſion of that City by the favour of Arms, as *Mendoſa*, Embaſſadour at *Rome*, had cunningly perſwaded him to do. The Pope was ſtrangely dejected at this accident; the great diſlike whereof being added to the weakneſſe of his very great age, for he was 84 years old, he died ſoon after, having govern'd the Sea of *Rome* 15 years, with great wiſdom and commendations; for he had proved himſelf to be a juſt Prince, a lover of good and vertuous men, and for a good while having been Neutrall amongſt Princes, and deſirous of peace and quiet; for which he would have been the longer praiſed and remembered by men, if he had not parted from his former reſolutions in his latter time, being carried away by an immoderate deſire, of aggrandiſing his family. He alwaies bore a great reſpect to the Commonwealth, and was particularly well affected to the Venetian name. He honoured *Gaſpero Contarini*, and *Pietro Bembo*, noble Venetians, and men of ſingular learning and worth, with the title of Cardinal, and had them in great eſteem. The Italian Princes were much grieved and troubled at the Pope's death, fearing that it might prove an occaſion, of diſturbing the peace of *Italy*; for the French and Imperialiſts had raiſed a maſſe of men, in many parts, with intention, as it was thought, of poſſeſſing themſelves of *Parma*, which was as yet held by *Camillo Orſino*, but with a ſmall Garriſon, and little preparation of maintaining war; he having denyed obedience to the Letters and Orders of the Colledge of Cardinalls, who had ordered him to deliver up that City to *Ottavio Ferneſe*: But he ſaid, He would keep it for the next Pope. This fear encreaſed the more, for that it was long ere a new Pope was choſen; the two factions of French and Imperiall Cardinalls, ſtrove with much obſtinacy for the Popedome; neither whereof would give way to the other, but en-

endeavour'd the more fervently, and more cunningly, to have the greater part in the election of the Pope; for that it was commonly thought, *Italy* would not continue long quiet; which made each faction desire to have the Pope to be one, who might depend upon them, and who for so great a benefit, might be obliged to be governed by them, and to favour their designes. The Venetian Senate, following the custom of their fore-fathers, would not interpose themselves in this long contestation; but aiming onely at the common good, writ to the Colledge of Cardinalls, wishing them to chuse such a Pope, as might prove most serviceable for Christendom. The Venetians, being therein very wise, have never endeavoured, to make Cardinalls partiall to their Nation; nor did ever use the authority of the Common-wealth, in the election of the Pope; although they ought to covet as much, as any other Prince, to be befriended by the Popes. And the Common-wealth being so principall a Potentate in *Italy*, doubtlesly their faction, if they had so pleased, might have been very prevalent: But they knew, that this so great combining with particular persons, in the Court of *Rome*, might be a great prejudice to the publick; and that the word Faction, first begun in *Rome* upon the occasion of Ecclesiasticall dignities, might creep also into their own City, and infect it with this disease; therefore they have alwaies forborn it. At last, *Giovan Maria* Cardinal *dal Ponte*, was by adoration created Pope, a Tuscan by Nation; one, who being gotten to the degree of Cardinall, without any noble descent, or prop of parentage, was thought to be a very good and vertuous person, and to be far from siding with any great Princes. Wherfore thinking him either to be equally their friend, or at least not their back-friend; the Imperiall and French Cardinalls, did all of them willingly give their assent, to his being named Pope, by Cardinall *Farnese*. The Venetians were very much gladded at this choice, perswading themselves, that depending no more upon the Emperour, then upon the King of *France*, he would keep friendship with them both, and produce peace between them in *Italy*: Wherefore their Embassadour, *Matteo Dandolo*, received speedy orders from the Senate, to congratulate *Julio* the third, which was the name the new Pope took upon him; and soon after, a solemn Embassy of four of the prime Senators, was destined to go to *Rome*, to give the due and usuall obedience to the Vicar of Christ; by name, *Philippo Trevo*, *Francisco Contarini*, *Marc Antonio Veniero*, and *Nicolo da Ponte*.

The End of the Eleaventh Book.

THE

THE HISTORY OF VENICE,

Written by PAULO PARUTA:

BOOK XII.

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THe Popes actions did not at all correſpond to the hopes which were conceived, no not in what was moſt expected and deſired: to wit, that he would appeaſe the Tumults which were raiſed, and provide for the Peace of *Italy*, and the ſafety of Chriſtendom: for, giving himſelfe wholly over to building, and other trifling matters, he ſeemed to neglect the more weighty affairs, which became his degree, and the times, wherein ſeeds of great troubles were ſown in many parts of Chriſtendom. And though Peace was now made between *France* and *England*; yet it was known it would be the beginning of another War. For *Henry* King of *France*, being of a very lively ſpirit, and deſirous of Glory, finding himſelfe free from Wars with *England*, and having by that Agreement gotten ſafety and honour to himſelf and Kingdom, by the recovery of *Bullen*, was not likely to keep long quiet. *Horatio Ferneſe* being gone to him in *France*, to recommend the protection of his Family, and of his Houſe yet further unto him, and the defence of *Parma*, things which had been before treated of by others; he was willingly ſeen and liſtned unto by the King, who was deſirous to trouble the quiet of *Italy*, whereby he might have occaſion at laſt to take up open Arms againſt *Ceſar*, hoping (though it fared much otherwiſe with him) that this might make way for his holding ſtraiter intelligence with the Pope, or at leaſt to alienate him from *Ceſar*, ſince he undertook to defend a vaſſall of the Church, whom *Ceſar* ſought to oppreſſe, and would not for any thing the Pope could do, deſiſt from moleſting him in the buſineſſe of *Parma*, but required that *Piacenza* might likewiſe be delivered up unto him, ſo as a great fire was already kindled in the midſt of *Italy*. No leſſe dangers were likewiſe threatned in other parts; for *Ferdinando*, King of the *Romans*, taking occaſion from the diſcords which aroſe amongſt the Barons of *Hungary*, and particularly from the commotions raiſed in *Tranſilvania*, by *George* Biſhop of *Varadino*, a man of great Authority, and who hoped to be able to poſſeſs himſelfe of that Province, parted from *Auſpurg*, loaden with promiſes of aſſiſtance from the Emperour, which tended to the inducing him to yeeld up his pretences to the ſucceſſion of the Empire, to his Son *Philip*; he was gone into *Auſtria*, where he had already commenced Dyets, that he might raiſe as many men and monies, as he could for ſuch an enterpriſe: And on the other ſide, it was known that *Soliman*, who was already returned from *Perſia* to *Conſtantinople*, would not indure that that infant-King, recommended to his protection, ſhould be bereft of any part of his Dominions: and he had the better occaſion to take up Arms againſt

gainſt the Houſe of *Auſtria*, and to think the Truce for five years, broken, for that the Imperiall Army had taken two Towns in the Rivers of *Africa*; to wit, A City called by the ſame name of the Province, *Africa*, and *Moneſtero*. Theſe Towns being formerly poſſeſt by the *Moores*, were the year before taken by *Dragute*, who being afterwards made a *Sangiaccho*, had received them into *Solimans* cuſtody; and were ſince taken by Prince *Doria*, who put thereinto a Spaniſh Foot-Company. The Venetians were the more diſpleaſed at theſe accidents, becauſe they thereby loſt their hopes of renewing the Truce for a longer time, a thing which was yet in Treaty at *Conſtantinople*, promiſes being paſt therein on all ſides; and if it had ſucceeded, the Common-wealth would have been therein named, and comprehended with much honour. But *Soliman* continuing his deſire of friendſhip, and peace with her, when he came to *Conſtantinople*, ſent a Chiaus to *Venice*, to acquaint the Senate with his return from *Perſia*, and of his proſperous ſucceſs, boaſting them ſufficiently, according to the cuſtome of that Country; though in effect the attempts made in *Perſia*, meeting with greater reſiſtance by the *Perſian* Forces, than was expected, proved to no purpoſe; ſo as he was returned to *Conſtantinople*, with his Army very much harraſſed: But the Senate being deſirous to preſerve *Solimans* favour, correſponded with this his demonſtration of friendſhip, and ſent *Caterino Zeno*, Embaſſador to him, who though he were very aged, being 84 years old, refuſed not to ſerve his Country, though it were to take ſo long and difficult a journey. And his Embaſſy proved very proſperous; for by his wiſdome he quieted the complaints which were often renewed by the Turks, touching the death of *Sabba Rays*, whereof *Soliman* promiſed there ſhould be no more ſpeech had.

The year 1550. paſt over with theſe petty proceedings, which was the more celebrated notwithſtanding throughout Chriſtendom, for that the year of Jubilee fell that year, wherein the treaſury of Indulgencies, according to the ancient Rites of every five and twenty years, is largely opened in *Rome* to devout people, whereof there was a greater concourſe then, in that City, upon occaſion of the new Pope. This year was likewiſe more remarkable for other reaſons; for the new intimation of the Councill to be held at *Trent*, whither many Prelates flockt apace from all parts; and then by reaſon of a great ſcarcity of Corn, which was almoſt generall, but chiefly in *Italy*, which made Princes make bold with the publick Monies, to furniſh their people, particularly the Signory of *Venice*; which with ſingular Piety and Liberality, provided for the people of that City, and of her other ſubjects, and inviting others to bring Corn from Countries far off, they gave great ſums of Moneys to ſuch as brought Grain into *Venice*, from whence it was diſtributed into other Towns belonging to the State, according to their need.

But the year 1551 which inſued, the fire of War began to flame higher in *Italy* than before, to the danger of all *Italy*; whereat the Venetians were the more troubled, becauſe they had alwaies taken

the greatest care and pains to preserve peace. The Pope was a great cause hereof, but more out of the uncertainty of his resolves, than out of any ill-will: For he suffered himselfe by little and little, to be drawn from his first intentions, giving out Writs of summons against *Odoardo Farnese*, whose defence he himselfe had undertaken but a little before: accusing, and protesting against the King of *France*, his having taken the City of *Parma* into his protection; though (as it was said) he seemed at first to assent thereunto, at least not to dissent. He was not aware that the bitter words which he continually used against the French and the *Farneses*, made them joyn the closer together, and to increase their Forces, and provisions for War; against which not providing any sufficient defence, he was brought into a necessity of throwing himself into *Cesars* power; with whom he was notwithstanding ill satisfied for the very selfe same businesse of *Parma*. The Pope was by degrees drawn into these Inconveniencies by tricks used by the Imperialists, which he was not aware of; those who were neerest him, seeking for their particular ends to conceal the truth, to make other mens dissemblings be believed, and to nourish vain suspitions in him; so as without being aware thereof, he was drawn from his neutrality, and occasioned the interruption of that quiet, by which he at first indeavoured to win praise and Glory. It becomes Princes to bethink themselves well, before they undertake any businesses for they cannot without losse of honour, easily withdraw themselves from their resolutions, when they are once made known; nor can they often prosecute them to any purpose, without great prejudice to themselves, and subjects. The Venetians did oftentimes intercede with the Pope, to appease these most troublesome commotions, considering how long and grievous the War was like to prove, which was now about to begin upon so slight an occasion in *Italy*. That it was a very unfitting time for it now, by reason of the news which was every where heard, of *Solimans* intentions, nay of the preparations which he was making to assault the Christian Countries both by Sea and Land. And these Discords between Christian Princes, what were they else, but inducements to make the Turks sooner put on such resolutions; nay assured hopes of giving them the Victory in their hands? Peace and Quiet was to be desired by all men, but particularly by him, to whom it was recommended as to the common Father, and expected from his wisdome, and from that holy resolution which he had shewn, of being Neutrall between Princes; and of maintaining general Love and Agreement between them, which had made men begin to celebrate the memory of his Popedom, as very glorious. The Pope appearing to be somewhat perswaded by these reasons, began to think of an Agreement; to which purpose he sent the Cardinall *de Medeci*, brother to the Marquis of *Marignano*, and Cousin to the Duke of *Parma*, and proposed the giving of *Camerino* and *Nepi* to him, in lieu of *Parma*, which was to remain unto the Church: wherewith he forthwith acquainted *Cesar*, making use both of the Senates reasons and authority, and affirming that he was thereby put upon such a resolution. The Pope thought

thought he ſhould not find the Emperour averſe to an Agreement; if not out of his own diſpoſition, at leaſt not to alienate him from him, by deſpiſing theſe his propoſalls, and his pleaſure, and giving him occaſion to favour the French faction in *Italy*, not without danger to the Kingdom of *Naples*, by reaſon of the inſurrections which were therein at that time. And it was thought that the Popes indeavours would have prevailed with the Emperour, had not he been otherwiſe wrought upon by contrary counſels given unto him by his Miniſters of State, and chiefly by *Don di Mendoſo*, Embaſſador at *Rome*, and by *Don Ferrante Gonſaga*, Governour of the State of *Millan*; who uſed therein, as it was thought, their own particular enmity againſt the *Ferneſi*, more then their love to their Princes good. But the Pope finding it reſented otherwiſe, and not daring for fear of his Forces to offend him, returned to his firſt purpoſe of proſecuting the *Ferneſes*, who on the other ſide, being joyn'd in League with the King of *France*, could the leſs liſten to any propoſalls.

All wiſeſt, and beſt men, were much troubled to finde the State of affairs in this condition: for it was too clearly ſeen, that the continuance of this controverſie for the affairs of *Parma*, would breed open War between the two moſt potent Princes of Chriſtendom, *Charles* the Emperour, and *Henry* King of *France*; and would bring the Seat of War into *Italy*. For whilſt the Pope was incited to the recovery of *Parma*, by *Cæſars* Forces; and the King of *France* did back the *Ferneſes* in the poſſeſſion of that City, by his Men and Monies: their Forces muſt needs meet, and ſuddenly full foul one upon another: ſo as thoſe who ſaw further into the ſequel of theſe things, knew, and did not ſtick to ſay openly, that the reward of this Victory, would be the appropriating of this City to the one or the other of theſe Princes, to the certain prejudice of the *Italians*, ſince they would not want pretences, either by way of re-imburſement of the expences which they had been at, or for ſome other reaſons, to retain this City which muſt be either taken, or preſerved chiefly by their Forces. The King prepared to ſend ſuccour to the beſieged, and incouraged *Octavio* with great hopes: and the Emperour, having much increaſed his Forces in *Lumbardie*, did ſtill incourage the Pope, promiſing to make them joyn with the Forces of the Church, and that he would give order to *Don Ferrante Gonſaga*, to obſerve the Popes commands, in the buſineſſe of *Parma*; but the Pope growing jealous of *Cæſars* deſigns, and openly deteſting the proceedings of his Officers, began to repent what he had done, and ſought how to draw himſelfe out of the buſineſſe. He therefore reſolved to ſend his Nephew *Aſcanio della Cornia*, to the King of *France*, to perſwade him to deſiſt from Arms, and to liſten to ſome Agreement; ſhewing him the difficulty of the enterpriſe which he had undertaken, in maintaining a City which was ſo farre diſtant from his Dominions: and not long after, he ſent *Achille de Graſſi* to *Venice*, who though he ſeemed to be ſent onely to juſtifie the Popes actions, and to correſpond with the ſo many indeavours oftentimes uſed to him by the Senate, in exhorting him to Agreement; having

ſhewed him powerfull reaſons, by which he ſaid he was perſwaded to put on that reſolution; yet mentioning other matters, whereby the Pope might be conceived to deſire that the Common-wealth would interpoſe her Authority with the King, and the Duke, to bring the buſineſſe to ſome Agreement, which the Senate was not unwilling to do, if they thought they might have done any good for the common quiet. *Aſcanio* returning ſpeedily from *France*, brought word back of the Kings good inclinations, which he would be willing to witneſſe by his actions; for he would perſwade *Ottavio*, that *Parma* might return to the Church, upon condition that the Emperour would likewiſe reſtore unto her the Caſtles held by him in the Territories of *Parma*: nor would he remove his Garriſons from *Parma*, till he might be ſure the Emperour could not poſſeſs himſelfe of it: wherein there being many difficulties, it was ſeen that the propoſition tended more to the ſpinning out of time, then to come to any Agreement: So as there was no thought now on any ſide, but to provide for Arms. The King continued ſending of men into *Italy*, under Monſieur *de Neuers*, and other Commanders, raiſing more Souldiers at *Mirandola*, commanded by *Pietro Strozzi*. The Pope and the Emperour did the like, ſo as the Imperiall and Eccleſiaſtick Armies being numbred together, they amounted to 15000 Foot, and good ſtore of Horſe, which were all commanded by *Ferrante Gonſaga*, who was Captain of the League. And theſe Forces were held to be ſuch, as it was generally thought the City of *Parma* would ſoon fall into the Leagues hands. But *Strozzi* uſed great vigilancy and diligence, who parting ſuddenly from *Mirandola* entred the *Bullognian* Territories, over-running, and plundring the Country ſo fearfully, as the Pope beginning to apprehend not onely *Bullogna*, but *Ravenna* alſo, and ſome other parts of *Romagna*, was forc'd to ſend for his men from before *Parma*, to come to the *Bullognian* Territories, to keep his own affairs from danger; which *Strozzi* making uſe of, he marched with miraculous ſpeed towards the parts about *Parma*, and entred the Town himſelf with a good number of Foot, and great ſtore of Victuals; ſo as the beſiegers diſpaired to get *Parma* in haſte; and war was likely to be drawn out at length, and occaſions likely to be given of many other weighty occurrences, whereby all *Italy*, already much perplext, might be reduced to much danger and calamity. Therefore the Venetian Senate, being intent upon all things, and reſolving whatſoever ſhould fall out, to depend onely upon themſelves, reſolved to take 4000 Foot, and 500 light Horſe into pay, whereby to increaſe the Garriſons of their frontier Towns; and placing their chiefe Commanders in them, they had a great care of their own affairs. But the Duke of *Florence*, being bound to *Cæſar* for many favours already received, and out of hopes of others, that he might receive, did openly aſſiſt the Imperiall party, both with Men and Monies: not with any intention of fomenting this fire, which he would much more willingly have ſeen extinguiſhed, but not to increaſe ſome jealouſies that were conceived of him; that he as well as the other *Italians*, did not approve of the Imperialiſts proceedings, nor of *Cæſars* own in-

intentions. Which ſuſpicion was much increaſed, by the new Fort which they built in *Sienna*, which was commonly called the *Ceppo* or *Stocks* of *Tuſcany*. The Duke of *Ferrara*, who, as vaſſall to the Church, ought to have proceeded with much circumſpection; following his own dependencies and paſſions, did adhere ſufficiently in his minde, and in underhand-helps, to the French faction. Wherefore to keep thoſe that were beſieged in *Parma*, from being relieved with victualls and other things, from that ſide, the Imperialiſts had taken *Briſello*, and two other little Caſtles belonging to the Duke, which ſtood upon thoſe confines. The Duke being much moved at theſe things, ſent his Embaſſadour, *Girolino Seroſini* to *Venice*, to be adviſed by the Senate, *how to govern himſelf in theſe hard times, and ſo ſad occaſions; for he was reſolved to walk in the ſame ſteps the Senate did, and follow their wiſe counſels, particularly in keeping himſelf Neuter, but that he had not forces enough of himſelf to do ſo: So as unleſſe he ſhould receive ſome aſſiſtance, he feared, he muſt be enforced, for the preſervation of his State, to ſide with ſome one, and to act contrary to his deſire.* This was thought to be a piece of cunning, whereby the French deſired, to ſpy into the Venetians intentions, that they might draw them into ſome confederacy, or at leaſt diſcover ſomewhat more of their meanings. Therefore the Senate thought fit, to anſwer in very generall tearms, *That the Senate had ever deſired above all things, that the peace of* Italy *might be preſerved; to which purpoſe, they had uſed ſeverall endeavours, both with the Pope and others, as they ſaw needfull: But ſince they could do no good thereby, they would at leaſt keep themſelves in peace, and in their former neutrality; which that they might do, with more honour and ſafety to the Common-wealth, ſince the reſt ſtood upon their Arms, they were reſolved to Arme alſo; and by providing for their own affairs, they would have reſpect to the preſervation of the Duke's State, out of the particular affection which they bore unto his perſon, and for their own intereſt, which by reaſon of the neighbourhood of their Dominions, was almoſt inſeparable from his.* The French not being ſatisfied with this anſwer, thought to diſcover unto the Senate, as it was already generally known, their intentions, of attempting ſome important novelty in *Italy*; to which purpoſe, the King had ſent *Luigi Alemanni* to *Genua*, to make that City, upon ſeverall pretences, joyne with his faction, and particularly, that he might have the uſe of their Havens, for his Fleet to put into, and to land the men which he deſigned to ſend into *Italy*: And Cardinall *Tornone* being then at *Venice*, whither he had retired himſelf, when together with the other French Cardinalls, he was commanded by the Pope to depart from *Rome*; he was ordered by King *Henry* to appear in the Colledge, and in his name to acquaint the Doge and Senators, *with the condition of the affairs of* Italy; *with the occaſion which had moved him, and with his intention, to ſend his forces to aſſiſt Duke* Octavio, *and to maintain his cauſe: wherein, he thought, he did a generous act, and what became a great Prince, and which he thought would pleaſe all the Italian Princes; ſince thereby he undertook the defence of a petty Italian Prince, who was unjuſtly oppreſs'd by others, and who had had recourſe to him for protection. That he could not dream, the Pope would have been diſpleaſed*

that,

that a vaſſall of his, ſhould be preſerved by the forces and aſſiſtance of another, not being able of himſelf to defend himſelf; and that he did much leſſe believe, but that the other Italian Princes *would be pleaſed, that* Ceſar's *greatneſſe might be moderated, and ſome bounds put to his vaſt deſires, which were bent, as was clearly ſeen, to thruſt the weakeſt to the wall, and to enſlave all* Italy. *That the act it ſelf might teſtifie, that his thoughts were bent upon nothing elſe, ſince he was in a condition, as not needing the City of* Parma, *by his being poſſeſt of ſo many Cities in* Piemont, *he had opened his way to what he deſigned to do, againſt the State of* Millan. *But that ſince he now underſtood, his actions were otherwiſe interpreted, he had reſolved to give it over. Yet he could not be perſwaded, but that the Venetian Senate, being ſo great and ſo wiſe a Potentate in* Italy, *and upon whoſe authority the reſt would finally depend, would have that care and conſideration of theſe commotions, as many other of their important conſequences did require. That he did excuſe what the Pope had done, as actions rather of neceſſity then free-will, being overcome with fear, both by reaſon of* Ceſar's *ſo great power, and of his ſo many armed men in* Italy; *as alſo by the Councill already intimated, out of weighty and dangerous deſignes, the German Hereticks being to convene therein. But that if he could be aſſured, of the company and aſſiſtance of other Princes, doubtleſly he would be of another minde; for to ſever himſelf from* Ceſar's *friendſhip, in ſuch a condition of affairs, might be tearmed a regaining of his liberty.* The King was very much thank'd for theſe his overtures and counſells; and his generoſity, in defending thoſe that were the weakeſt, and ſtood moſt in need of his aſſiſtance, was commended; and they hoped, that by the Agreement, wherein the Senate had already interceded with the Pope, and which he ſeemed not to diſſent from, affairs might be quieted. The King for all this did not forbear proſecuting the war, though he could not, according to his deſire, hope to meet with any, that would receive or favour him therein, in *Italy*, except Duke *Octavio*. Nay, being now reſolved to declare himſelf more openly againſt *Ceſar*, he ſent more ſouldiers into *Piemont*, and ſuddainly aſſaulted ſeverall places, that were guarded by Imperiall Garriſons, ſome of which he quickly took; and ordered, that the Gallies, which were forty in number, commanded by the Prior of *Capua*, brother to *Pietro Strozzi*, and which roved upon the Seas, might upon all occaſions evill intreat the Imperiall veſſells. And it hapned ſoon after, that *Doria*, who as he was conveying *Maximilian* King of *Bohemia*, and his wife, in his Gallies, paſt from *Barcellona* to *Genua*, ſcaped narrowly, being aſſaulted, and fought with by the French Fleet, whereof ſome Veſſells which were behind, were notwithſtanding taken, and carried to *Marcelles*. But the League which the King of *France* negotiated with Duke *Maurice* of *Saxony*, with *Albertus* Marquis of *Brandenberg*, and with other Princes and Hans-Towns of *Germany*, all of them unſatisfied, though for differing occaſions, with *Ceſar*, was of much more moment; ſome of them were highly incenſt at the *Lanſgrave*, being detained priſoner, contrary to Ceſar's parole, as ſome of thoſe Princes affirmed; and others were incited to novelties, for fear of *Ceſar*, in matters of Religion. *Henry* was ſo reſolute herein, as he communicated his thoughts

thoughts to *Giovanni Capello*, who was with him, as Embaſſadour from the Common-wealth, telling him, that he would go himſelf in perſon into *Germany*; and earneſtly deſiring his company, becauſe he thought he might have ſome occaſion, to treat of a confederacy with the Common-wealth, or at leaſt, to keep *Ceſar* in continuall jealouſie and ſuſpicion. Yet the Senate, who were not willing to come to a nearer conjunction with the French, thought it not fit to deny the King ſo much ſatisfaction, to witneſſe their good-will to him; and becauſe it made for the good of the Common-wealth, that *Ceſar*, who knew very well, that the Italians were grown very jealous of him, for the affairs of *Parma* and *Piacenza*, and for other actions of his, might conceive, a ſtraiter intelligence might be had between the Venetians and French, to the very much prejudice of his Territories in *Italy*. But the Pope, being very much perturb'd at theſe commotions, for that they had their firſt riſe from the buſineſſe of *Parma*, which might draw upon him the infamy of this war, which was raiſed in Chriſtendom; and that according to the various ſucceſſe thereof, he might not be free from danger, reſolved to ſend two Cardinalls, as Legats of the holy Sea, to theſe Princes, *Verrali* to the King of *France*, and *Carpi* to the Emperour, to deſire them, That they would lay aſide all hatred, and all thoughts of wageing war one with another, for that the ſucceſſe at *Tripoli* might admoniſh them to agreement, and much more the preparations which the Turks made, both by Sea and Land, bent to the prejudice of Chriſtendom. But the fire was already kindled to ſuch a height, as theſe endeavours were not of force enough to quench it; ſo as though the King of *France* gave good words, and that not long after he ſent the Cardinall *Tornone* to *Rome*, to keep the treaty of Agreement on foot, and alſo to deſire the Venetian Senate, to intercede therein with the Pope; yet it was comprehended, that he was not any whit more inclined to peace in his minde, but that rather, having reſolved within himſelf to make war, for which he had prepared all things, he thought the buſineſſe of *Parma* to be offered as a very fit occaſion; but he kept this his trueſt intention concealed, out of hopes to draw the Pope by little and little, rather to accompany him in the war, which he intended to make againſt *Ceſar*, then in making peace with him. The Emperour, on the other ſide, apprehending theſe practiſes, had re-inforced his Army which was about *Parma*, and laid the ſtraiter ſiege to it, thinking that his reputation was ſufficiently concerned, if he ſhould now be brought to yield the leaſt in any thing. Wherefore the Pope being in a very doubtfull condition, out of fear of not being forſaken by the Imperialiſts, and not well annext to the French, knew not what reſolution to put on; yet being ſwayed by *Ceſar*'s preſent power, and being already oblig'd unto him by particular ties of confederacy, he reſolved to make ſeverall demonſtrations, of his being very well-minded towards him. To gratifie him, he made many Cardinalls, all of them of the Imperiall faction; and ſpoke bitterly againſt the King of *France* in the Conſiſtory, deteſting many of his actions, and particularly the friendſhip he held with the Turks. Inſomuch

as the King, diſpairing altogether of his friendſhip, diſcharged his Legat from the Court, and recalled alſo his own Embaſſadour, Monſieur *de Termes*, from *Rome*, threatning many things very prejudiciall to the Pope, and to the whole Court, if he ſhould be ſo treated; and particularly to free himſelf of the obligation of ſending to *Rome*, to pay for the inveſtiture of Church-livings; affirming, it was not fit that war ſhould be made againſt him, with the monies of his own Kingdom.

At the ſame time were 30 of the Turkiſh Gallies put to Sea, commanded by *Sinon Baſhaw*, by *Ruſtin*, firſt *Vicier*, and by other experienced Captains, amongſt which, *Dragut*, one who was much eſteemed and feared, as being very well verſt in the Weſtern Seas, and a bitter enemy to the Chriſtians, which cauſed much apprehenſion in all men, by reaſon of their ſtrength, and of the uncertainty of what courſe they would ſteer, or what enterpriſe they intended. The newes of this preparation by Sea, made the Commonwealth encreaſe their Fleet to the number of 47 Gallies, over which they made *Stephano Tiepolo* Captain Generall the ſecond time, and choſe Governours for 20 other Gallies; for the arming whereof, all things were ready, that they might be ordered according as occaſion ſhould require. The Turkiſh Fleet paſt quietly through the Channell of *Corfù*, and going from thence to *Sicily*, they deſired to know of the Viceroy of that Iſland, what order he had received from the Emperour, touching the reſtoring the African Towns, and *Moneſterio*, which *Doria* had taken the preceding year. And anſwer being returned, That *Ceſar* would keep them, which he muſt do, to take away the neſt from thoſe Pirats, which did infeſt thoſe Seas; the Turk's, who till then had abſtaind from doing any injury, landed a great many men, and took and ſack'd *Auguſta*, carrying a great many men from thoſe ſhores, whom they made ſlaves. From thence the whole Fleet went to *Malta*, where finding the buſineſſe very difficult, they re-imbarked their Men, and their Artillery, which they had landed, and going ſoon away, they paſs'd to *Gozo*, an Iſland eight miles diſtant from *Sicily*, which they totally plundered, and ſtormed the Caſtle, though it were well munited, and had in it a good Foot-Garriſon. Then taking the way of *Barbary*, they coaſted along the ſhore, and went to *Tripoli*, and after a while-battery, they took the Town, upon agreement, that the Knights of *Malta*, who were within it, for it was then under their Government, having made but ſmall defence, they, and ſome of the chief of the Town, got away in the French Gallies, which were in the Turkiſh Fleet; the reſt, contrary to promiſe, were cruelly treated. Theſe things were very ſore of themſelves, but men were more terrified with the apprehenſion of the next years danger; for it was noiſed abroad, that this Fleet was to winter in *Tolon* Haven, and to joyne with the French Fleet, the increaſe whereof was much endeavoured, that they might put forth to Sea very ſtrong, and very early in the next ſeaſon. Yet mens fears were quickly over, by the Turks ſteering their courſe towards the *Levant*. The King of *France* was generally blamed by all men, but chiefly

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by the Pope, as the promoter of theſe miſchiefs; wherefore the Kings Embaſſador, who was at *Venice*, had a long diſcourſe with the Senators in the Colledge, wherein he laboured to prove, that his King was falſely accuſed to have been the Author, and occaſioner of theſe Wars, and of the ſo many miſchiefs which then befell Chriſtendom. The Turks proceeded thus at Sea, but the Chriſtians had the better of them by Land, in *Hungary* and *Tranſilvania*; for *Ferdinando*, King the *Romans*, aſſiſted by *Jovan Battiſta Gaſtaldo*, by *Sforza Palaveſino*, and by others, poſſeſt himſelfe of whole *Tranſilvania*, and of the Country and Town of *Timiſuar*: which though they were taken from the Infant King *Stephen*, and from the Dowager his Mother, were notwithſtanding protected, and defended by *Soliman*: who ſent the Baſhaw of *Buda* firſt thither, and then the *Belgerbie* of *Greece*, with a great number of Horſe, to drive out *Ferdinando's* Forces; but in vain as then, the authority and diſcretion of *Fra. Georgio*, having done much therein, by whoſe advice, though contrary to the Barons of the Kingdomes opinions, who did all they could to incourage the Queen, with hopes of aſſiſtance from the Turks: but ſhe deſpiſing their Counſells, and being full of apprehenſion both for her ſelfe and Sonne, reſolved ſpeedily to yield up the whole Country of *Tranſilvania*, to King *Ferdinando*, contenting her ſelfe, to receive by way of recompence, the Dukedom of *Opelio* in *Sleſia*; together with a promiſe of marriage, between a Daughter of the ſaid Kings, and her Son *Stephen*, when he ſhould be of years; and of other honours, and more Revenues; ſo as the Turks ſuccours comming, when *Ferdinando's* Forces were grown very ſtrong, and were already poſſeſt of the Towns of *Tranſilvania* and *Timiſuar*, they could not drive them out, but being overtaken with the inconveniencies of winter, the Turks were forced to forego the enterpriſe, and with little honour, to return to their own homes; and by the ſame reaſon, of the bitterneſs of the ſeaſon, actions of War were likewiſe ceaſed in *Italy*; the Imperiall and Eccleſiaſticall Camps, keeping ſtill before *Parma*, and *Mirandola*, not doing any thing.

But it was generally thought, there would be much greater doings, and chiefly the two Brothers of *Auſtria*, *Charles* the Emperour, and *Ferdinando* King of the *Romans*, had buſineſſe enough to take order for the ſafety of their Dominions, and Dignities. Sore War was proteſted againſt *Charles* by almoſt all *Germany*. It was treated of in a Dyet, how they might do to beat him out of *Germany*, and create a new Emperour, he having done, as they alleadged, many things to the prejudice of the Empire, and of the German Liberty. He, contrary to his uſuall cuſtome, hoped to appeaſe theſe commotions by agreement, but it proved almoſt fatall to his eminent dangers: For as it was too late to provide againſt them, ſo alſo did his proviſions prove ſcarce, and uncertain. For it was in vain for him, to indeavour the raiſing of Souldiers out of the Towns and parts of the Empire, they being for the moſt part either riſen, or about to riſe againſt him; and King *Ferdinando* had drawn all the beſt men out of *Auſtria* and *Tiroll*, the *Swiſſers* and *Griſouns* were imploy-

ed in the King of *France* his ſervice, ſo as his chiefeſt hopes lay in 1000 Spaniſh Foot, which the Duke of *Alva* was to bring to him. *Ferdinando* was in no leſſe trouble, by reaſon of the great forces which *Soliman* prepared, to aſſault *Hungary*, and *Tranſilvania*; to reſiſt the which, he was the more diſabled, for that he could not hope for any help from his Brother, by reaſon of his being imploy'd elſewhere, and for that there was no great love between them, becauſe *Ferdinando* had denyed to reſign up the ſucceſſion of the Empire to his Nephew *Philip*, the Emperours Son, as he was requeſted to do. Therefore indeavouring to provide for his ſafety by ſome other means, he had indeavoured to appeaſe *Soliman*, by offering to pay him other 30000 Duckets by way of tribute, for *Tranſilvania*, as he did for the Towns of which he held in *Hungary*, and to free himſelfe from inſurrections, if he ſhould be forc'd to fight, and from any intelligence which the Turks might hold, as it was ſuſpected they did in the parts which *Ferdinando* had gotten: he was very diligent in obſerving all mens proceedings, whereby he came to diſcover, that the Biſhop of *Varadino*, who had then been made Cardinal by the ſame *Ferdinando*'s interceſſion with the Pope, in reward for the ſervice he had done him, held private intelligence with ſome Baſhaws, and adhered unto the Turks, aſpiring to have the Dominion of that Province himſelfe, under *Solimans* protection. Wherefore to free himſelfe from theſe treacheries, he reſolved to take away his life, as he did by the means of *Sforza Palleviſino*, who taking ſome few others along with him, ſlew him: no leſſe preparations was rumour'd to be made by the Turks in *Conſtantinople*, to ſend forth a powerfull Fleet the next ſpring, well provided of all things for ſome great enterpriſe: All men were the more afraid, becauſe it was not well known what *Solimans* deſigns were, and becauſe theſe his Forces by Sea, might eaſily betake themſelves to ſeverall places, and enterpriſes. The Venetians were more vext hereat then any others, by reaſon of the vaſt expence and aſſured trouble they were to be at, by the Fleets putting ſo often forth from *Conſtantinople*, it becomming them to be provided for all accidents. They therfore made *Stephano Tiepolo*, Generall at Sea the third time; they increaſed the Garriſons of the Iſlands, and maritime Towns,: they made ſome Gallies be armed in *Candia*, and were very diligent in making men work extraordinarily in the Arſenall, that they might be furniſht with many more. The Senate did moreover chooſe twenty Governours of Gallies, and other twenty were choſen by the *Conſiglio Majore*, to the end that all things might be ready, and in good order, to increaſe their Fleet to the number of 100 Gallies, upon any unexpected accident which might fall out.

Theſe ſo great preparations of the Turks, did not onely not incite the Chriſtian Princes to any better Agreement, but the King of *France* ſeemed the more eager to moleſt *Ceſars* affairs, for that he ſaw him buſied in fencing himſelfe from the Turks Forces, but continued his intention of going into *Germany*, believing that the Emperour being ſtraitned in ſo many parts, and being particularly reduced

duced to ſo great dangers, by the conſpiracy of ſo many German Princes againſt him, would be brought to ſome Agreement, even by the parting with ſome of thoſe States in *Italy*, or in ſome other parts whereunto the Crown of *France* had any pretence. Having therefore aſſembled about 40000 Foot of ſeverall Nations, and 4000 Horſe, together with a great train of Artillery, he went towards *Lorraia*, where the City of *Metz* had been taken a little before by *Ana de Momorancy*, High Conſtable of *France*, who was gone before with part of the Army, a City belonging to the Chamber of the Empire, though the Government thereof was put into the hands of ſome of her own chief men, whereof the Biſhop was the head. The King entred arm'd therein too, ſoon after, and was received as became a great and victorious Prince, with much honour. He kept a while with his Army in this Country, to keep thoſe of *Flanders*, who were prepared by Queen *Mary*, ſiſter to *Ceſar*, from diſturbing his deſigns, or the like of the confederate Princes of *Germany*, who had begun ſo ſucceſsfully in their firſt attempts, as having taken the City of *Auſpurg*, and paſſing eaſily and ſpeedily through the Duke of *Bavaria's* Territories, had cauſed much fear in the Emperour, in King *Ferdinando*, and in the whole Court, which was then at *Iſprach*; ſo as it was propounded in the Councill, to retire to a place of more ſafety: but afterwards taking more courage, and having well munited ſome ſtrait paſſages of the Mountains, by which the Enemy were of neceſſity to paſſe, if they ſhould be reſolved to come and finde them out; they forbore doing ſo, ſince their ſudden & ſhameful flight might prove infamous, though an agreement might inſue thereupon. The King of *France* inheartned by the apprehenſions of theſe Princes, and by the proſperous ſucceſs of their enemies, thought he was not to let ſlip the occaſion of ſtraitning *Ceſar* yet more, and of ſharing in this glory: He therefore reſolved to draw near the River of *Rhine*, that he might keep the Confederates true to him, and adhere unto them, intending to paſſe on further himſelfe: but he was not well got thither, when he found himſelfe ſo deceived in his expectation, as he returned back; for the Confederates thinking that they were ſtrong enough of themſelves to deal with *Ceſar*, and being deſirous to keep their own Country from ſuch ſufferings, as they feared it might receive by the French Armie; they agreed that Duke *Maurice* ſhould by his Letters advertiſe the King, (which was more for their own conveniency, then for any truth that was in it) that they had already made an Agreement with *Ceſar*, wherein they had obtain'd all that they had propoſed unto themſelves, or deſired by this League: and that now they had no more to do, but to return many thanks unto his Majeſty for ſo great a favour, which *Germany* would never forget, but alwaies acknowledge it as a great obligation from the Crown of *France*. The King was much troubled at this news, ſeeing himſelfe fallen ſhort of the ſo great hopes which he had conceived, and that the charges and labour of ſo great a journey was loſt; yet that he might make uſe of his forces elſewhere, he retreated with his Army into the Dukedom of *Luxenburg*, where he took many

places of importance, and also the Fort *Monvalliere*, esteemed to be the Key of that Country, wherein Count *Mansfelt* was made Prisoner, who was Governour thereof in *Cesars* behalfe. But ruminating still upon much higher designs, he thought it his best course to free himselfe from all Impediments, by closing in with the Pope, so to separate him from *Cesar*; and he at last obtain'd, that Armes should be laid down between the Church, and the Crown of *France* for two years, as concerning the affairs of *Parma*, and the Prince of *Salerno*, going to the Camp to him; he propounded unto him the enterprise of the Kingdom of *Naples*, which the King willingly listned unto, and began to advise with him in many things, touching forces, and how the businesse was to be carried on. And it was agreed upon, that the said Prince should command in chiefe, he being very forward in making offers, and promises, grounded upon severall things, and chiefly out of the great desire of those people, to withdraw themselves from the Spanish obedience, and to put themselves under the Government and Empire of the Kings of *France*. The Prince of *Salerno* had lived a while at *Padua*, having withdrawn himselfe out of the Kingdom, for divers dissatisfactions received from *Don Pietro de Tolledo*, Vice-roy of *Naples*; and from the Emperour himselfe, for suffering those injuries to be done him. Wherefore taking occasion to raise Novelties, out of these present Commotions, and to resent himselfe at the same time, of the private injuries done unto him, and of the publick injuries done unto his Country by *Cesar*, he resolved to go himselfe in person into *France*, but would go first to *Venice*, to communicate these his intentions with the Senators, that he might carry some news to *France* of the Senates intentions, touching the propositions which he was to make to the King. *He therefore in a long and eloquent Oration, held out what reason the Common-wealth had to regain the Towns and Havens which she had formerly been possest of in* Puglia, *and to secure themselves from* Cæsars *greatnesse. He sought to finde out how they would be inclined to this businesse, if it should be propounded to them by the King of* France; *He wisht them to consider, how ill-satisfied, and discontented the* Neapolitans *were at the* Spaniards *Government, by reason of the Vice-roy's insolent and Tyrannicall proceedings, who was not onely born with, but rewarded by* Cæsar; *but chiefly by reason of the office of the Inquisition, which was indeavoured to be brought in then into that Kingdom, to the persecution and ruine of the Nobility; who, not being able any longer to undergo that bitter slavery, would indure any thing rather then to continue under* Charles *the Emperour's Dominion, by whom they had been so dispised and injured. That these same things being represented to the King of* France, *had made him much compassionate their miseries, who as became the magnanimity of such a King, had taken them into his protection, and promised to assist them in what he could; but excused himselfe for not being able to serve them to any purpose at the present, by reason that his Fleet was so small. Therefore, said he, it becomes the Venetian Senate, more then any others, to embrace this enterprise, as being an Italian Prince, a lover of Libertie, strong at Sea, and having a just pretence to a part of that Kingdom. That no friendship could be more usefull to the Common-wealth, nor more to be desired then that of*

France,

France; *which was ſo clearly ſeeen by things paſt, known by ſo many proofs, and by ſo many reaſons confirmed, as there was no need of any perſwaſion thereunto. That ſuch was the magnanimity of the preſent King, in particular, that all great things were to be expected from his liberality, and from the affection he bore to the Venetians. And what greater opportunity could be offered, then the condition of the preſent times? wherein the Emperour had his hands full of employment, by the War waged with him by almoſt all* Germany, *by the threatning preparations made againſt his brother* Ferdinando, *by the Turks. But the wiſdom of the Venetian Senate ought chiefly to conſider, not to ſuffer the Neapolitans, being abandoned of all help, and in ſo great neceſſity, to precipitate themſelves to their own loſſe, and the like of others, and to have recourſe for ſuccour to* Soliman's *forces, which were now ready to put to Sea with a great Fleet. As alſo the Kings negotiations already had at* Conſtantinople, *to try this, as the laſt hope the Neapolitans had.* Theſe words made no impreſſion in the Senators, nor did any one liſten unto them. Whereupon the Prince was diſmiſs'd, they ſeeming diſpleaſed with the malignity of the times, and particularly with the Prince his perturbations, and holding out the importancy of the buſineſſe, which would require long and mature conſultation. Yet he went, as hath been ſaid, into *France*; and repreſenting the buſineſſe which he had deſigned, to be more eaſie then it was, and that there was greater hopes, then he really found, to work upon the Venetians, he was entred into ſtrait practiſe with the King, to effect what was thus deſigned.

The King of *France* was in ſome doubt what to do, but had ſtill theſe intentions in his mind; he received ſeverall advertiſments, which might confirm him in his firſt purpoſe; to wit, Of the great ſtraits whereinto *Ceſar* was reduced, which were ſuch, and ſo many, as he might really ſeem to be abandoned, by that good Genius, which had wont to accompany him in all his actions, with miraculous proſperity. Duke *Maurice*, and the reſt of the confederate Princes, purſued their march towards *Iſprack*; and having forc'd a ſtrong and narrow paſſage, called *Chiuſa*, neer *Fuſſen*, and took it, it being the place wherein the Imperialiſts chief hopes lay, of hindring the enemies paſſage, ſo as their way being open to go to *Iſprack*, *Ceſar* and his brother *Ferdinando*, took ſuch counſell, as was dictated to them by neceſſity; and in the obſcureſt time of night, not having above 500 Horſe with them, they went from *Iſprack* towards *Perſenon*, and from thence to the County of *Tyroll*: And hearing ſoon after, that the Enemy were drawn neer *Iſprack*, they took their way again over ſteepy Mountains, and march't apace, not tarrying till they came to *Villasco*; where they likewiſe were ſo full of fears and jealouſies, as being told by thoſe that came from *Italy*, that Arms and Horſes were a raiſing in *Friuli*, they began to think, that the Common-wealth of *Venice* might be agreed with the King of *France*, and with the *Germans*, and might raiſe men to aſſault them. This jealouſie was occaſion'd by a great number of *Savergnian* Horſe, which were ſeen to be aſſembled about the Caſtle of *Oſoſſo*, to meet and reſcue the Count *Gazuolo*, who was going to the Emperours Court. *Ceſar* had likewiſe conceived theſe jealou-

louſies, (men being eaſie to believe, either what they fear or hope) by the Treaties of the Prince of *Salerno*; ſo as though he was counſelled, when he was at *Iſprack*, to go into *Italy*, he was not thereunto enclined, thinking he ſhould not paſſe with ſafety through the State of *Venice*, though the Venetians were alwaies ſo far from making any advantage of the adverſe fortune of any great Prince, who was their friend, as ſome German Lords having offered their ſervice to the Common-wealth, and to bring with them upon any occaſion 10000 Foot, and 2000 Horſe; the Senate, that they might not be any waies intereſſed at this time in the affairs of *Germany*, and being deſirous not to cauſe any jealouſies in the Emperour, would hardly liſten to their propoſition. But being at laſt freed of this ſuſpicion by *Dominico Moroſino*, who was Leiger Embaſſadour with him, and had alwaies followed him, as alſo by the fact it ſelf, he thanked the Senate, for the good-will which they had ſhewed unto him. Truly, great was the example of the inconſtancy of human affairs, to ſee that very Emperour, who but a little before, had in a glorious and triumphant manner, ſubdued and overcome *Germany*, ſhould be put into ſuch a terrour by the very ſame Forces, that he diſtruſted his liberty, and the dignity of his perſon. In theſe ſo many ſtraits, the Foot not being yet come which were expected from *Spain*, *Ceſar* turned his thoughts to agreement, giving way to the preſent bad criſis of affairs and times, and expecting a better occaſion to redeem his antient honour. To this purpoſe, a Dyet being called in *Poſſonia*, by the confederate Princes, the King of the *Romans* went thither himſelf in perſon, to negotiate conditions of peace. But the *Germans* pretenſions were great, who would make uſe of thoſe occaſions, to moderate *Ceſar*'s greatneſſe, and to encreaſe the liberty and privileges of the Princes, and Hans-Towns. So as, though *Ceſar* was ſometimes willing to ſatisfie them, being forc'd ſo to do by neceſſity, and his ſo many misfortunes; yet ſometimes he re-aſſum'd his accuſtomed courage: He ſaid, That rather then to give way to ſuch unworthy things, and ſo prejudiciall, not onely to himſelf, but to his ſucceſſors, he would run all hazards of fortune. But at laſt being reſolved, not to grant further liberty to thoſe Cities in point of Religion, nor to give way to the Decrees of new Dyets, he was content to accept of Agreement, as far as concerned the ſetting priſoners at liberty, and the receiving of the Rebells into favour. The King of *France* was the more encouraged by theſe ſucceſſes, and both he and the Prince of *Salerno* conceived better hopes, of bringing the buſineſſe of *Naples* to a good end; to the effecting whereof, the Venetians aſſiſtance being of all other things held moſt neceſſary, the Prince of *Salerno* returned to *Venice*, where, accompanied by Monſieur *di Selva*, the Kings Embaſſadour, they did again endeavour, to bring the Common-wealth to joyne in League for ſuch an enterpriſe; they alledged all things, whereby they might hope, to bring the Senators to hate and undervalue the Emperour, urging his ill-will towards the affairs of the Common-wealth, and his preſent low condition. And on the other ſide, they concealed nothing, which might purchaſe good-will to the King of

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France, or reputation, by reaſon of his mighty Forces, and of the love he bare to the Common-wealth. And becauſe it was known, that the Senate was very poſitive in keeping their Neutrality, Monſieur *de Selva*, handling this buſineſſe with much fervency, ſaid: *Are not you aware, Gentlemen, that it lies not in you to hinder the Kings intentions, ſince he is reſolved, if not accompanied by you, or any others, to undertake this buſineſſe of himſelf alone. And whatſoever reſolutions you ſhall put on, theſe Princes will try their fortunes; and which way ſoever it ſhall bend, you will not be able by your Neutrality to ſecure your State, nor the affairs of your Common-wealth, but will rather, let the event be what it will, leave them equally expoſed to the hatred of the Conqueror, and Conquered; Of the latter, becauſe, not valuing his adverſity, you would not aſſiſt him when you might; of the former, becauſe you would not joyne with him, out of envy to his proſperity. And what can my King expect from you, and from your antient, and (as you your ſelves tearm it) ſo dear friendſhip, if you do not accept his ſo gracious offers, tending to your ſo great, and ſo aſſured advantage, if you do not liſten to his fair and advantagious deſires? How can he hope to have you his friends in adverſe fortune, if you ſeem ſo much to ſleight his friendſhip, when fortune ſmiles upon him? what more fit occaſion can you expect, to encreaſe the welfare of your Common-wealth, and to ſecure your ſelf from* Ceſar's *formidable power, if you neglect this? How often have both you, and your anceſtors, taken up Arms, much to the praiſe of your magnanimity, being moved thereunto out of theſe very reaſons? Can you peradventure doubt, that my King, who ſcorns to make any agreement with* Ceſar, *now when he may do it ſo much to his advantage, will do it at any other time without you, or without the great good both of you and himſelf? or does it prevail with any of you, that if* Ceſar *ſhall chance to return to his priſtine greatneſſe, he will remember, that you would not take up Arms againſt him, when intreated? When it is much more likely, that following the cuſtome of all Princes, but more particularly his own, he will not value his own convenience and intereſt more, then any thing that is done, or could be done in his behalf? Are not the Cities of* Florence, Sienna, *and* Genua, *examples hereof; which he hath rewarded for their many ſervices done him, with bereaving them of their liberties?* Theſe things had a fair appearance; but being well looked into, it was found, that they were not grounded upon any ſolid reaſons, nor upon any ſound foundations; for to forgo *Ceſar's* friendſhip, which had been ſo many years preſerved, with much proſperity to the Common-wealth, out of avoiding uncertain, and far-diſtant dangers, appeared to be no good nor wholſom advice; and if they ſhould have any thought of quitting their Neutrality, and make another tryall of the Common-wealth's fortune, how ſhould they think this to be a good opportunity, the ſeaſon being already far ſpent, for attempting any thing that year by Sea, and having few or no Souldiers, to make any important attempt by Land. Nor was *Ceſar* at ſo low an ebb, but that upon agreement with the Germans, which was ſtill in treaty, and was near effecting, he might recruit himſelf, and take the ſorer revenge, for the injury he ſhould have receiv'd, it being aggravated by the condition of affairs and time.

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Theſe things being maturely conſidered, and added to the deſire of peace, to which the Senators were much inclined, made them reſolve, by almoſt all their votes, to give this anſwer to the Prince, and to the French Embaſſador: *That they very much thanked both the King and Prince, for this their forwardneſſe to accommodate the Commonwealth, which they would never forget: But that they having been, for many years paſt, in peace with all Princes, they were of opinion, that they could not depart from it, having no occaſion to do ſo. That in all things elſe, the Senate would willingly correſpond with the Kings pleaſure, deſiring the continuance of all ſplendour and proſperity to his Majeſty, and to his Kingdom.* This anſwer being given, the Prince did notwithſtanding purſue his former purpoſes, cauſing a meeting of ſeverall perſonages of the French faction, in the City of *Chiozza*, to conſult touching the managing of the buſineſſe of *Naples*. Here met the two Cardinals of *Ferrara* and *Tornone*, Monſieur *de Termes*, the Kings Lieutenant in *Italy*, the Duke of *Somma*, and other Dukes and Lords of the Kingdom; to whom, though the Prince did endeavour to demonſtrate the eaſineſſe of the enterpriſe, yet they finding many evident difficulties therein, it was not abſolutely approved of. Nay it ſo fell out, as the ſame things being more maturely conſidered, by the King of *France* himſelf, he ſoon after ſent to the Prince, and to Monſieur *di Selva*, wiſhing them to forbear propoſing any ſuch thing to the Venetian Senate. But it was already done, as you have heard; and the Senates wiſdom, in their reſolution and anſwer, was generally the more commended.

And behold the face of affairs began ſoon to alter; for the King of *France* receiv'd news, that the Dutch were fallen from him, alleadging for this their alienation, that he poſſeſs'd three chief Towns, *Metz*, *Tull*, and *Verdune*, which did belong unto the Empire. And Queen *Mary* having encreaſed her forces, by the Flemiſh, did with them beſiege *Eden*, a Town in *Picardy*. And on the contrary, grievous and contagious ſickneſſes fell in the Kings Army, which made it of it ſelf daily to diſſolve. Wherefore he was forced of himſelf to give over the enterpriſe of *Luxenburg*, and breaking off the courſe of his victories, to ſend many of his men to their winter-quarters, and to bring the reſt to the frontiers of his Kingdom, to defend his own affairs. This mean while, 10000 Spaniſh Foot were come unto the Emperour, and the Marquis of *Brandenburg*, who had at firſt adhered unto the King, facing about, joyned, with all his forces, with the Emperour; whoſe example was afterwards followed by many of the chief of *Germany*, who had firſt made the French colours be diſplaid; being diſpleaſed with the King of *France*, for not having been able to obtain ſomewhat, which they did very much deſire. The Emperour having by theſe new accidents recovered his former ardency, began to bethink himſelf of going in perſon, with all his forces, immediately to the recover of *Metz*, though the winter ſeaſon, which came on, and the condition of the City, which was very ſtrong both by ſcituation and art, excellently well munited with a Garriſon of 10000 French Foot, and many valiant Com-

Commanders, did adviſe him to the contrary. All his Commanders differed from him in opinion; but the buſineſſe being unſeaſonably attempted, met with conformable event: for having much leſſened his Army, by the ſufferings of many of his Souldiers, he was forc'd to retreat, having done more prejudice to himſelfe than to the Enemie.

Whilſt theſe things were in action, another Combuſtion, which had been long raked up in aſhes, broke forth in *Italy*. The *Seneſi* being no longer able to indure the inſolent proud command of the *Spaniard*, and having all things ready to drive out the Imperiall Garriſon, and to regain their Libertie, ſent to *Rome*, to acquaint the French Officers with this their firm reſolution, requiring their aſſiſtance at this their ſo great need, and promiſing to keep the City for the King of *France*. The buſineſſe, whereof there had been formerly ſome ſecret Treaties had in *France*, was willingly liſtned unto; and order was given, that many Foot, who were under the French pay, in *Parma*, and *Mirandola* ſhould march preſently towards that City, and ſoon after, Monſieur *de Lanſack* went thither himſelf in perſon, the more to incourage the people. So as, according as it had been firſt ordered, many armed people of the Country coming thither at the ſame time, and many forrain Souldiers, conducted by *Nicolas* Count of *Petigliano*; the Spaniſh Souldiers were ſuddenly affrighted, and driven by an aſſault out of the Town. The Fort was ſlighted, and many other things done in contempt of *Ceſar*, and his dignitie; his Enſigns dragg'd about the ſtreet, his Arms broken, things which made this action appear more grievous to *Ceſar*, and which did trouble him the more, and made him very deſirous of revenge; therfore, to loſe no time, to ſatisfie his anger conceived againſt the *Seneſi*, and to keep the French from having another receptacle in *Italy*: he commanded *Don Piedro di Tolledo*, Vice-roy of *Naples*, to go with 5000 Foot, what-Dutch, what-Spaniſh, (the Kingdom being now free from the danger, for which the Garriſons of thoſe Cities were increaſed with theſe men) into *Tuſcany*, and indeavour the reducing of the City of *Sienna* to his devotion again. It was thought that this ſucceſs, if the French-mens deſigns ſhould prove ſecure, would be very prejudiciall to the Emperour's affairs in *Italy*; for though the French profeſs'd in words, that they had tane upon them the defence of *Sienna*, to free it from the oppreſſion of the *Spaniards*, and to reſtore it to its former dignity and freedom; yet their intention was too well known. For refuſing propoſitions of Agreement which were offered, they would continue their Garriſons in that City, that they might make uſe thereof, and of other places which they had gotten, to raiſe men in *Italy*, and for other deſigns of theirs. So as in reward of Liberty, the King of *France* required of the *Seneſi*, that they would declare themſelves to be friends to his friends, and Enemies to his Enemies. The Vice-roy then deſiring ſuddenly to obey *Cæſars* Commands, obtained paſſage through the Churches Territories; which the Pope ſaid he gave way unto, becauſe he knew not how to hinder him. He entred with his Army into the parts about *Sienna*, which he plundered; and took ſome

weak Caſtles, which ſoon yielded; but the ſtronger places were ſo well munited, as the Imperialiſts were forc'd to keep long before them: the whole force of the War almoſt was reduced to about *Monte Alcino*: whilſt which Fort was preſerved, *Sienna*, which was excellently well provided of all things, was in the leſſer danger. That which made the *Seneſi* chiefly ſo reſolute to defend themſelves, was, the fear of being ſeverely puniſht by *Ceſar*, if he ſhould regain the City, and their hopes of not being long troubled with the Imperiall Army, by reaſon of the dangers which befell the Kingdom of *Naples*, by the Turkiſh and French Fleets. The *Venetians* indeavoured to quench this fire which was kindled in *Italy*.

The End of the twelfth and laſt Book, of the firſt Part, of the Venetian Hiſtory.

THE HISTORY OF VENICE,

The Second Part.

Written by PAULO PARUTA, *Procurator of* St. MARK.

Wherein the War made by the League of Chriſtian Princes againſt *Selino Ottaman*, upon occaſion of the Kingdom of *Cyprus*, is contained, in three Books.

BOOK I.

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The

THe War made by the Common-wealth of *Venice* againſt *Selino Ottaman*, when his Empire and fortune was at the greateſt height, both by Sea and Land, in defence of the Kingdom of *Cyprus*; he being the moſt powerful Emperour of the Turks, and in League with ſome of the chiefeſt Princes of Chriſtendom; may be numbred amongſt the moſt remarkable things which hath hapned in our times, or in the memory of our fore-fathers, or in whatſoever other former Age: The War being undertaken with much fervour, and warlike preparation on both ſides, and with no leſſe indignation then power; whilſt not onely the ableſt Nations, but ſuch as did differ in Cuſtomes, Lawes, and Religion, did contend for the priority of the Militia, and for the glory of the Empire; ſo as the preſent War contains events, which for their variety and greatneſſe, may afford ſuch delight and help, as the knowledge of what hath been done, uſeth to afford: I have thought it a praiſe-worthy work, in being very carefull and diligent, in recollecting all the Counſells, and moſt important Actions which inſued in the ſpace of three years, the time which this war laſted; and ſevering them from the continued Series of other things whereof I am to write, to give you a particular ſtory thereof, that I may fully ſatisfie the curioſity which the fame of great things may excite in thoſe which ſhall come after us, to know ſo ſtrange events orderly and diſtinctly; and that being taught by ſuch examples, they may the better draw ſome uſefull precepts for politick Government.

The occaſion of this War, was that which hath troubled almoſt all Chriſtendom for theſe many years; the *Ottaman* Princes immoderate deſire of Empire, and military Glory, which is begot in them by the Rules of that State, being wholly given to Action, and military Exerciſes: So as thinking the inlargement of their confines a ſufficient reaſon of making War, they have been alwaies troubleſome to their Neighbours; not reputing thoſe their Enemies, who have been readieſt to provoke them by injuries; but thoſe are moſt expoſed unto their fury, whoſe forces are weakeſt, or whoſe States be moſt convenient for them, or whom they may opportunely offend; and theſe they have indeavoured to bereave of their Dominions, whereof both this and the preceding Age doth afford us many evident examples. But it will be clearly ſeen, by what ſhall hereafter be ſaid, what the particular occaſion of this war was, and pretences the Turks made uſe of to take up Arms.

The *Venetians*, amongſt other of their Territories in the *Levant*, were at this time poſſeſt of the Iſland of *Cyprus*, which they had been Maſters of for fourſcore years: for the Common-wealth ſeeing that Kingdom reduced to eminent danger, of falling into the Turks Dominion, it being oppreſt by the ſnares and violence of *Baiazet Ottaman*, who apparently aimed at the getting of it; after ſhe had for many years defended the Dowager Queen, wife to *Giacopo Luſignano*, the laſt King. The Dowager being a *Venetian*, & whom the

State

State had adopted for her Daughter, to make her the more worthy of ſo great a match; the Common-wealth indeavoured by the means of her Brother *Georgio Cornaro*, that ſhe would deliver up the free and abſolute Government of *Cyprus* to her native Country: for her onely Sonne being dead, ſhe by her Husbands laſt Will and Teſtament, was left ſole Heir and Legitimate Lady of that Kingdom: Which ſhe giving way unto, was, after ſhe went from thence, reduced unto a Province; and the Common-wealth continued ſtill to ſend divers Magiſtrates to look to the Government thereof, being very carefull to preſerve ſo noble a Member, and ſo great an adornment added to their State: whereby this Iſland hath not onely hitherto been preſerved from the Turks, but hath been much inriched by the induſtry of many Gentlemen of *Venice*, who being inveſted with Inheritances there, began to manure the Grounds, to govern their Farms, (which the Country people there call their Ville) and to uſe frequent Navigation thither in Venetian bottoms, whereby not onely the native Commodities were exported, but many other Merchandizes brought thither from *Ægypt* and *Soria*, it being made as it were a Landing-place, whereinto divers ſorts of Merchandize were brought from the Neighbouring Turkiſh Territories, as into a ſafe and convenient place. The Venetians paid unto the Turks yearly, eight thouſand Duckers, by way of Tribute for this Iſland, which was wont to be paid by the *Luſignian* Kings, to the Emperours of the *Malamacchy*, after that King *Giano*, Sonne to *Giacopo*, overcome in battel by the *Soldan*, and carried Priſoner to *Cairo*, was forced for his freedom to tax his Kingdom with this perpetuall Tribute; having alſo diſburſt a great ſum of Gold. The *Ottaman* Emperours did afterwards ſucceed to this intereſt, when Sultan *Selino*, father to *Soliman*, had ſubdued the Empire of the *Malamucchy*: wherefore the Venetians, as new poſſeſſors, continued this recognition to them, which made the Turks ſtill deſirous to poſſeſs themſelves of this Kingdom, both out of reaſon of State, and for the cauſe of Religion, it being a particular fee-farme of the *Mecca*, a place of worſhip and devotion amongſt the Mahometans. The Turks grew alſo ſuſpitious that this Iſland, by reaſon of the fitneſſe of its ſcituation, was become a receptacle to the *Malta* Gallies, and to other Weſtern Pirates, by which the Rivers of their neighbouring parts were infeſted, and the ſubjects of the *Ottaman* Empire, kept from ſayling ſafely on thoſe Seas; and had yet a more particular quarrel, for that the voyages of thoſe *Maſſelmans*, who out of any vow, or religious zeal, ſayled to *Mecca*, were thereby hindred, and expoſed to danger. The diſturbers of the peace making uſe of this, and cloaking their own peculiar intereſts under it, ſtrove to make War with the Common-wealth, to bereave her of this Noble and Rich Iſland: Nor was the inclination, which was known to be in many of thoſe inhabitants to change their Government, that ſo they might change their fortune and condition, a ſmall incitement hereunto. For a ſore ſlavery being by ancient cuſtome introduced, which aroſe firſt from a ſmall tax laid upon the inhabitants to pay the Cavalry which kept

thoſe

thoſe ſhores from incurſions, and the Venetians not daring to abrogate it; when they had gotten that Kingdom, for fear of loſing the love of the Nobles, whoſe Lands were laboured by theſe ſlaves, whom they call *Pariti*; many of theſe men grew diſcontented, and deſirous of Novelty, which not hoping to attain unto from elſewhere, they had recourſe unto the Turks, as to thoſe to whom ſuch an enterpriſe might prove very eaſie and opportune, by reaſon of their power and nearneſſe. But theſe things being repreſented to *Soliman*, and much diſcourſe being had thereupon, which bred much doubt and jealouſies in the Venetians, could work no effect. For he, were it for that he was alwaies imployed in other affairs; or that he would not without occaſion violate his friendſhip with the Venetians, and by breach of Oath ſtain that glory which he was alwaies ſo ambitious of; or for that he thought it not good to neceſſitate them whoſe friendſhip he might make advantage of, to turn their forces againſt him, which were very ſtrong at Sea, and therefore very fit to moleſt many of his Dominions, and to occaſion a League amongſt the Chriſtian Princes, and ſo interrupt his greater deſigns, would never lend an ear to thoſe who adviſed him to this enterpriſe, nor make uſe of any occaſion, wiſely refuſing the invitations, and the promiſes of the *Pariti* of the Iſland. The Venetians were not wanting to preſerve this opinion in him; wherefore refuſing all Counſells which tended to War, and thinking it not fit to make uſe of any occaſion which might compell them to take up Arms againſt ſo potent an Enemy: they theſe late years ſtood idly looking upon others mens actions, that they might not indanger themſelves to free others; having learnt by experience, how unfortunate they had been in waging War with *Soliman*; how powerful and formidable an enemy he had been to all Chriſtendom, and how little reaſon they had to truſt to the help of other men, or in the doubtful ſucceſs of War, having been much to their prejudice deceived in their hopes, either by the inſincerity of ſome of the Collegues, or by the uncertainty of fortune. At this time all men commended the Senates wiſdom, who could uſe ſuch temper with the Turks, as they ſhould neither fear, nor deſpiſe the Venetian name. For as oft as any powerfull Fleet was put to Sea, they ſpared for no coſt to keep the maritime Forts munited, and by arming their Gallies to give a kind of counterpoiſe to the Turkiſh Forces: But they did ſtill ſhun all occaſions of interpoſing themſelves in their deſigns, and kept ſuch friendſhip with Chriſtian Princes, as might ſeem to look more at their own ſafety, then at the injuring of others, and rather to the preſerving of what was their own, than to the acquiring what was their Neighbours. Whence the Turks ſaw that the Venetians deſired to keep friendſhip with them, and that they knew how, and were able to make War, and be at enmity with them: that they willingly avoided all occaſions of making triall of their Forces, but yet would not ſuffer ſuch injuries as might be prejudicial to their Honour, or State: and by this means they had injoy'd peace for above thirty years. Whereby, beſides the ſpinning out of time, which made much for the weakeſt, they did very much ad-

advantage the City of *Venice*, wherein all Arts and Merchandize did flourish. Whereby being much increased in inhabitants, and in all sorts of Commodities, they had lived a long time joyfully, and contented, in great tranquillity & plenty; the Citizens gaining much by traffick in the *Levant*, and injoying their Revenues so long free from extraordinary taxes of War. Yet were not all mens minds free from jealousies and troubles; for finding that *Soliman* had studied Sea-affairs, more by much then any of his Predecessors, so as he sent forth almost every year a great Fleet, the end whereunto not being known, it caused much fear; the Common-wealth being able, by reason of her scituation, to give a just counterpoise to the Turkish Fleets, which grew now as formidable at Sea, as their Armies had been some years before at Land: so as feeling the inconveniences of War in time of Peace, they were oft necessitated to Garrisonize their Forts, knowing how little faith they were to adhibit to Infidels, and to be in continuall expence and jealousie, as may be known by what hath been said in the preceding Books. But all men were chiefly concern'd in the care of *Cyprus*, that Kingdom being a very considerable member of the State, and which lying far from the City of *Venice*, and being inviron'd round about by the Turkish Territories, was in greater hazard of being possest by so powerfull Neighbours. Being therefore intent upon the preservation of so rich and commodious a Province, they had reduced the City of *Nicosia*, the Metropolitan of that Kingdom, into a Fort-Royall, and had added new Foot-Companies of those of the Country, to the ordinary Militia of the *Stradioti*, and made other provisions for War, indeavouring thereby to secure that Island, and to bereave the Turks as well of mind, as of means to assault it. Thus this war, which had been feared many years, was defer'd all *Solimans* life time.

But, his Son *Selino* succeeding him in his Empire, all men grew quickly more afraid, it being publickly given out, that he had long had an inclination to the enterprise of *Cyprus*. For before his Fathers death, whilst he, according to the custome of the *Ottamans*, lived far from him in the Province of *Magnasia*; having occasion, by reason of the Neighbour-hood, to receive severall informations of that Island, and daily hearing much talk of the fruitfulnesse thereof, of the Noblemens wealth, and of the abundance of all things therein, he had a great desire to possess it; so as he said publiquely, that when he should succeed his Father in his Empire, he would seek to make himselfe master thereof. It was also given out, that *Selino* had begun to build a magnificent Moschea in *Andrenopoli*, following therein the custome of many of his Ancestors; who, (perhaps in imitation of those ancient Egyptian Kings, who built Piramids, and other Fabricks of a stupendious magnitude,) indeavoured to perpetuate their memorie to posterity by making royall Edifices. He being therefore very fervent herein was told by the Mufty, whose authority is as venerable, in the Mahometan superstitious Ceremonies, as is the Popes, in the true Christian Religion; that he not having as yet

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made any acquiſition, it was not lawfull for him to build a Moſchey, together wherewith many pious works were to be inſtituted; and that it was not lawfull by their Lawes, to employ any of the antient Revenue of the Empire in ſuch things, but onely the Incomes of ſuch Countries, as were conquered by him, who would have ſo much honour done him. Hereunto was added, that it ſeemed, *Selino* had not onely an occaſion offered him to do this, but that he was almoſt neceſſitated to make war ſomewhere, that he might follow the footſteps of his predeceſſors, who were alwaies uſed to do ſome notable action, in the beginning of their Empire, to win the favour and good-will of the Souldier; the which it was thought it was the fitter for *Selino* to do, for that he not being held to be a warlick Prince, began to fall from that high reverence amongſt the ſouldiers and people, which was wont to be given by them to his fore-fathers. War being therefore to be made, it was not judged convenient for him, to make it in *Hungary*, and much leſſe in *Perſia*, ſince the confines of the Turkiſh Empire were of ſo large extent, as their Armies could not be conducted thither, without much inconveniency, they being much waſted by ſufferings, and by the length of the way, before they could ſee the face of the enemy; as had hapned to his grand-father *Selino*, in the wars againſt the *Sophie* of *Perſia*, whom though he overcame in Battle, yet he himſelf was overcome at laſt, having in his return loſt the greateſt part of his Army, by the length and difficulties of the march. And as was more clearly ſeen, in the laſt enterpriſe made by *Soliman* in *Hungary*, wherein the getting of the Fort of *Zighet*, was not thought anſwerable to the loſſe of ſo many of his beſt ſouldiers, which enſued thereupon. So as it was beſt for *Selino*, to betake himſelf to ſome Sea-enterpriſe, whereof none lay more convenient for him, then that of *Cyprus*, it being full of wealth, and placed in the utmoſt precincts of the Venetian Dominions, and therefore weakeſt, as lying furtheſt from the heart; wherefore it might prove an eaſie and a rich booty. Whereas if he ſhould go to the ſteril parts of *Spain*, to attempt any enterpriſe, he might fear, he ſhould conſume his men in vain by hardſhips, and conſequently reap rather blame and hatred from the Souldier, then love and honour: And by any bad accident, he might fore-bode bad ſucceſſe in the remainder of his Government. And the recent example of the bad ſucceſſe at *Malta*, which was maintained by a few Knights of *Jeruſalem*, (whoſe peculiar ſeat and habitation it is) againſt a powerfull Turkiſh Fleet, might better teach them, upon what diſadvantage war was waged in anothers Territories, far diſtant from their own Dominions. Whereas on the contrary, a more aſſured victory, and good reward was promiſed him, by the enterpriſe of *Cyprus*, a plentifull Country, and environed on all ſides by Rivers, whereunto he had but a ſhort paſſage of ſixty miles for his men to make. Theſe things being maturely conſidered, did at firſt produce great fears, that *Selino* would war with the Venetians, concerning the Kingdom of *Cyprus*. But finding afterwards, that he had very readily confirmed the ſame Articles of peace, which had for many years been eſtabli-

ſhed, and inviolably obſerved by his father; and that he had given ſignes of long continuing his paternall affection to the Commonwealth, by his handſome treating of the Venetian ſubjects, and their affairs. Moreover, it being obſerved, that no great preparation was made for the Sea, and that ſeverall Summer-ſeaſons being paſt over, one onely Fleet had put to Sea, and that but a weak one. All men were perſwaded, that what was formerly ſaid of *Selino*'s being naturally given to pleaſure, and not to military exerciſes, degenerating therein from the *Ottoman*-race, would prove true; and that he would paſſe over his Government in delights, and in idleneſſe. His having given over the enterpriſe of *Hungary*, which was happily begun by his father; his having made Truce for eight years with *Maximilian* the Emperour; his not preparing to ſend out Fleets, and other ſuch like things, would have made it be believed, that all this had been done, to confirm and to encreaſe his forces by ſome repoſe, after the many paſt wars; and that, free from other impediments, he would the better attend what he had propoſed unto himſelf. This opinion was likewiſe confirmed, that *Selino* would continue peace and friendſhip with the Venetians, for that *Mehemet*, who was the firſt Baſhaw, and his ſon in Law, was thought, would be of great authority with him; who, as a wiſe man, and well experienced in the management of many weighty worldly affairs, would not adviſe him to make war with the Venetians, knowing that it made not for their advantage, to deprive themſelves of the Venetians friendſhips, and of the many commodities which were brought unto them by Venetian Merchants, who trafficking much in thoſe parts, accommodate them with many things which they wants and, to the great advantage of thoſe Inhabitants, export many commodities wherewith they abound, into other Countries. To which the Prince his particular intereſt was likewiſe added, whoſe cuſtomes and publick revenues were much encreaſed by Traffick with forraign Nations. And if ſuch a prejudice were not to be conſidered, to try fortune raſhly and unneceſſitated, unſeaſonably, and without any cauſe, affording thereby occaſion to all Chriſtian Princes, to joyn in a League, was judged to be a very conſiderable thing; for when they ſhould ſee their ſafeties undermined, under the ſhaddow of a ſeeming peace, and that a ſupream Monarchy was laboured to be grounded in the *Ottoman*-Empire, they would be forced, being thereunto moved by their own danger, to take up Arms together with the Venetians, to abate the power and daring of the common Enemy. Which danger was not counterpoiſed, by the hopes of getting a little Iſland, which though it were a Noble one in it ſelf, yet was it but a ſmall addition to ſo ample a Dominion. To theſe ſo great intereſts both of Prince and ſubjects, was *Mehemet*'s own particular concernment added; for he being in greateſt honour and authority, he might in peace enjoy his riches and his power, whereas in war he was to run many hazards; ſince he being to tarry at *Conſtantinople*, when his Maſter ſhould be in the wars, he would be accuſed of negligence in making proviſions, by his Rivalls; and if any ill luck

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ſhould happen, other mens bad counſels would be imputed to him; or the main enterpriſe being committed to another, this other man, if things ſhould ſucceed happily, would be advanced in his Princes favour and eſteem. It was therefore believed, that the wiſdom and dexterity of *Mehemet*, would much allay *Selino*'s immoderate deſires, and that he would be a fit inſtrument, to divert him from theſe thoughts. Hence it was, that many men beginning to fall off from their firſt ſuſpicions, the Venetian Merchants did not onely continue their former Traffick under the new Emperour, but traffickt more then before, ſtriving who ſhould ſend moſt gold and ſilver, and other precious Merchandiſe, into divers places belonging to the Turks, whither people of ſeverall Nations came, every one beginning to promiſe peace unto himſelf, out of the aforeſaid conſiderations, which were much credited out of hope of gain.

There is nothing more difficult, then to penetrate into the inward counſells of Princes; there is no more fallacious argument, then that which is made upon their reſolutions, eſpecially when their minds (as for the moſt part they are) are agitated by variety of reaſons, or diſturbed by various affections. *Selino* being in this height of greatneſſe, though of himſelf he was no great friend to Arms, yet this his naturall defect being overcome, by the orders and power of that Empire, or being perſwaded out of the aforeſaid reaſons; he bent his minde to poſſeſſe himſelf of the Kingdom of *Cyprus*. Thus in the third year of his reign, in the month of *November*, as he rid out with ſome of his chief Baſhaws to hunt, (which the Turks call their *Divano a cavallo*) he began to conſult with them herein. *Mehemet*, the firſt Baſhaw, continuing in his former opinion, out of the aforeſaid reaſons, ſought by all means poſſible to diſſwade him from it; he ſhewed, *That whether it were Religion, State-intereſt, or Glory, which moved* Selino *to make war, he ſhould do it, to ſuccour the Moors of* Granado, *rather then for any other reſpect. That it became the greatneſſe, wherein by the favour of the Prophet* Mahomet, *the* Ottaman *Emperours were placed, chiefly not to abandon them, who with a pious and conſtant reſolution, had never abandoned the Mahometan religion; and who whilſt they ſuffered bodily ſlavery, kept the liberty of their conſcience unſpotted, by any ſuperſtition. That it likewiſe became the power and ſafety of that Empire, as alſo the glory which* Selino *ſeemed ſo deſirous of, not to permit any Potentate to grow too powerfull, but to quell thoſe firſt, who might oppoſe the* Ottaman *grandezza, as did the King of* Spain; *and to undertake things, which though they might peradventure prove difficult, would notwithſtanding merit praiſe, and be of great expectation. That therefore he ſhould acknowledge, and make uſe of ſo good an occaſion, as God did now lay before him, to preſerve the faithfull Muſſelmans, to moleſt their enemies, and to make way for noble and glorious atchievments.* But *Piali* and *Muſtafa* Baſhaw endeavoured the contrary, with much fervency, and with the ſame reaſons, but applyed otherwiſe; who not onely out of envy to *Mehemet*, but as his declared enemies; the former having by his means been deprived of the dignity of *Baſhaw del Mare*; and the latter's life much endangered by ſeverall imputations, whilſt he was Governour of *Cairo*,

did alwaies oppoſe *Mehemets* deſignes and counſells; and they appeared the more zealous herein, for that knowing they adviſed that, whereunto their Lord was much enclined, they hoped to wind into his favour, and to deprive him thereof, who adviſed the contrary, by applauding his reſolution. To this was added, That if the buſineſſe of *Cyprus* ſhould be pitched upon, according to their opinions and perſwaſions, *Piali* hoped to be reſtored to his former honour, and to be Governour of the Fleet; and *Muſtafa* hoped to have the chief employment by land: ſo as upon any happy ſucceſſe, they might each of them regain their former reputation and authority. Theſe men, ſometimes conſidering the advantage, ſometimes the eaſineſſe of this enterpriſe; and oft-times mixing the conſideration of Religion with theſe concernments of State, ſhewed, *How that the Venetians forces were of themſelves weak, and that what aſſiſtance they might receive from other Chriſtian Princes, was by example known to be uncertain and fallacious. That the Iſland of* Cyprus, *by reaſon of its far diſtance from* Venice, *was hard to be garriſoned or ſuccoured; very convenient to be aſſaulted by them, by its lying ſo near their Countries. That it was a rich and noble Kingdom, commodiouſly ſeated for their other Territories, and ſo, as it might ſecure the navigation upon thoſe Seas, to the ſubjects of the* Ottaman *Empire, which ſo great an Emperour as he, ought the rather to take into his care; for that not onely in deriſion of his dignity, but to the hainous ſcandall of Religion, and of the name of* Muſſelman, *the voyage to the* Mecca *was impeded, the Pilgrims being miſerably made priſoners by the weſtern Pirats, who had ſafe harbour in that Iſland. And that as this war was of it ſelf holy, ſo it might be made the more meritorious, by applying the rich revenues of this new acquiſition, to the uſe of the magnificent Temple, which* Selino *cauſed to be built in* Andrenopolis. *They moreover oppoſed* Mehemet's *opinion very ſtrongly, and the Spaniſh enterpriſe, urging the difficulty of carrying ſo numerous a Fleet into ſo far diſtant Countries; to what dangers it would be expoſed, ſailing through places, where there were no Havens, through the enemies Rivers; and then how long it would be, before the war could be begun, what alterations time might afford; how vain thoſe hopes uſe to prove, which are grounded upon popular inſurrections, without the groundwork of reall forces. How craggy and mountainous thoſe parts were, and naturally apt to hinder any conſiderable progreſſe of any power, how great ſoever. Selino* liſtned the more willingly to what theſe men ſaid, for that it was conformable to his own ſenſe; and on the other ſide, *Mehemet's* allegations were of leſſe authority; for he being known to be very wary, nay, rather timorous ſometimes in his advices, he was thought to act according to his own inclinations, when he was againſt making any war without neceſſity; and now when he was for the enterpriſe of *Spain*, wherein there wanted not much difficulty, he ſeemed to do not onely what was contradictory to reaſon, but contrary to his own nature. *Selino* proceeded therefore herein with great reſpect and temper; and at laſt meeting with no more oppoſition, he reſolved upon the enterpriſe of *Cyprus*, ſaying, He would be himſelf in perſon in it. And he was ſo affectionate, and ſo conſtant in this reſolution, as all men believed, he would have begun this War the very

very first year of his Empire, had he not been detained by other impediments: for he found the Empire much exhausted of many things, by reason of the continuall Wars made by *Soliman*, and especially in the last enterprises of *Malta* and *Sighet*, wherein many men were consumed, and the Fleet was also almost unfurnished of all things; so as it was necessary to refresh the Forces, and to recruit the Navy, by time and rest.

The Bashaw of *Caffa* being put upon it, as it was thought by *Mehemet*, to imploy the Grand Signior in other affairs, had put him in minde, that by cutting a neck of Land, about some eighteen miles over, in a place called *Asdragan*, which was possest by the *Russians*, two great and famous Rivers might be joyn'd together, the *Tanai*, and the *Volga*, whereby severall Navigations would be much accommodated, and the fishing of the *Tanai* would be bettered, to the great and assured advantage of his Highnesse Imposts, and with hopes of greater things; for thereby an easie Navigation would be opened to *Mare Maiore*, whereinto the *Tanai* falls, and to the Caspian Sea, whereinto the *Volga* doth disgorge her selfe; so as Armies might upon any occasion be easily led into *Persia*. For the which many men being assembled, and much indeavour being had, the *Muscovites*, through whose Country the Cut was to be made, did not onely raise many Horse to disturbe the worke, but the King of *Persia* hearing thereof, and considering (as it was true) that by leaving this way open to his Territories, they were bereft of a great security, by reason of the difficulties of the deserts, and by the length of the march, which the Armies meet withall which come to assault them, he began to multiply his men, who were upon his confines, and gave *Selino* just occasion to suspect, that these things being discovered, he would not ratifie the peace and confederacy which he had made with his Father *Soliman*. Nor was the rising of the Arabians to be slighted, who had possest themselves of much Territories about the River of *Giemen*, tane the City *Aden*, and indeavoured to make themselves Masters of the *Mecca*, and giving out that they held intelligence with the Portugueſe, made greater proceedings be apprehended. But these rumours of the Arabians being at last appeased, and the King of *Persia* having sent Letters, that he would continue his friendship and former confederacy, and together with them (which made them be the better credited) notice being given by the Bashaw of *Erzirun*, that all things were peacefull upon the confines of *Persia*; *Selino* thought that being free from all impediments, and having already made much provision for War, he ought not now defer it any longer; and the rather, for that he seemed to be invited to hasten the enterprise, by two sad accidents which hapned this year, which did much incommodiate the Venetians, but not so much as it was thought. The one was, that there was so great a scarcity of all sorts of Grain this year throughout almost all Italy, as there was great want found thereof in the City of *Venice*, and in all parts thereabouts: so as it was thought, that not having wherewithall to feed their own people, it would be impossible for the Venetians to maintain an Army, and a Fleet. The

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other accident was not ſo ſad of it ſelfe, but very horrible in appearance. For fire taking on the 13th of *September*, in the Ammunition of the *Arſenal* by night, were it by chance, or by any other malice (which was never diſcovered), it burſt out into ſo great a flame, as much miſchiefe was done, not onely in the buildings which are within the *Arſenal*, but in the parts about it, and to the wonder of all beholders, it wrought ſome miraculous effects. For thoſe Towers wherein the Gun-powder was placed, were blown up even by the foundation, in ſo much as in the plain thereof there was a ditch, above fifteen foot deep; and the walls which begirt the *Arſenal* on that ſide, though they were very ſtrong, and of a large circuit, and certain huge vaults, under which Gallies are ſheltred, were thrown down to the ground. It threw down likewiſe the Church Monaſtery of the Nuns, *Della Celeſtia*, and ſome other neighbouring houſes, and many other Houſes that were further off, were torn and ſpoil'd; great holes were made in the walls, marble broken, tops of Houſes carryed away, all the Houſes of the City did ſo ſhake, as it was generally thought, that if ſuch an accident had hapned a little before, whilſt ſome little Towers in the neighbouring Iſlands were not repleniſht with Gun-powder, whereinto the greateſt part of the Ammunition Powder, was carried but a little before: that noble City, full of ſo many, and ſo ſtately ſtructures, had been utterly ruin'd; and truly, the noiſe was ſo great and terrible, as it was heard by thoſe that were above thirty 30 miles off; and many in *Venice*, amazed at ſo unuſual a ſound, thought Dooms-day had been come. It was noiſed abroad, that very great miſchiefe was done in the *Arſenal*, and a great part of the Navall preparations loſt by this fire; though indeed the prejudice was not great, nothing having ſuffered, ſave onely four Gallies which were cruſht by the weight of the Vaults; but thoſe who ſolicited the War at *Conſtantinople*, exaggerated theſe things, repreſenting to the Grand Signeur the Venetians condition to be very low and mean, prognoſticating certain ruine to the Common-wealth, and an aſſured victory to the *Ottaman* Empire. Theſe were the reaſons why the Turks continued peace for many years with the Venetians, and why they broke into war with them at this time.

The Senators received due information of theſe Counſells and tranſactions from *Mark Antonio Barbaro*, their Conſull at *Conſtantinople*, a very wiſe man, who did excellent ſervice all this while to the Common-wealth. But at firſt men could not believe their own fears, which they had found to prove falſe ſeverall times before; ſo as being now accuſtomed to a long peace, they could not eaſily perſwade themſelves, that their condition could be altered; but either not believing theſe advertiſements, or interpreting things otherwiſe then they were, they thought that this fury of war would burſt forth ſomewhere elſe. Nay, ſome of the chiefe Senators, and beſt experienced of that Nation, adviſed that they ſhould be very wary in making proviſions for the Navy, leſt they might peradventure raiſe more jealouſies then were needfull in *Selino*, by their ſo great preparations, and make him do that which peradventure

ture he never dreamt of; whereby they might rather haſten, then avoid their danger. The long nouriſhing of theſe appearing hopes, was the cauſe why they did not make ſuch proviſions, at the beginng of theſe jealouſies, as the eminent danger did require.

But at laſt, in the beginning of *January*, the year 1570 being now commenced, Letters came from the Conſull to the Senate, wherein he gave notice not onely of the generall ſpeech and ſtirrings; but of the certain reſolution put on in the *Divano*, to aſſault *Cyprus*; though the Baſhaws conſtanly affirming the contrary, ſought to conceal it. *Mehemet*, that he might not oblige *Selino* to do it, by divulging it, and ſo deprive himſelfe of any occaſion which time might produce; *Muſtapha*, and *Piali*, that to their better advantage, they might aſſault *Cyprus* at unawares. But the Conſull cunningly ſeeming not to believe that which he knew to be very true, diſcourſing with the Turks, and chiefly with *Ibrahim*, their interpreter, a domeſtick ſervant of the firſt Baſhaw, and therefore of good eſteem; he drew him at unawares into ſeverall communications, whereby he learnt much of the Baſhaw's intentions, of their preparations, and particularly of a great number of flat bottom'd boats, which were making in the Gulph of *Aiazzo*, and in the *Mare Majore*, and of Orders given out by the Captain-Generall of *Aſia*, (by them called the *Belgierbie della Natolia*) to all the Souldiers of that Province, that they might provide to ride into *Caramania*, and of other things of like nature, by which he might clearly learn, that the next ſummers action was to be againſt the Kingdom of *Cyprus*. After which advertiſements, they all began to be very diligent in providing for ſo great a need, ſought by their preſent diligence to repair the time they had loſt, and gave themſelves with all diligence to provide for all ſuch things as were thought fit to withſtand the fury of ſo certain a war. They reſolved to ſend forthwith great Garriſons into *Cyprus*, and wiſht all the Governours of the Iſland to be very vigilant in preparing all ſuch things to ſuſtain the War, which was chiefly intended againſt that Kingdom, to exhort the common people to Loyalty; and the Gentlemen that were Feudatories, to provide Arms and Horſes, according as they were bound to do; and Commanders in chiefe were provided for their Sea-forts, *Luca Michiele* was made Commiſſary of *Cania*; *Lorenzo da Mula*, being ſent a little before into *Candia*, with title of Commiſſary Generall of that Iſland, with particular charge to inform himſelfe of ſuch as were fit for the Oare, wherewith to furniſh twenty Gallies, which were to that purpoſe ſent into that Kingdom. *Sebaſtiano Veniero* went to *Corfu*, who had the ſupream Authority of the Militia of that Kingdom given him; and *Giovanni da Lege*, a Cavalier, and Procurator of St. *Mark*, was ſent to *Zara*, and made Generall of all *Dalmatia*. All the Ships which lay in the Havens of the City, were forbidden to depart without licence, though they were ſo few at this time, as thereby the difficulty of ſending ſuch Foot as was requiſite into *Cyprus*, was made the greater. Souldiers were raiſed in many parts of *Italy*, divers Commanders were brought thither, and with much union and diligence they were continually careful,

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in ordering all their Forces both for their own defence, and to offend the Enemy, insomuch that there was never any provision for War proposed in the Senate, which was not approved of by almost all the Votes. But chiefly they gave themselves with all diligence, to have work done in the *Arsenall*, and to prepare great store of Gallies: There were eleven Governours chosen of the greater Gallies, and *Francesco Duodo* was made their Captain, one highly esteemed for his valour, and knowledge in Sea Discipine; and eighty were chosen to be Governours of the lesser Gallies, who were all of them chief Gentlemen of the City, and such as were best experienced in Sea affairs. *Pietro Trono*, was made Captain of the Frigats; and they resolved to arm a Gallioune, very artificially built before by *Vittore Fausto*, a learned man, and who had a particular excellency in composing Sea-Engines; *Girolimo Contarino*, was made Captain thereof; but *Girolomo Zane*, Procurator of St. *Mark*, was to have the supream Authority over the whole Fleet: He was held to be very fortunate both in his own private condition, and in the publick imployments, who had alwaies govern'd himselfe therein with much integrity and wisdome. These things being thus ordered, they apply'd themselves diligently to see them performed; and all provisions were so easily and readily had, as exceeded expectation. Concerning the using of these Forces, some propounded, that forty Gallies should speedily be sent towards the *Levant*, who keeping in *Candia*, should be ready to make use of such occasions as time, and the Enemies proceeding should offer. They considered, that to shew this courage at the first, would adde comfort to the subjects, and reputation to their affairs; and on the other side, would infuse doubts and confusion into the Enemy, and retard their expedition. For it was likely they would not venture to come forth of the Strait of *Galipoli*, without their intire strength, when they knew they should meet with such resistance: The which was known, would be of so much the greater help, for that they understood afterwards, that the Turks feared this more then any thing else; and that therefore they had been extraordinarily diligent in sending out 25 Gallies, that they might carry the Ammunition which was prepared for the enterprise of *Cyprus*, early from *Allessandria*, which if they should be intercepted by our Gallies, they knew their whole design would be lost. To this it was objected, that it might prove to be of greater danger then security; for that the Turks did alwaies keep so many Gallies ready for the usuall guard of some of their places, as that many Pirats Vessels being added thereunto, (as was usually done in time of War) they might trouble our Gallies, and perchance endanger them, which they thought was the rather to be shun'd, for that they had great hopes to do some remarkable action, by using all their forces joyntly together. Therefore laying all other thoughts aside for the present, they seemed all of them to be chiefly troubled, how to put sufficient Garrisons into the Forts of *Cyprus*: Some were for the furnishing them so with men, as if they were never to be relieved; and for providing to relieve them so, as if they had never been Garrisonized

rifonized. But as the one was variouſly incommodiated, by the ſhortneſſe of time, by want of veſſells, and by fear, that the enemy would be out, very ſtrong, and very betimes; ſo they thought, they could not repoſe any certain hopes in the other, by reaſon of the enemies powerfull forces, and out of the various events of war, and of actions at Sea. This mean while, whilſt they were treating, whom they ſhould ſend to bear chief ſway in *Cyprus*, together with ſuccour; *Eugenio Singlitico* Count *di Rocas*, a noble Cyprian, who at this time diſcharged the office of Lieutenant Generall of the Militia, by *Terra Ferma*; and was for the moſt part reſident at *Venice*, readily offered himſelf to relieve his Country, at this her ſo great need, and to ſerve his Prince: And being ſpeedily diſpatcht, went his way in a ſhip with a 1000 Foot, and was by the Senate made chief Commander of all the Cavalry of that Kingdom. *Girollimo Martinengo*, conductor of the *Gens d' Armes*, readily and generouſly offered himſelf, to raiſe 2000 Foot within a few daies, in the States of other Princes, and to go with them himſelf to the reliſe of *Famagoſta*, and to ſtay there to defend that City. Thus having in a very ſhort ſpace, much to his praiſe, put all his men in order, and brought them to *Venice*, to embarque both them and himſelf, in ſhips deſtined to that purpoſe; he would ſhew himſelf with all his ſouldiers to the City, appearing in a military habit in the *Piazza* of St. *Mark*, a thing well worth the ſeeing; for the ſight of ſo proper men, adorned with bright Armis, and variety of other noble ornaments, did much delight the unskilfull multitude, who being pleaſed with the novelty of the ſpectacle, conſidered not, what the progreſſe and end of war might prove: For theſe ſo many and ſo valiant men, did all periſh in a ſhort time, ſome by ſuffering, ſome by the ſword of the enemy; and *Martinengo*'s ſelf falling grievouſly ſick, through the inconveniencies of Navigation, dyed before he could arrive at *Cyprus*, being herein the leſſe fortunate; that he did not die in Battle, and crown his glory with a more noble death. He was much praiſed for his loyalty, and for the ſervice he ſhewed to his Prince.

The Senate, when they were certain of theſe the Turks deſignes and preparations, made an account be given thereof by their Legier Embaſſadors, to almoſt all the Princes of Chriſtendom: wherein the Venetians were the more ſolicitous, being moved thereunto, not ſo much out of hope of getting them to joyne in their defence, as that they might not ſeem to ſcorn the help of others; and that confiding too preſumptuouſly on their own ſtrength, the event of that War, wherein the common cauſe of Chriſtendom was concern'd, might be the more endangered. They therefore acquainted them with the weight, of what War the Common-wealth was to ſuſtain, and with the dangers wherewith at the preſent they were threatned, but wherein all Chriſtendom would in time be concerned. So as ſome Senators were not liſtned unto, who adviſed to do what they were able, ſpeedily, and of themſelves, leſt by relying upon the uncertain hopes of others, they might either ſlacken their own proviſions, or being allured by the no-certain promiſes of Princes, quite give over all thought of any treaty of peace. Pope

Pius Quintus ſat then in St. *Peters* Chair, who being but of a mean extract, and exalted to that Supream dignity out of the fame of his integrity, made good the opinion of his worth, and his ſo great authority. Wherfore the Venetians addreſt themſelves to him, as to the chief head of Chriſtendom, and as to a perſon of ſingular goodneſſe, intreating his aſſiſtance, and that he would perſwade other Chriſtian Princes to embrace the common cauſe. *Michielle Suriano* was at this time Embaſſadour for the Common-wealth at *Rome*, whoſe experience in State-affairs was the more ſet off by his learning: *He, adding to the Pope's already good inclination, many weighty perſwaſions, did continually excite him to take to heart the Common-wealth's cauſe, in this time of ſo great danger. He ſometimes urged the examples of other Popes, who had at other times readily aſſiſted the Venetians, againſt theſe enemies to the faith of Chriſt; ſometimes he remembered the ſervices done by the Common-wealth to that See, for which ſhe had alwaies ſo readily expoſed her forces, againſt powerfull Princes. But he oftest mentioned the great & eminent danger of the other Chriſtian Kingdoms, and chiefly of the Church-Dominions, if the Common-wealth of* Venice *ſhould be weakened, which was held by all men to be the ſureſt Bulwork of Chriſtendom.* The Pope being by theſe perſwaſions wrought upon very much, to defend the Venetians, ſhewed a very great zeal to the common good, and an ardent deſire to provide for what was needfull for this War, and to aſſiſt and ſuſtain the Common-wealth, that her dignity might not be ſuppreſt by ſo potent an enemy, nor her dominions and forces weakened. Yet calling to minde what had been done formerly, upon like occaſions, by other Popes, and lately by *Paul* the third, in the League made againſt *Soliman*, he deſired to be pardoned, if he did not all he deſired to do; deploring the condition of his times, wherein the monies of that See were much exhauſted; and alſo by reaſon of the commotions in *France*, wherein the City of *Avignon* was much indangered, being put to great expence and trouble. Therefore though he often moved in the Conſiſtory, that the defence of the Venetians might be embraced, that they might be aſſiſted in this their neceſſity; and though their cauſe was approv'd of in the Colledge of Cardinalls, and generally favoured, yet they came to no particular declaring what they would do; onely it was granted at the firſt, that they might raiſe 100000 Duckets, for the maintenance of that war, by a generall tax upon the Venetian Clergy, from which no Prelate of what condition ſoever, ſhould be exempted. The Pope propounded afterwards, that the King of *Spain*'s Gallies might ſpeedily joyn with thoſe of the Venetians, whereby to make a powerfull Fleet to oppoſe the Turks, and to diſturb theſe their firſt deſignes: And that in the mean time, a League might be treated of with the ſaid King, and the other Princes of Chriſtendom, whereby their forces might for a long while be eſtabliſhed, to oppoſe the Turks. And having made this be ſignified to the Senate by the Embaſſadour *Suriano*, exhorting them to aſſent to this propoſition, and to put this buſineſſe into his hands, who, as the common Father, would be very zealous of the good of Chriſtendom, and would have a particular care of the good of the

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Common-wealth. He found them all very well inclined, to follow his authority and advice. He reſolved at the ſame time likewiſe, to ſend *Ludovico de Torres*, Clark of the Apoſtolick Chamber, into *Spain*, to *Philip* of *Auſtria*, the Catholick King, to exhort him to aſſiſt Chriſtendom readily, againſt *Selino Ottaman*, enemy to himſelf, and to the Catholick Faith, which he did particularly profeſſe to protect, as, by the glorious name acquired, by the pious and generous actions of his Anceſtors, he was bound to do. He therefore laid before him, *the great danger, wherewith divers States of Chriſtian Princes were threatned, by the Turkiſh Fleets, which though it was given out, they were intended againſt* Cyprus, *yet was it not certain, but that they might eaſily and ſpeedily fall upon his Dominions; which though they were not for the preſent moleſted with war, yet were they in the future the more expoſed to the incurſions and aſſaults of the Turkiſh Fleets, when the Venetians ſhould be weakened in their Maritime forces, and the Turks Empire encreaſed. So as he was to eſteem the intereſts of that Common-wealth inſeparably joyned with his own. That the* Ottaman *Empire was a common enemy to all the Potentates of Chriſtendom, and more ſtrong and powerfull, then any one of them apart. But that if all, or moſt of the Chriſtian Princes, would joyne together, they would exceed the Turks in power, and might hope, not onely to reſiſt them, but perhaps to beat and conquer them. That the King was to conſider, that if he ſhould not aid the Venetians, at this their ſo great need, he would loſe much honour amongſt the Turks, making either his weakneſſe clearly appear, as if the Moors inſurrections were ſufficient to keep him ſo employed, as that he could not make uſe of his forces elſewhere; or elſe, that he held but bad intelligence with the Common-wealth, or with other Chriſtian Princes, by not moving againſt his enemy, being invited by ſo fair an occaſion, but abandoning the common cauſe. That he had uſed the ſame endeavours to the Venetians, who had readily referred all things to him, promiſing to ſtand to all that he ſhould decree; nor was their truth herein to be doubted, ſince they knew by experience, they could not ground any ſafety to themſelves by peace with the Turks. Moreover, that great reſpect would be given to his authority, ſince he had the ſpirituall arms in his hands, and did declare himſelf to be the head and manager of all this buſineſſe. Theſe things were prudently and effectually repreſented to the King of* Spain, *in the Pope's name, by* Torres, *who preſented him likewiſe with a Brief, wherein the Pope did much deplore the miſeries of the preſent times, remembring therein particularly, the many miſchiefs which Chriſtendom had ſuffered in ſeverall parts, through the wicked conſpiracies of men branded with hereſie, and ſeverall infamous vices; who rebelling againſt God, and againſt their Princes, had with much audaciouſneſſe and fury, ſhaken ſeverall whole Provinces of Chriſtendom, and ſought to corrupt the integrity of the Catholick Faith. To which inward grievances, other miſchiefs and greater dangers were added, by forrain enemies;* Soliman *having attempted by great forces, to bereave* Maximilian Ceſar *of the remainders of the Kingdom of* Hungary: *which fire of war was likely to have burnt forth throughout all* Germany, *had it not been extinguiſhed by* Soliman's *death. But that now, new combuſtions and calamities did ſeem to threaten Chriſtendom: that therefore he knew it became him, to have an eye to theſe commotions, and to denounce ſo great dangers to Princes, wherein he was*

to addreſſe himſelf chiefly to the Catholick King, and to excite him to be the firſt, that ſhould embrace the defence of Chriſtendome, ſince God had endowed him to that purpoſe with greateſt power and command. That for what concerned himſelf, he would not be failing in any thing that lay in him, nor in pouring forth prayers continually to God, that he would look with the eyes of mercy upon our actions.

Theſe were the endeavours uſed by the Pope to the Catholick King, who liſtning thereunto with much benignity and attention, ſeemed to be very much rejoyced thereat, ſhewing a very good inclination to the common welfare, and to put an high eſteem upon the Pope's authority and advice. But becauſe the King was then in *Cordua*, and was to expedite the affairs in the Courts of *Caſtile*, he excuſed himſelf, that he could not give a poſitive anſwer to the particulars propounded by *Torres*, in an expreſſe memoriall, till he ſhould come to *Sivill*. Yet *Torres* ſoliciting his expedition with reiterated endeavours, as he who knew nothing could be ſo prejudiciall to the buſineſſe in hand, as delaie, nor nothing ſo helpfull, as ſpeedy reſolution; *He got the King to promiſe him, that he would give order that his Gallies, and thoſe of his ſtipendiarie, and confederates, which were about 75, to boot with thoſe of* Spain, *which by reaſon of the commotions in* Granada, *were to tarry in thoſe Seas, ſhould be all brought to the Iſland of* Cicily, *with particular Commiſſion to* John Andrea Doria, *who had the command thereof, to follow the Pope's commands, touching the time and manner of joyning with the Venetian Gallies, and to undertake the voyage and buſineſſe of the Senate. He likewiſe obtained orders to the Viceroyes of* Naples *and* Cicily, *that they ſhould furniſh the Venetian Fleet with as much corn, as they could conveniently ſpare, out of thoſe Kingdoms. But as for the League, he would not at that time determine any thing, ſince the King ſaid, It would require mature conſideration. But ſoon after, when he came to* Sivill, *he reſolved of his own free-will, though it was thought, he was perſwaded to the contrary by many, to ſend ſufficient Commiſſions to* Don Jovan di Zuinga, *who was then his Embaſſadour at* Rome; *and to the two Cardinalls,* Gravelle *and* Pacecco, *to treat of the League, and to conclude it; it being thought fit, for obviating the delaies and difficulties, which the far diſtance of Countries might occaſion, in a buſineſſe of ſuch concernment, that the whole Treaty ſhould be reduced to the City of* Rome. *The Venetian Senate had ſent orders to their Embaſſadour,* Sigiſmonde de Cavalli, *their Embaſſadour at the* Catholick Court, *to be aiding to* Torres *in his negotiations; the King affirming, that when he ſhould know the Pope's propoſalls, finding him very well inclined to the common good, he would willingly accept of his counſells and exhortations, and would readily do, whatſoever ſhould be reſolved of in* Rome, *and eſtabliſhed by the Pope's authority, and by the conſent of the Princes. That he very well knew, what the preſent miſchief was, and what the eminent dangers of Chriſtendom. That he would not be wanting in any thing, which might remedy them; and not onely to ſuſtain the dignity and ſtate of the Common-wealth, but the reputation of the name of Chriſtian.* Theſe endeavours wiſely performed by *Cavalli*, prevailed very much, in bringing the King to put on this reſolution; and being ſeverall times efficaciouſly reiterated by *Lunardo Donato*, who at this time ſucceeded

ded *Cavilli*; they did help very much, to keep the King in this good minde, and to overcome many difficulties which were importunely promoted by many of his Counſellors, and State Officers; *Donato* having purchas'd much favour and reputation in the Court, by his worth and grave Eloquence.

Torres having thus diſpatcht his Commiſſion in *Spain*, that he might fully compleat the Pope's orders, paſt ſuddenly into *Portugall*, having firſt got Letters of recommendation for what he was to treat upon, from *Jone* the Kings Mother, who was then at *Madrid*. *Sebaſtian* the firſt, was at this time King of *Portugall*, a youth of ſome ſeventeen years old, religiouſly educated under *Don Luigi Gonzabell*, a Jeſuit, one well eſteemed for his integrity, and of great Authority with the King: wherefore the Pope promiſed himſelf all the aſſiſtance that could be expected from him, for the ſervice of Chriſtendom. He therefore deſired, that the ten Gallies, which were continually kept arm'd in that Kingdom, might paſſe along into theſe Seas, together with thoſe of the Catholick King, and joyn with the Venetian Gallies. But the King, ſhewing great obſequy and reverence towards the Apoſtolick Sea, and much deſire to ſatisfie the Popes requeſt in this ſo pious and profitable enterpriſe, excuſed himſelf, that his actions could not correſpond with his inclinations; for that his Gallies were for the moſt part diſarm'd, by reaſon of the Plague which had been the year before in *Lisbon*; and that it was not poſſible for him to arm them ſo ſoon, as that they might be fit for ſervice that year; ſo as *Torres* his journey into *Portugall*, as to that point proved to no purpoſe. But he began an other buſineſſe with that King, which was, to procure the conſummation of his Marriage with *Margaret*, ſiſter to the King of *France*, which had long before been treated of, but to no effect, by the Catholick King. But it hapned very unſeaſonably at this time, that the *Pope's* power was not great with the Emperour, by reaſon of his being offended with him, for having granted a new title of great Duke of *Tuſcany*, to *Coſmo de Medici*, Duke of *Florence*, which being done not onely without *Ceſar's* knowledge, but (as he ſaid) contrary to his will, expreſly ſignified by his Embaſſador, then reſident at *Rome*, he thought his honour much concern'd therein, and the Authority of the Empire; ſo as being much ſcandalized thereat, he in his Court declared this act of the Popes to be invalid, and had already ſent his Embaſſadors to *Rome*, to proteſt the invalidity thereof unto the Pope. Therefore the Pope minded the Venetians, that they might do well to work the Emperour to be a friend herein, which when he ſhould declare himſelf ſo to be, he the Pope would not be wanting to make him the more fervent therein by his exhortations, and expreſſe Nuncio's.

At the ſame time therefore, when the Treaty concerning this Confederacy was promoted at the Catholick Court, *Jovan Michiele*, the Venetian Embaſſadour, an able man, and very dexterous at the management of important affairs, had given a beginning to the ſame at *Ceſar's* Court: *He told the Emperour, that now the occaſion was given of doing that which he himſelfe had often wiſht for before; and whereby he might*

might ſafely aſſault the Turkiſh Territories on that ſide, whilſt they being buſied at Sea, would not have opportunity to relieve them: That he was not therefore to wait, till this War being ended, and their Empire ſecured by their Sea-Forces, the Turks might turn all their Forces to prejudice him: from which danger, how litile ſafe he was by the League with the Turks, and their plighted faith, he might eaſily perceive by Selino's *having broken peace with the Venetians, and by his having violated his Oath, for no other cauſe, but that he would govern the whole world.* To which *Cæſar* ſeeming to aſſent, he readily anſwered; He would not be wanting to his own good, and to the good of Chriſtendom, but exhorted the Venetians to accept of, and to proſecute this War, with a conſtant and magnanimous reſolution; ſaying, that their noble daring would make all other Chriſtian Princes the more willing to aſſiſt and back them, which they would never fail to do, if the Venetians were not faulty to themſelves. For his own part, they might promiſe themſelves a ready reſolution; that he knew, the Arch-Dukes, his Brothers, would be of the ſame mind with him; and did hope that the King of *Poland*, and the Duke of *Muſcovy*, would follow his example: but that it was neceſſary to ſee firſt what the other Princes would do, and particularly the King of *Spain*, whoſe pleaſure in that point he had deſired to know ſpeedily and aſſuredly, by a meſſenger which he had purpoſely ſent unto him.

The Pope did often ſolicite *Charles* the ninth, King of *France*, by his Nuncio, to ſide with the League, indeavouring to perſwade him, that though perhaps he could not lend ſo ſpeedy aſſiſtance to the League as was requiſite, by reaſon of the troubles his Kingdom had been in for many years of late by domeſtick affairs; yet ought he to favour it as much as he could, and adde unto the Reputation, if not unto the Forces thereof, by his name, and by his authority; which requeſt the King not thinking himſelfe able to ſatisfie, and yet being unwilling to ſeem to undervalue the Pope's exhortations, and authority; he interpoſed ſeverall delays, ſaying, That he would ſee, what others would do, who were then more powerfull then he, and freer from impediments: But the Queen-Mother, on whom the weight of that Government did then very much reſt, excuſing her ſelfe more directly, ſaid, that her Son's condition differed from that of other Princes, becauſe the point in hand with them was, of continuing War againſt an Enemy; but with *France*, it was of breaking amity with a potent Prince, their ancient friend; that therefore it was a buſineſſe of great weight, and which ought to be well conſidered. But both the King and Queen, were very civill in their ſpeeches towards the Common-wealth, in ſo much, as to boot with their offers made to the Venetian Embaſſador, then reſident in the Court of *France*, and many that they made their Embaſſador make, who were then reſident at *Venice*: The King ſent a Gentleman of his expreſly to offer unto the Signory, all that it was poſſible for the Kingdom of *France* to do at the preſent, being moleſted with ſo grievous accidents; to wit, That he would uſe his Authority to divert this War, and to accommodate their affairs with the Turkiſh Emperour, making uſe of that friendſhip which

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he had never contracted, but found it commenc'd by his Grandfather, King *Francis*, and by *Henry* his Father; and that he would think he should now make good use thereof, if he could thereby do any service to his ancient good friends the Venetians. But neither did time nor occasion permit any use to be made of these things; preparations for War being already too far advanced on both sides; nor was it thought a good course to slaken either other Princes, or themselves, all of them being now hotly set upon War, and bent to defend their own Dominions. The Italian Princes appeared well inclined to the League; the Duke of *Urbin* offered both himself, and his State readily, and the Duke of *Savoy* did the like, but to better advantage, by reason of his Gallies, whereof good use might be made, as did after the Confederates. The Duke of *Florence* was the more forward herein, professing to be govern'd in all things by the Pope, as being oblig'd to him for his new access of honour; and to win his favour the more, he seemed not onely willing to favour the League, but being then in *Rome*, he incouraged the Pope to what he saw him already zealously bent. But the Duke of *Ferrara* had so incens'd the Pope against him, by reason of the old difference of the *Sali*, and of certain Navigation upon the *Poe*, as he constantly affirm'd, that he would by no means bear with the disobedience of a vassail of the Church: nor that his own Authority should be so lessened, threatning to go against him with his temporall arms, unlesse he altered his mind: And on the other side, the Duke said, that if he were necessitated to do so, to preserve the jurisdiction of those Dominions, which being gotten by his Ancestors fell to him by right of Inheritance, he would leave nothing unattempted; nay, that he would call in the French *Hugenots* to his assistance; which the Venetian Senate thinking to be too unseasonable at this time, and that it might not onely disturb the League which was now on Treaty, but otherwise necessitate and indanger the Commonwealth; they sent *Jovan Formento*, Secretary of the Councell of Ten, a man well experienced in such Negotiations, to *Ferrara*, to mediate with the Duke, that considering the present state of affairs, and the due obsequy which he ought to pay unto the Apostolick Sea, he would both for the common good, and for his own particular interest, lay aside all thoughts which might put him upon the triall of his Forces, and that he might hope to receive better, and more certain advantage by Treaty. Thus by the interposition of the Senates Authority, first with the Duke, and then with the Pope; this other fire was extinguished which was a kindling, to the prejudice of Christendom.

It was also resolved, to solicite *Tamas* king of *Persia*, to take up Arms, and to revenge the ancient and new Injuries which his Kingdom had received by the *Ottaman* Princes. *Vicenza d' Alessandri*, was chosen for this imployment, a Citizen of *Venice*, as one, who having lived long at *Constantinople*, was vers'd in severall Languages, and had had some converse with these barbarous Nations. This man, the passages being block'd up, by reason of the Wars, in the lower parts towards the Sea, took his journey through *Germany*, *Poland*,

land, and *Walacchia*, and coming to the banks of the *More Majore*, took shipping at *Moncastro*, which is the ancient *Hermonessa*, and went from thence to *Lynope*, a City famous, for having been the Country of *Mithredates*; and from thence he went to *Tauris*, whither being come, and understanding that *Tamas* was then at *Casvin*, one of the Residences of the Kings of *Persia*, which lies more inward into the Country, which was anciently called *Arsacia*, he went to that City. Here, being brought in by some Armenian Merchants, (who had had commerce formerly at *Venice*) by night according to the custome of that Nation, before Sultan *Caidar*, *Mirice*, the Kings third Son, & who was then his Lieutenant, he had several long discourses with him, touching his journey, and the occasion thereof; *Vitenza* acquainted him with *Selino*'s having taken up Arms against the Venetians, and with the great preparations for War, which was made by almost all the Princes of Christendom, to assault the Turkish Empire, by their Armies, and by their Fleets, exhorting him in the names of his Lords and Masters, to make use of this occasion, and to make War with the Turks on that side: now that their *Asian* Territories being exhausted of all their Souldiers, who were to be imploy'd in the enterprise of *Cyprus*, were left a prey to whosoever would assault them. All which things *Caidar* seemed willing to hear, and by many questions inform'd himself of every particular, but promis'd nothing, save that he would be a means that he might be admitted to audience by his father. *Alessandri* perceiving this unseasonable delay, began to treat with the Lord Chancellor of the Kingdom, being advised so to do, and assisted therein by *Coza Ali*, a Merchant of *Tauris*, to whom, he going at the same time from *Venice*, the business was recommended; the Chancellour, after some discourse had thereupon, said that his King was a wise Prince, and that he was to proceed maturely in a business of such Importance, and would a while expect the successe of the League, upon which he might afterwards ground his resolution the better. Thus *Alessandri* not being admitted into the Kings presence, departed without any other answer: For it was clearly seen that *Tamas*, being now very old, and addicted to peace, shun'd giving occasion to the Turk of any suspition, that he would conspire against him, together with the Christian Princes. This business was likewise much impeded by accidents which hapned at that time, wherein (according to the usuall course of the *Ottoman* family) the *Persian* forces were imploy'd in appeasing certain Insurrections, raised by a Nephew of *Homat*, formerly King of *Giland*, a noble and rich Country of *Media*, now in the possession of the Kings of *Persia*: whereupon *Mustapha Mirise*, the Kings eldest Son, was gone with 10000 Horse into that Province, to suppress the Author of those Commotions. Thus whilst the Christians were in trouble, the *Persians* injoy'd their quiet, nourishing thereby a long and heavy War unto themselves, which was made against them some few years after by *Amurate*, Son to *Selino*, who possest himselfe at unawares of severall places in *Media*, in the Country which is now called *Servan*, whilst the *Persians* did in vain desire to see

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the Chriſtians take up Arms againſt the common enemies, as the Chriſtians did now in vain deſire the help and favour of their forces. Theſe were the Venetians preparations, theſe their counſells, and treaties with other Princes at this time, that they might joyntly wage war with the common enemy.

But the Turks beginning this mean while to commit many hoſtile acts, had detained ſeverall ſubjects of the Common-wealth, together with their goods, who traffickt in *Narenta*, and in other parts of *Albania*, within the Turkiſh Dominions; and had likewiſe unloaded two Venetian ſhips which were at *Conſtantinople*, and not ſuffered them to depart from thoſe Havens, though upon other pretences: Which when the Venetians heard of, they thought it became them, to treat the Turkiſh ſubjects which were in their City accordingly; to the end, that their perſons and goods might ſerve, to ranſome our men, and their merchandiſe. A guard was likewiſe put upon a Chiaus, named *Mamutbei*, who being parted from the Court to go for *France*, was come ſome daies before to *Venice*, and ſtayed there, to negotiate a certain buſineſſe of ſome particular Merchants, with the Venetian Signories, to whom he brought credentiall Letters; as alſo to be adviſed therein by Monſieur *Duferier*, the French Embaſſadour, then reſident at *Venice*, who thinking, that it had been fit to have known his Kings intention, which peradventure might have been altered, by the various accidents of the times, and to procure a ſafe conduct for *Mamutbei's* paſſage through the State of *Millan*, had kept him from purſuing his journey into *France*, out of theſe reſpects. *Duferier* did modeſtly reſent the detention of this man, as of one who was ſent to his Prince, and had been adviſed to tarry there by him; wherefore he endeavoured his liberty. But the King, when he knew the Venetians juſt reaſons, and that *Mamutbei* had not any important buſineſſe to treat of, but that he was come either to be a ſpy over the Venetians, under other pretences, or elſe ſent out of ſome idle occaſion by the French Embaſſadour, then reſident at *Conſtantinople*, without his knowledge or conſent, he was ſoon pacified. *Mamutbei* was therefore ſent to *Verona*, and kept priſoner in St. *Felice's* Caſtle, till the end of the war. Whilſt the Venetians were thus employed, the Turks were not idle at *Conſtantinople*, but were alike diligent in providing all things, that they might put to Sea as ſoon, and as ſtrong, as was poſſible. *Selino* being returned to *Conſtantinople* in *December*, he was ſo diligent in making men work in the *Arſenall*, in cauſing new Gallies be built, in caulking old ones, in caſting Artillery, and in all other neceſſaries, as he himſelf went thither ſometimes to haſten the work. A great number of Pioners were liſted in *Grecia*, great quantities of Biskets was made in *Morea*. Gallies were ſent to *Conſtantinople* from many Provinces, to make up the Fleet; and twenty five Gallies were prepared in all haſte, to be ſpeedily ſent into *Alleſſandria*, to bring away much proviſions, which were made ready there for the Armies: For they did very much fear, that the Venetians would be ſpeedy, in ſending a great ſquadron of Gallies into the *Levant*, whereby their Navigation

might be block'd up and hindred, much to their prejudice. They were likewiſe very ſolicitous in finiſhing a Fort, which was begun a little before at *Brazzo di Maina*, that they might have a fitting and ſafe receptacle for a good ſquadron of Gallies, which they purpoſed to ſend early out, to hinder the ſuccour which might be ſent by the Venetians to *Cyprus*. And *Selimo* continuing his reſolution, to go himſelf in perſon in the Army, an infinite number of Camells were prepared, and great ſolemnity was uſed in getting all things ready, according to the cuſtom of that Nation, when their Emperour goes into the field. The Baſhawes diſcourſed oft, how the war was to be managed, wherein their opinions were very different; ſome were minded, that before any thing elſe were done, men were to be poured into *Cyprus*, by a great Fleet of all ſorts of Veſſells, which being landed, and the flat-bottom'd Boats, and ſmall Pinaces being left there, together with a ſquadron of Gallies, for their better ſecurity, the reſt of the Fleet ſhould make for our Gulph, to terrifie the Venetians, and to confuſe them the more, and to keep the Chriſtian Fleets play in theſe ſeas. And that if it ſhould be too long, ere the whole Fleet could be united, the firſt hundred Gallies which ſhould be ready, ſhould be preſently ſent towards *Cyprus*, to get footing there, and to ſecure the landing of the reſt of the Army, by building a Fort there. Others would, that *Piali*, without any further loſſe of time, ſhould inſtantly put to Sea with 100 Gallies, and enter our Gulph, and that the reſt of the Fleet ſhould be ſent to *Cyprus*. And others thinking it neither ſafe, nor of any uſe, to advance ſo ſoon, propoſed, that *Piali* ſhould go with the ſaid hundred Gallies, to the Haven of *Suda*, and poſſeſſe themſelves thereof; and pillaging the Iſland of *Candia*, ſhould wait there for the reſt of the Fleet, and to do then as they ſhould ſee cauſe, by the movings of our Fleets. The different reſpects of *Muſtafa* and *Piali*, nouriſhed the variety of theſe opinions the longer; for the former, to whom the enterpriſe of *Cyprus* was commended, deſired, for the better ſucceſſe, that the whole Fleet ſhould be employed onely therein: And the latter, who had the ſupream authority over the Fleet, endeavoured, that the Fleet might go ſomewhither elſe, whereby he might have occaſion of doing ſome gallant action, which might redound to his particular praiſe.

The Conſul got notice of all theſe preparations and counſells, who being very deſirous that they might be known at *Venice*; to which purpoſe, as he was very diligent in writing to the Senate, ſo feared he, that all his Letters might be intercepted, as he knew ſome of them had been. Wherefore knowing, that *Mehemet* was againſt this enterpriſe, he ſought how to work this his intent by him: He cunningly invited him, to propound ſomewhat to him, which if he ſhould have moved to *Mehemet*, he knew would not be granted; to wit, that ſome of his ſervants might be ſent to *Venice*, which was the onely means, whereby he might fully and ſafely acquaint the Senate, with all that paſt at *Conſtantinople*. He therefore firſt by *Ibraim's* means, and then himſelf by word of mouth, did let the Baſhaw know, how ill inbecame the power and genero-

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ſity of ſo mighty a Prince, to aſſault thoſe at unawares, who thought themſelves ſafe under his plighted faith and oath; as if he were not able, when time & occaſion ſhould require, to uſe his forces againſt them, to get what he thought he had juſt pretence unto: that firſt he was to uſe the way of juſtice, then of violence; and to try what might be done by Treaty, before he laid his hand upon his ſword. Which *Mehemet* thinking to be reaſonable, he perſwaded *Selimo* to demand the Kingdom of *Cyprus* from the Venetians, by a man of his, who ſhould be ſent to *Venice* of purpoſe, before he ſhould forceably aſſault it. *Cubat* Chiaus was choſen to do this, who had been at *Venice* ſome two years before, about other buſineſſe. Whereupon the Conſul took occaſion, under pretence of ſecuring the *Chiaus* in the Venetian Dominions, and of putting a greater reputation upon the buſineſſe, to ſend his Secretary, *Luigi Buonrizzo*, who being very well informed of all things, was very fit to be employed herein: And he got leave, by the Baſhaw's means, to ſend his young ſon *Luigi* to *Venice*, who he feared might run ſome danger, by being at this time amongſt the Barbarians. Another no ſmall advantage was alſo hereby got; for the Turks ſuſpended their Arms till the *Chiaus* ſhould return; and our men had more conveniency given them, to garriſon their Forts, and to provide for their ſubjects ſafety, who were every where already ſorely infeſted by the Turks; for the St. *Jacks* of *Cliſſa* and *Boſſina* being up in Arms, upon occaſion of this war, and every one ſtriving, who ſhould firſt prey upon the neighbouring places, they ran every day through the Territories, and came even to the gates of the Venetian Cities, carrying away corn, cattle, and all things elſe, from the Country people, and taking many of them priſoners; inſomuch as *Bernardo Mallepiero*, Commiſſary of Horſe in *Dalmatia*, going one day out of *Zara* with 80 Stradiotti, to ſecure the men of the Country, he met with a greater number of Turks, and advancing too forwards, tranſported by his courage and deſire of praiſe, he was ſo ſorely wounded, as he fell down dead off his horſeback, and *Fabio de Canale* was choſen in his place. And not long after, *Julio Savorgnano* was likewiſe ſent to *Zara*, to be Generall of the Militia of *Dalmatia*. The comming of the *Cubat* Chiaus with the Secretary, ſignified to *Venice*, as ſoon as he was come to *Ragùgi*, made ſeverall impreſſions in mens minds: Some were ſolicitouſly deſirous, to know the reaſon of this unexpected Embaſſy; others imagined it to be what they deſired, and were glad, that a way was opened to a treaty of Peace; & others were ſorry, thinking that he was come to hinder their preparations for war, and to interrupt the great hopes which they had already in vain fancyed unto themſelves. But underſtanding by the Letters which the Conſul ſent them from *Ragugi*, the true occaſion of his comming, and the copy of the very Letters, which the Chiaus brought them in the name of the grand Signior, and of the Baſhaw, wherein the voluntary ſurrender of *Cyprus* was demanded, which if they would not do, he then denounced War againſt them; The Senators began ſuddainly to think, what anſwer they were to make, thinking it a thing which

much became the honour of the Common-wealth, to give a ſpeedy anſwer to this Embaſſie; as alſo, that it ſuited not with the condition of thoſe times, and to the putting a good end to the Treaties, which they had already begun with other Princes; wherein many conſiderations were to be had, which tended notwithſtanding all to the ſame end, ſo as each ſtrove to confirm other, in the generally received opinion; which was, to diſmiſs the Chiaus ſuddainly, without any other anſwer, but that they would accept of the war which was intimated to them, and prepare for their defence. Theſe conſidered, *That no good could be done by the way of Treaty to keep off the War, which was already reſolved on by* Selino; *and that ſince they were howſoever to undergo the haſard, it would become the Common-wealth better to be generous, in taking up Arms ſpeedily in their own defence, not ſhewing any the leaſt ſigne of fear, which might ſeem to make them diſtruſt the honeſty of the cauſe which they were to defend. They ſaid, they were deceived, who thought, that* Selino's *vaſt deſires, which, cauſed by a greedy deſire of Government, tended to infinities, and was not to be appaid by the Empire of the whole world, could be ſatisfied with beginning to grant ſomething to his unjuſt demands. So as it was not onely not to be hoped for, that this his deſire ſhould terminate, in ſome new Tribute impoſed upon the Kingdom of* Cyprus, *or in any thing elſe that ſhould be voluntarily yielded unto him, as ſome would ſeem to ſay; but that eſteeming the acquiſition of that Kingdom but a ſmall matter, he would quickly begin to aſpire after the reſt of their Dominions, even to their totall deſtruction. Nor that they ought to be terrified by the example made uſe of by ſome, of the great dangers which the Common-wealth underwent in the laſt wars by* Terra Ferma, *ſince it was apparent, that it was rather the raſh reſolutions of their Captains, which had thruſt them upon thoſe difficulties, then the Senate's mature advices; and that theſe might now be in a great part avoided, ſince that the war which was now to be made, was by Sea, and by their own Citizens, who for their own honour, and for their great concernment therein, would handle it with no leſſe fortitude, but with more wiſdom and fidelity, then peradventure their land Armies had been managed by forrainers. That likewiſe ſuch was the condition of times, the nature and intentions of the preſent Princes ſuch, as they might more ſafely rely upon hopes from them, then they had reaſon to do formerly. That now all men knew, the common cauſe was in queſtion, and were all therefore bound, to joyne in the maintaining thereof. That in the mean time they ſhould not, by ſetting new buſineſſe on foot, make them grow cool and jealous, ſo as they might with reaſon refuſe to aſſye in them, whom they ſhould ſee ſo afraid at the very fame of dangers, and who, after ſuch preparations for war, ſhould ſo eaſily give way to thoughts of peace. They added moreover, that the condition of the common-wealth was to be conſidered, the ſtate of affairs being reduced to that paſſe, as ſhe was continually in many grievious dangers, which were not leſſened by time, but made greater daily. That therefore they ought not to give thoſe that ſhould ſucceed them, occaſion to complain as much of them, as they did now of their predeceſſors, for having ſuffered the* Ottaman *family to grow ſo powerfull. And that ſuch a fault would be now more heinous, as that they knowing the danger better, then peradventure their forefathers did, and being more neceſſitated to provide for their own ſafety,*

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would not do it; preferring the conveniencies of a ſhort and uncertain peace, before the honourable troubles of War, whereby, the Forces of Chriſtendom joyning together, they might hope to procure greater ſafety to themſelves, and poſterity.

The hearts of all men not being onely confirm'd by theſe reaſons, but even inflamed on War, it was by a generall conſent of the whole Colledge, propounded to the Senate, and the advice of diſpatching the Chiaus away quickly, with few and reſolute words, accepting the War which he was to denounce againſt them, was approved of. But that which was wont to be ſaid is true, the too great deſire of things, doth often make the obtaining thereof more difficult; and the truth not being ſuffered to be ſeen, things are brought to an end, differing from what too ardent a deſire had framed unto it ſelfe: Surely the doubt propounded, that the Princes might grow ſuſpitious, that they would treat of ſome Agreement with the Turks, if they ſhould return a ſlower and leſſe poſitive anſwer to this Embaſſy, was more prevalent than any other Reaſons; which made it be apprehended, that the treaty of League, which the Venetians did ſo much deſire, and which was hopefully begun, might be interrupted: and it is moſt certain, that when news of the Chiaus comming was brought to *Rome*, thoſe who treated of the League for the Catholick King, began to be more jealous in the buſineſſe; and it was afterwards more clearly known, that theſe jealouſies, and theſe ſuſpitions, did more then any other reaſon, remove many difficulties which aroſe in this Agreement. But the anſwer being reſolved upon, and *Cubat* being already come to the City ſhore, where he was made to tarry in the ſame Gally which had brought him from *Ragugi*, and all commerce was forbidden him: order was given, that he, unaccompanied by any, ſave Secretary *Buonvizzo*, and two *Dragomani*, ſhould be privately brought into the Colledge, without any ſuch honours, as are wont to be given to ſuch as come from that Court upon any publick buſineſſe; yet he had the uſuall place allotted him, which is the right ſide of the Princes Chair: being thus brought to audience, he kiſs'd the Princes Garment, and ſitting down after he had made many reverences, he drew forth a Purſe embroydered with Gold, wherein, according to the cuſtome of that Nation, *Selino*'s Letter was; and ſaid, *This, moſt Illuſtrious Prince, is a Letter from my Lord and Maſter, when his demands therein ſhall be known, I will expect an anſwer*: Which the Prince ſaying, he ſhould have, he was ſomewhat troubled that no more was ſaid unto him, and added. *Gentlemen*, Mehemet, *the firſt Baſhaw, hath willed me to tel you, that he is very ſorry, that occaſion is hapned of breaking that peace, which he hath alwaies indeavoured to preſerve: But the ſo many complaints made at Court, from ſo many places of the unfriendly behaviour of the Officers of this State, and chiefly of the harbour, and favour given in* Cyprus *to the weſtern Pirats, by whom the* Muſſelmans *have been much indammaged this very year, have made ſuch impreſſion in the grand Signor, and ſo incenſed him againſt this State, finding that his indeavours often uſed with the Conſulls, hath done no good, as he can no longer forbear intimating of War unto you; and knowing that you will not*

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be able long to reſiſt the power of ſo puiſſant a Prince, he as a friend adviſeth you, rather to chuſe any other means to free your ſelves from ſo many and ſo great dangers: And to this end, he hath procured me to be ſent to this City, and offers to interpoſe himſelfe in all he can, to keep you from falling into this great misfortune, and to preſerve you in the ancient friendſhip of the Grand Signeur. This being ſaid, he gave them a Letter from the ſame Baſhaw, which contained all that he had ſaid. To all which, the Prince anſwered; That the Senate had reſolved upon an anſwer, the which that he might be the better able to underſtand, and to relate again, the very words ſhould be read unto him, which was done by *Antonio Milledonne*, one of the Secretaries of the Councill of Ten: the anſwer was this. *That the Senate did very much wonder, why his Maſter, being unprovoked by any injury, ſhould violate the Oath, wherewith he had but a little before confirm'd the peace; and that he might pick a quarrel to make war with them, ſhould demand the ſurrender of a Kingdom, which had been for ſo many years, lawfully, and peacefully poſſeſt by the Common-wealth, which he might be ſure they would by no means part with. But that ſince he was pleaſed to proceed in this manner, the Venetian Senate would never be wanting in defending what was theirs; hoping to be the better able to do it, for that the goodneſſe of their cauſe, would procure them the aſſiſtance both of God and Man. He was afterwards told, that when his Maſters Letters were tranſlated, they ſhould be read, and an anſwer ſhould be ſent him. And thus without any further diſcourſe, the Chiaus was diſmiſt. The Letter began with many complaints againſt the Venetians; for their having diſturbed the ancient confines of* Dalmatia, *which were preſcribed to each of their Dominions, in the Agreement made by their Predeceſſors, that contrary to the ancient and new Articles, they had tane away the life from many* Muſſelman *Pirats; after they had been taken alive in fight. But particularly, that refuge was continually given in the Iſland of* Cyprus, *to the weſtern Pirats, who infeſted his aajoyning parts, and hindred the Navigation of his ſubjects upon thoſe Seas: wherefore he demanded in the latter part, That if the Venetians, would continue their ancient friendſhip, they ſhould yield up the Kingdom of* Cyprus, *ſo to take away the chiefe occaſion which nouriſht theſe diſcords; and that otherwiſe, they were to prepare to ſuſtain a ſore War both by Sea and Land; for he would ſend his Fleet with powerfull Forces, to take that Kingdom, and would aſſault their Dominions in all other places; and he did truſt in God, the Patron of all Victories, and in his bleſſed Prophet,* Mahomet, *who had bleſſed the* Ottaman *Family with ſo large an Empire, to prove victorious in this enterpriſe, as his Predeceſſors had alwaies done in all their attempts.* To theſe Letters, the Senate returned this anſwer. *That the Venetians had alwayes obſerved peace with the* Ottaman *Emperours inviolably, deſpiſing all other reſpects, and refuſing all occaſions, which they might have made uſe of to their advantage. For they thought it became Princes, above all things elſe, diligently to keep their word, and their plighted faith; that being deſirous to avoid any ſuſpition in this point, they had paſt by ſome injuries, that they might not be the firſt diſturbers of the Peace: but that ſince they perceived that War was pronounced againſt them now, when they did leaſt ſuſpect it, they would not refuſe it, to defend themſelves, and to preſerve the Kingdom of* Cyprus; *which as their Fathers had*

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poſſeſt for the ſpace of ſeverall ages, under a juſt title, ſo they did truſt in divine juſtice, to be able to defend it againſt whoſoever ſhould go about to rob them of it unjuſtly.

War being thus intimated to the Venetians, and by them accepted, drew all mens eyes upon it, every one expecting how the Potentates of Chriſtendom would reſent this great commotion; and believing that ſtrange revolutions would be ſeen in the greateſt Empires of the world, according as the fortune of War ſhould favour, or frown upon the ſeverall deſigns of Princes. And as men do alwaies differ in opinion, this reſolution was diverſly underſtood and interpreted. *Some thought, that it might have better become the wiſdome of the Senate, and the manner wherewith the Common-wealth had wont to proceed, to have given honourable reception to* Cubat Chiaus, *and by endeavouring to ſift out whether he had any ſecret Commiſſion or no, from the Grand Signeur, or from* Mehemet, *to uſe their skill and cunning to bring the buſineſſe to a Treaty, which when it ſhould be begun, time would be got, which would make much for the advantage of the offended. Theſe recalled to memory the paſſages of the former Age, and how late our Fathers did repent their not having taken this courſe, when War was denounced againſt the Commonwealth, by almoſt all the Princes of Chriſtendom in the League at* Cambrai, *from which, and from the ſo many miſeries thereby occaſioned, they might perchance have freed themſelves, if they had betane themſelves betimes, rather to Treaty than to Arms. That the preſent buſineſſe was no leſſe perillous, than that which had preceded; but the greater, for that then the firſt brunts being ſuſtain'd, they might expect much benefit by the protraction of time, ſince theſe Forces were likely ſoon to ſunder, and grow weak, by reaſon of the differing deſigns of the aſſociate Princes: but that now having to doe but with one onely Prince, who was very powerfull, they underwent the ſame dangers and difficulties, whether they ſhould hazard themſelves upon the fortune of Battel, or ſpin out the War in length, nor was all waies to Treaties hard up, ſince* Selino *was not provoked by an injury, to aſſault the Common-wealth, nor by any jealouſie of State, whereby he might plead neceſſity of ſelfe-ſafety for what he did; but by a certain ſlight appetite of his own, or deſire of Glory, which he having but ſmall reaſon to do, it might in time cool of it ſelfe, and by the chief Baſhaws mediation. Nor would this be any baſeneſſe, but true morall wiſdome, by which a wiſe man aiming at the common good, and ſetting aſide all other vain reſpects, knows how to ſuit his actions to time and occaſion; Nay, the Common-wealth might gain more honour, if treating of peace with their ſword in hand, they might come to Agreement with ſo proud and haughty an enemy, by the bare fame of their Forces; and if theſe Negotiations ſhould not be able to reconcile the Enemy, it might advantage the League which was in treaty with their friends.*

But others on the contrary, whoſe number was much the greater, exalting the conſtant generoſity of the Senate even to the ſkies, fancied extravagant things unto themſelves, and what they might more truly have excuſed by neceſſity, or have praiſed for wiſdome, in having without loſs of courage, accommodated their reſolves unto the time; they did celebrate it, as ſprung out of meere election, and out of a magnanimous and noble purpoſe, to abate the power of the common Enemy, inciting other Princes to do the like,

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by their leading the way, and making war upon the Turks in their own confines, both by ſea and land. That the power and greatneſſe of that Nation, was not peradventure ſo much dreaded before, becauſe it was far off, and unknown; that now it was grown ſo near, and ſo well known, and eſteemed by all Princes, as there would not be any one of them, who would not for their own ſafety favour the enterpriſe; & that ſo much the rather, for that nothing was more manifeſt, then that if the Venetians ſhould be worſted, the Turkiſh Fleets might much the more eaſily, run victoriouſly over all the Seas.

The zeal and charity towards their Country, encreaſing the more in ſome, out of theſe reſpects; in others, the obſequie towards their Prince; and in ſome, the deſire of military honour; many of the Venetian Nobility, eſpecially thoſe who held any Eccleſiaſticall dignities, and many Gentry of the *Terra ferma*; nay, many of the Commonalty, and alſo many chief perſonages, not onely of other parts of *Italy*, but forrainers came in apace, and offered the Common-wealth, in ſo juſt and pious a war, either mony, or ſouldiers, or their own perſons, or other things fitting for the Fleet; and all this with ſtrange and miraculous alacrity: So as vying in a noble emulation, it is not eaſie to determine who did exceed in their offers, liberality, piety, and fidelity. This did very much comfort the Senators, it being a manifeſt teſtimony, of the pleaſing and moderate government of that Common-wealth, and of the eſteem ſhe was in with forrainers. So as their Citizens and Subjects uncommanded, and moved onely out of a ſingular affection towards the State, did of their own free-will employ their perſons and faculties, for the preſervation thereof. And other Nations, eſteeming its defence as the common cauſe, ſought to maintain its greatneſſe, and encreaſe its glory. Therefore proceeding with all reſpect, as far as the preſent neceſſity would permit, in taxing the City of *Venice*, and the other Cities belonging to the State, they reſolved to alienate divers publick goods, to make uſe of much monies depoſited in the Exchequer, to the great advantage of ſuch as brought gold or ſilver thither. To this purpoſe, the number of the Procurators of St. *Mark* was encreaſed; this honour, which is next that of the Doge, being conferred upon as many, as did lend above 20000 Duckets to the Publick, in reward for their good-will towards their Country, and for their having aſſiſted her at ſuch a need. Leave was alſo given to all young men, as were nobly born, upon depoſiting a certain ſum of mony in the Exchequer, to enter into the *Conſiglio majore*, before the time allowed by the Law, and to be capable of chuſing Magiſtrates, and of exercifing ſome places of Magiſtracy themſelves.

There was at this time a ceſſation of Arms, *Cabat's* return being expected, and the iſſue of his employment; but the newes which he brought being divulged, when he came to *Ragugi*, the ſouldiers of thoſe confines not waiting for any orders, aſſembled themſelves together in great numbers, and did not onely pillage the Venetian's ſubjects that were in *Albania* and *Dalmatia*, but encamped themſelves before the Cities of *Dolcigno* and *Antivari*; wherein finding that there were good Garriſons, and many of the Country, and wanting

wanting Artillery to ſtorm them, they were forced for the preſent to retreat. But when the Chiaus was come to *Conſtantinople*, and that the Senate's anſwer was known, every one was ſtruck with wonder; for the Turks knowing, that the Venetians had formerly ſtudyed very much to preſerve their friendſhip, thought they would do any thing, rather then take up Arms againſt them. *Selino* was not onely amaſed, but was very angry, at the neglect which he thought was done to him, in their not having treated *Cabat* with the wonted demonſtrations of honour, and for that they had not ſent their reſolution in a buſineſſe of ſuch importance; by an expreſſe meſſenger of their own, but contrary to their promiſe, detained Secretary *Buonrizzo* at *Venice*. Wherefore contrary to cuſtom, and *Mehemet* alſo deſiring it, he would have *Cabat* brought into his preſence, and receive from his own mouth what the Venetians ſaid, and did unto him, and how they were prepared for war; things which are commonly brought to the grand Signior's ear by the chief Baſhaw. So as theſe things bearing with them the greater force, being related by the meſſenger himſelf, *Selino* was ſometimes much amaſed at the forces of the Common-wealth, and did almoſt repent what he had done; ſometimes he was the more incenſed, being incited thereunto by his own haughtineſſe, and by his ſervants flatteries. He therefore ſet a guard upon the Conſul's houſe, not ſuffering him to come forth, nor to negotiate with any one; and gave orders to the Baſhawes of *Cairo* and *Aleppo*, to do the ſame to the Conſuls of *Aleſſandria* and *Soria*, being Venetian Magiſtrates, kept in thoſe parts for matter of Merchandiſe; who were all of them at firſt kept under the ſame reſtraint, but were ſoon after ſet at liberty, upon the giving in of ſecurity not to depart themſelves, nor to ſend any of their goods out of the Turkiſh Dominions. But *Selino* did chiefly ſolicite the departure of the Fleet, there being not as then above twenty five Gallies gone forth, under *Amurate Rais*, deſtined to hinder the relief which might be brought to *Cyprus*; which being encountred by the two ſhips, wherein *Martinengo*'s ſouldiers were, they fought them, and valiantly repulſt them, with loſſe to the enemy. But ſoon after, ſeventy Gallies were committed to *Piali*'s charge, and ordered to put to Sea, which going firſt towards *Rhodes*, ſtayed there, expecting *Muſtafa* with the reſt of the Fleet, that they might then do as they ſhould ſee occaſion, and according as they ſhould hear newes of the Chriſtian Fleets, they not daring to divide themſelves, nor go joyntly to *Cyprus*, nor to put on any certain reſolution, in what they had at firſt deſigned, by reaſon of the great opinion, which *Cabats* relation had raiſed, of the forces and preparations of the Venetian and Spaniſh Fleets. Wherefore their fear and confuſion did encreaſe ſo much, that no newes being heard of the Fleet for ſome daies after it was put to Sea, and fearing leſt the Chriſtian Fleet might be paſt by, and gone towards *Conſtantinople*, they ſent to view, and to put Garriſons into the Forts of the *Dardenelli*, ſo to provide againſt any ſuddain accident.

At this time the Doge, *Pietro Loredano* dyed, on the fifth of

May, having poſſeſs'd that ſupream dignity for about three years ſpace, but had not been therein very fortunate; for many ſad accidents of fire, famine, and war, falling out at the ſame time, though without any fault of his, who was a Prince of much innocency and integrity, made the memory of his Government but meanly acceptable to the people. *Luigi Mocenico* was choſen four daies after to ſucceed him, in whoſe election, the memory of his anceſtors concur'd, (who had been famous and well-deſerving men) as alſo the favour of his kindred, and his own worth, which prevailed the more with men; for that theſe times of danger required, to have a man of mature wiſdom for their Head, and one very wel verſt in the management of affairs, both at home and abroad, and ſuch a one was *Mocenico* held to be. And to the end that mens minds might be buſied about nothing but war, though it was provided by the Lawes and antient Cuſtomes, that a Magiſtrate ſhould be choſen in the vacancy of the Dukedom, whoſe office was, to correct the diſorders of the Judges of the Palace; and an other Magiſtrate, whoſe particular care it was, to enquire into the actions of the dead Prince; yet the former was at that time quite forborn, and the choice of the other deferred, till after the election of the new Prince. And now the Venetians having ſent word to all Princes Courts, of the comming of the Chiaus, and alſo acquainted them with the anſwer wherewith he was ſuddainly diſmiſs'd, they continued the treaty of the League. Therefore to the end, that the buſineſſe might be carried on at *Ceſar*'s Court, with the greater reputation and authority, they reſolved to ſend a particular Embaſſadour thither, and *Jacomo Suranzo* was choſen for this employment, a man of great eſteem and authority, and who had been long verſt in the Courts of Princes, on the Common-wealth's behalf; for the Senate thought it was very fit, to quicken *Maximilian*, by a particular Embaſſie, and by more preſſing endeavours; ſince they knew, that his reſolution would be of very great concernment, for the eſtabliſhment of the hopes of this union of Chriſtendom, both in his own reſpect, and for that other Princes would be willing to follow his example: Who when it was thought, he would have been more fervent in his firſt intention, by the diſmiſſion of the Chiaus, and by the wars being reſolved upon, began to grow cool, and to move many difficulties, ſaying, That it would be neceſſary to finde out ſome means, to be ſure, that none of the Colleagues might not withdraw themſelves, upon the approach of any danger, and leave the reſt engaged, ſeeming to believe but a little in the German aſſiſtance. And men did the more apprehend theſe his doubts, becauſe it was ſaid, that he prepared at the ſame time to ſend the Tribute to *Conſtantinople*, which is paid to the Turkiſh Emperours for the Kingdom of *Hungary*. Wherefore the Senate uſed all the means they could, by their Legier Embaſſadour, that the Tribute might be kept unpaid, till this Treaty were at an end; which if it ſhould be ſent before, the Treaty would be almoſt ruined, before it was well begun, and much prejudice would be done to the common cauſe of Chriſtendom. But notwithſtanding the Emperour deſired, were it either by

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way of excuſe, or that he did really wiſh it, that the Commonwealth would ſend an Embaſſador to be aſſiſtant to this purpoſe, at the Dyet which was to be held at *Spire*, by whoſe preſence a buſineſſe of that concernment might be therein treated of, and concluded with more honour and ſafety, wherein the contributions of the Princes, and Hanſ-Towns of *Germany* was requiſite, without which *Ceſar* could not reſolve for certain to enter into the League, nor expect any good thereby. But no ſpeech being had at the Court of *Spain*, of the Confederacy, which the King was contented ſhould be treated of at *Rome*, and had to that effect ſent ſufficient commiſſion to his Embaſſador *Jovan di Zuniga* to *Antonio* Cardinall *Granella*, and *Franciſco* Cardinall *Pacecco*, the Popes Nuncio, and the Venetian Embaſſador, preſt that *Doria*, as ſoon as he ſhould have got the Gallies of thoſe Seas together, which he had received orders to do, might be commanded to joyn with the Venetian Fleet, wherein the Kings Counſellors propounded ſeverall doubts; ſometime alleadging, that it was not fit that he who commanded the Kings Gallies, ſhould obey the Venetian Generall, and that by the inferiority of his Forces, he and his Fleet ſhould be totally at anothers diſpoſall: ſometimes ſeeming to believe, that the Venetians would make uſe of this ſemblance, and of the name of theſe Forces, to treat with the Turks upon the better terms: wherefore they affirmed, that the Treaty, and concluſion of the League, was chiefly and primarily neceſſary. But in *Rome*, where the ſcene of the buſineſs lay, the Pope, knowing that to treat of every particular Article, would draw to a neceſſary and very prejudiciall length, propoſed, that ſince the King of *Spain*, and the Venetians, were already reſolved to make this union, the League ſhould be publiſht without any more delay, as done in the ſame manner as was obſerved in the year 37, That the mean time, thoſe Forces which were in being ſhould joyn, to give more reputation to the common cauſe, to invite the other Princes to declare themſelves the ſooner Companions and Confederates, and to cauſe more fear in the Enemy, and that the particulars of the agreement might commodiouſly be diſcuſt afterwards.

Whilſt theſe things were a ripening thus, the Generall *Zanne* was gone from *Venice* in the beginning of *April*, and was come to *Zara*, where the Rendeſvouz of the whole Fleet of the people and proviſions for War was to be; that when all things ſhould be ready prepared, they might paſſe on into the *Levant*. But the comming of ſome Gallies being delay'd, as alſo Arms for the Souldiers, and ſeverall other inſtruments of War, great ſtore whereof were taken order for, for Land enterpriſes; and the deſign of uſing thoſe Forces, whereon great hopes were grounded by the conjunction of the Spaniſh Gallies, being altered, the Fleet was forced to tarry longer in that place then was thought for. So as this long time of leiſure, which was for about two moneths, began to be very prejudiciall to the Fleet; for ſo many people being aſſembled together, muſt needs ſuffer many inconveniencies, which occaſioned many

maladies; for that mens evill humours were not wasted by exercise, which made many fall dayly very sick; so as all the Gallies were but in ill order as concerning Souldiers and Marriners: some desired, for the incouraging of the Souldier, whom they found to be miserably lost by idlenesse, that they should make some attempt upon the neighbouring parts; but this was gain-said by many things: for the Towns which the Turks are masters of upon those Confines, are far from the shore, so as there seemed to be much danger in attempting any thing with the foot alone, and those most Italians, most whereof were new men, and unexperienced, especially being unback'd by Horse: the Enemies Country being full of Horsemen, ready to go whithersoever there should be any occasion. Moreover, the places were such, as there was no hopes of doing any good upon them by the sword; and it was almost impossible to bring Artillery thither, as well by reason of the mountainous wayes, as for the want of Cattle. It was likewise considered, that to attempt any thing in the Gulph, was not much to the purpose, lest they might thereby draw either a great number of their Land men into those parts, or perhaps their whole Fleet; so as they must with more danger make War at home, and excluding the Gallies which were in *Candia*, and others at *Corfu*, and likewise those of the Pope, and of the Catholick King, they must wrastle for the main businesse with but a part of their Forces. Moreover, it was not thought convenient for their businesse, nor answerable to the opinion which the world had conceived of so great a strength, to betake themselves to any slight imployment, wherein if they should effect their desire, the acquisition would not be a sufficient recompence for so great a preparation; and if it should happen otherwise, the reputation of the Fleet would be much lessened, and the hopes of greater things. But it being known from *Rome*, by the Popes own words, that *Doria* had orders from the King, to joyn with the Venetian Fleet; the Senate gave present command to their Generall, that leaving four Gallies in the Gulph, under one of the Governours, he should go immediately with the rest of the Fleet to *Corfu*, and there to expect news from the Spanish Gallies, that he might go together with them to *Messina*; and that when the Fleets should be joyn'd, he should fall upon such enterprises as he should judge would make most for the Common-wealths advantage, and whereunto God should open an occasion, aiming chiefly at the beating of the Enemies Fleet, but to be well advised in what he did, and to proceed with maturity. Wherefore *Lanne* going from *Zara* on the twelfth of *July*, he went towards *Liessena*, where he met with six great Gallies, and some Ships which joyned with the Fleet. From *Liessena*, he went to the mouth of *Catharo*, and from thence straight to *Corfu*, without making any attempt upon *Castel Nuovo*, or *Durazzo*, for the fore-alleadged reason. But before any news was heard at *Venice*, of the Fleets being come to *Corfu*, news came to *Rome*, contrary to the former touching the joyning of the Fleets; for *Doria* said, that the orders he had received from the King were not such, as that

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he was thereby to be gone with his Fleet, and to joyn with the Venetians; and though the Pope made his complaints thereof to the Kings Ministers of State, and writ himselfe to *Doria* very affectionately, yet they making many excuses, spun out the time, and *Doria*, seeming to be of himself very willing to obey the Pope, said openly, that he must have his Orders more fully renewed, those which he had received, not being sufficient to that purpose. The Venetians were the more troubled at this, for that they did not at all expect it, and because this variety of Counsells did withdraw from the hopes of concluding the League, since such tediousnesse and difficulties were interposed in granting those Forces which were already in order, which occasioned no further charge, and which might be so advantageous; and since they proceeded in so reserved and irresolute a manner. The Senate seeing themselves in these straits, and that they had lost so much time to no purpose, sent new orders to their Generall, that without expecting *Doria's* Gallies, he should go with his Fleet into any part of the Turkish Dominions, which he should think fittest, and should do what the good of the Common-wealth, and occasion should counsell him unto. At the same time, the Popes Gallies were armed at *Ancona*, to go joyn with the Venetian Fleet at *Corfu*: for after many consultations had by the Pope, and Colledge of Cardinalls, touching what assistance they should give to the Common-wealth in this War; they resolved to arm twelve Gallies with the Churches monies, which the Venetians were to finde, and furnish with Oars, Tackling, and Artillery. *Mark Antonio Colonna*, Duke of *Palliano*, was by the Pope made Governour of them, with title of the Churches Captain-Generall against the Infidels. The Venetians were very well satisfied with this choice; though upon former treaty, upon whom this charge should be confer'd, they had press'd very much, that according as had been done formerly, a Venetian Prelate might be chosen for this imployment, thinking that such a one, (as a Venetian) would be faithfull to the Common-wealth; and (as a Prelate) would depend upon the Church and Pope, and consequently, give satisfaction to all parties.

Colonna, *as soon as he was sure of this Imployment, writ thereof to the Senate, and strove by very affectionate words to ascertain them, that he was very willing to serve the Common-wealth, wherefore he said he was very much obliged for their favours, shewed at all times to his House, and particularly to his Father, nay unto himselfe in this very occasion, for having put such confidence in him, and made him capable of serving the Apostolick Sea, as also the Common-wealth which maintained the honour of* Italy, *yea in a businesse wherein the good and exaltation of Christendome was concern'd.*

Thus having solemnly received the Standard from the Popes hand in St. *Peters* Church, he took *Venice* in his way, as he went to *Ancona*, to take order for arming the Gallies; where affirming by word of mouth, what he had said in his Letters, he gave a generall, and truly, a very miraculous satisfaction touching himselfe; every one

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thinking that they might promiſe all things unto themſelves for the ſervice of the Common-wealth, from this Captain, and from the pontificiall Forces which were recommended to his charge, and returning ſuddenly to *Ancona*, where all the bodies of the Gallies were already come; he was diligent in ſeeing them man'd, that he might go with them into the *Levant*, to find out the Venetian Generall.

Whilſt the Fleet was thus preparing, *Sebaſtiano Veniero*, who, as hath been ſaid, was Commiſſary-Generall in the Iſland of *Corfu*; a man of great age, but of as great worth, whoſe age had not at all abated the edge of his youth: he not being able to lye long idle, reſolved to imploy thoſe few Forces which he had with him, in ſome Enterpriſes. Thus, by the advice of *Emanuele Mormori da Napoli di Romagna*, a valiant man, and well-experienced in thoſe Countries, he went to the taking of *Sopotio*, a Fort belonging to the Turks, ſtanding on *Terra Ferma*, juſt over againſt *Corfu*, wch if it ſhould fall into our mens hands, would open the way to greater actions in *Albania*. *Veniero* being gone from *Corfu*, with twelve well armed Gallies, commanded by *Jacomo Celſi*, Commiſſary by Sea, when he was paſt the Channel, landed his Men, and his Artillery, whereof *Natale da Crema*, then Governour of all the Militia of that Iſland, was Captain; and to make their work ſure, they reſolved firſt of all, to ſeize on certain Paſſes, in the neighbouring mountains, whereby they feared the Enemy might bring reliefe; and this was committed to *Mormori's* charge, as to the firſt Author of this reſolution. They began then to play furiouſly upon the Caſtle both by Sea and Land, ſo as breaches were ſoon made for our men to aſſault it; and the Turks who were within, diſpairing to be able to maintain it any longer, provided for their ſafety by ſecretly running away. Whereupon our Commanders entred with all their men, and without any withſtanding, ſet up the Common-wealth's Standard; by which the Venetians beginning to get reputation in thoſe parts, ſome that were near *Cimera*, did willingly ſubmit to the Government of the Common-wealth: and the like diſpoſition was found in many others, if they had been fomented and defended by convenient forces, and had had weapons, and Chief-tains to riſe withall.

But on the other ſide, the Turks ceaſed not to moleſt *Dalmatia*: and after the Fleets departure from *Zara*, having got together many Horſe and Foot, they took the Caſtle of *Xemunico*, eight miles diſtant from *Zara*; wherein they uſed more fraud then force, for having bribed *Jeralimo Contarini*, a baſe Baſtard, who had the cuſtody thereof, in the name of certain Venetian Gentlemen, of the Family of the *Veniero*, to whom the juriſdiction of that place did particularly belong; they did not onely prevail with him, to deliver up the Caſtle, but as one perfidious both to God and Man, they drew him to be a Mahometan. After this, the Turks attempted *Caſtello de Novigradi*, but with differing ſucceſſe; for having begirt it with many Horſe and Foot, and plaid upon it for three days in vain with

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certain ſmall pieces of Artillery; they were forced, little to their honour, to quit the enterpriſe. Our men ran more danger, and were more endammag'd in the Gulph of *Cathare*: for the Catharians having man'd forth two Gallies, to relieve their neighbours and friends of *Luſtica*, who were much moleſted by the Turks, they were at unawares ſet upon by a great number of the enemies Veſſells, and were all of them either ſlain or made priſoners. Wherefore fearing leſt the Turks, encouraged thereby, might betake themſelves to greater attemps, they began quickly to munite *Catharo*, putting four hundred ſouldiers into it, and ſending three Gallies thither from *Venice*, with good proviſion of all things neceſſary.

In the interim, the Generall was come to *Corfu*, with 70 ſmall Gallies, the Ships and greater Gallies being tarried on the way behind; wherfore they began to conſult upon what was to be done: (In all reſolutions, by order from the Senate, beſides the Generall, who had a double voice, the two Commiſſaries of the Fleet, and *Sforzia Pallavefino*, were admitted) all deſired, that the Fleet might forthwith advance. But many things made againſt this, for neither had they as yet any certain newes of the *Candia*-Gallies, which were twenty in number, commanded by *Marco Quirini*, Captain of the Gulph; nor did they aſſuredly know, what courſe the Turkiſh Fleet did ſteer: So as it was judged to be a raſh counſell, to hazard the main buſineſſe with half their forces, ſince by a little patience, they might receive much ſafety and accommodation. The mortality which continued ſtill to be very violent in the Fleet, was a great hinderance to this reſolution; for ſome Gallies were totally unman'd: and the malady grew ſo contagious, as they who lay with the ſick, fell ill of the ſame diſeaſe; and ſome were ſo ſtrangely taken, as growing mad, they threw themſelves into the Sea. And the violence of the ſickneſſe was the greater, for that the number of the ſick, and the want of many neceſſaries, would not permit ſuch care to be taken, nor ſuch remedies to be uſed, as was needful. So as there died of this peſtilent diſeaſe 20000 men of the Venetian Fleet, amongſt which, many Venetian Gentlemen, who commanded Gallies, and other perſonages of honourable condition. Therefore to advance any further, without a new recruit of Mariners and Souldiers, was not onely thought dangerous, but almoſt impoſſible. The Commanders by common conſent, did therefore betake themſelves to provide more men, to ſupply the place of thoſe that were dead; to which purpoſe the Governours of *Zante* and of *Cephalonia* were wiſh'd, diligently to prepare as many men as poſſibly they could. But they thought it fit the mean while, to keep the Souldiers exerciſed in ſome military ſervice, who did already begin to grow inſolent and diſorderly, through too much idleneſſe. They reſolved therefore to fall upon the Caſtle of *Malgariti*, a mean thing of it ſelf, but by its ſcituation, fit for other enterpriſes, and proper for what was now intended, it being an eaſie enterpriſe, and which would require no long time: For the uncertainty of the Turkiſh Fleet, and the hopes of the comming of the Pope's Gallies, and thoſe of the King of *Spain*, by whoſe aſſiſtance they might employ themſelves

ſelves in greater matters, diſſwaded them from undertaking any thing of length or difficulty. The charge hereof was given to *Sforza Paleviſino*, who being Generall of the Venetian Militia, had the particular care of managing, what was to be done by Land. For this, there were forty eight Gallies deſtined to be commanded by Commiſſary *Celſi*, with 5000 Foot, and four great Guns; with which Forces, our men being gone from *Corfu* to the Haven of *Niſta*, which lies juſt over againſt it; and being come thither, upon the Sun-riſing, *Paleveſino* landed his men immediately, hoping to aſſault the enemy advantagiouſly at unawares, and to begin and end the buſineſſe that very day: He ſent ſome Harchebugiers towards certain places which lay open between the Mountains; to poſſeſſe thoſe paſſes, by which he feared the enemy might be ſuccoured; and dividing the reſt of his men into two ſquadrons, he ordered one of them to march with the Artillery, to the foot of the Mountain, and to wait there for new directions, and kept the other with himſelf, following the former ſomewhat ſlowly; and reſolving to advance himſelf in perſon, accompanied by Commiſſary *Veniero*, to diſcover the ſcituation and form of the Caſtle the better; which it being long ere they could come within ſight of, they perceived the way to be further, and more difficult, then had been told them by thoſe, who ſaid, they knew the places; ſo as they found the Artillery could not be brought thither, without much difficulty, and ſome expence of time: Beſides, the Caſtle was ſeated upon an high Mountain, and well flanck'd, ſo as it would be able to defend it ſelf for a while; the which was the more likely, for that thoſe that had the cuſtody of the Caſtle, would boldly hold it out as long as they could, hoping to be relieved by the neighbouring *Sangiacchi*. *Paleviſino* weighing theſe difficulties, and thinking it did by no means behoove him, to haſard thoſe men in a petty buſineſſe, which were deſtined for far better hopes, reſolved ſuddainly to be gone, not making any attempt; though Commiſſary *Veniero* ſought to perſwade him to the contrary, alledging, that if they ſhould be ſo ſuddain & reſolute in doing ſo, they could not avoid that blemiſh which they lay under, of having in vain taken in hand an unſeaſonable and difficult buſineſſe; or elſe, that it not being ſo, they had through too much fear, too ſoon given it over. He therefore propoſed, that they might keep their men in the field, at leaſt the next night, and expect whether the enemy, when they ſhould ſee them reſolute, would not by their fleight, open them way to an eaſie victory; which if they ſhould not do, they ſhould at leaſt ſhew, that their retreat was not occaſioned by any diſorder or fear, but by reaſon, and neceſſity; which juſt excuſes would not be admitted of, by their ſo great haſte. But *Paleveſino* not allowing of theſe reaſons, began to make his men that were with him retreat, and ſent at the ſame time to thoſe that were with the Artillery, to re-imbarck ſpeedily, though they were in order at the foot of the Mountain, waiting till he ſhould come. Thus both the ſquadrons being met, they marched back to the place where they had that morning landed, a good part of the night being over before they got thither: Then miſſing

their

their Harchebugiers, whom they had ſent to poſſeſſe the Paſſes; they were forced to keep all on land till the next day, when they ſent a good band of ſouldiers ſpeedily away, commanded by Count *Ceſare Bentevoglio*, to be a convoy to as many as could retreat with ſafety; which they could not do, without ſome oppoſition and danger, for there appeared already divers ſquadrons of the enemies, both Horſe and Foot: But though the Souldiers got ſafe to the Gallies without much prejudice, they were but coolly welcomed to the reſt of the Fleet; for it was thought, this ſo ſuddain retreat might much leſſen the reputation of thoſe forces, which were to ſerve againſt the enemy, and was an ill Omen to their more important proceedings. Yet after divers conſultations, it was reſolved, to depart with their Gallies from *Niſta*, and to return and joyne with the reſt of the Fleet at *Corfu*. And every leaſt action being at this time obſerved by all men, who were deſirous to ſee, what the event of ſo great a preparation for war as this, would prove; *Palaveſino* had much adoe, to juſtifie this action to many: But he, by the teſtimony of ſeverall, conſtantly averred, that he had ſent certain Grecians, to wiſh the ſouldiers, who were ſent to guard the Paſſes, to retreat; who being overtaken by ſome of the enemies Horſe, went elſewhere for fear, and by their great cowardlineſſe, occaſioned another errour in ſome of the ſame Nation, who being acquainted with thoſe parts, had perſwaded them, as he ſaid, to come thither, by their falſe informations; which they muſt believe, if they would effect that enterpriſe: for to ſend a few to diſcover the ſcituation, was to haſard them to too manifeſt danger; and by ſending many, they ſhould give notice to the enemy, and make the difficulties the greater. But to ſhun the like errour an other time, when it was propoſed to attempt the Caſtle of *Preveſa*, or of *Santa Maura*, *Palaveſino* would go thither himſelf, and took with him *Paolo Orſino*, *Harcole de Pii*, and Commiſſary *Celſi*; who at their return to the Fleet, brought back word, That thoſe enterpriſes would prove difficult, and would require time; for the enemy fearing an aſſault, had fired their ſuburbs, and were very vigilant; ſo as it would require much forces, and length of time, to ſtorm them, which made them think, they were not at that time to be attempted.

At this time came *Marco Quirini*, Captain of the Gulph, to them, with the *Candie*-Gallies, who had been long detained in the Haven of *Candia*, as well by occaſion of contrary winds, as alſo in expectation, that the Turkiſh Fleet, which he heard was to go for the Iſland of *Cyprus*, might be paſt thoſe Seas; for he had but a few Gallies, and thoſe but lately man'd, and therefore unfit to contend with the enemy, or with the ſea; which did ſo moderate his uſuall daring, as it was overborn by mature advice: For his experience in ſea-affairs was commended by all men, his vigilancy, and his being ready to undergo all labour and danger; and ſome did ſometimes deſire, that he would have been more temperate in his actions. Being at laſt got from *Candia*, and being deſirous to redeem the time he had loſt, when he was come to the *Quaglie*, he bethought himſelf of expugning the Fort of *Brazzo di Maina*, which (as hath

been ſaid) had been lately built by the Turks; he conſidered, the Haven *della Quaglie*, might be a commodious receptacle for Chriſtian ſhips, being placed in the utmoſt angle of *la Morea*, on the outſide towards the ſea, made as it were by nature, to receive thoſe which ſailed from the *Levant* weſtward, by the *Ionick* ſea; which conveniencie was taken away by this Fort, which overlooked the whole Haven, and commanded it almoſt on all ſides. This place was anciently called *Leutro*, famous for a great victory, which the Lacedemonians had there of the Thebans, who had long had the principality of that Region. *Quirini*'s intention was chiefly, to aſſault the enemy at unawares, being not deſirous to delay his journey upon any occaſion. Comming therefore within ken of *la Maina*, on the 29th. of *June*, by break of day, he preſently landed ſome Harchebugiers, who poſſeſs'd themſelves of the little hill before the Caſtle, and he, the mean while, drew near it with his Gallies; ſo as the enemy was at one and the ſame time aſſaulted both by ſea and land, and were ſoon kept from defending themſelves on that ſide, by ſhot from the Gallies; and they were much endammaged on the other ſide by the Harchebugiers, who being upon a higher place, played upon thoſe that defended the walls; ſo as deſpairing to be any longer able to defend themſelves, the defendants withdrew into a Towre which was within, and left the way free and open, for *Quirini*'s men to enter the Fort, wherein very few men were left: So as playing upon the Towre with the enemies own Artillery, whereof they found 24 Pieces, they forc'd them that were within to yield, with ſafety to their lives. But the Fort, becauſe it was hard to be kept, was in a few hours undermined, and thrown down. This proſperous ſucceſſe, and the arrivall of theſe twelve Gallies, which came all ſafe within twelve daies after to *Corfu*, did ſomewhat encourage the other Commanders, who were much diſheartned by the former misfortunes; and they were the more cheered, becauſe *Quirini* told them, That if the whole Fleet would withdraw to the Iſle of *Candia*, they might eaſily furniſh themſelves with Mariners, ſouldiers, and all other neceſſaries. Which made them all deſirous to advance, and ſo to order their affairs, as that they might hazard the fortune of war. But the firſt thing they thought fit to do, was, That *Quirini* ſhould with twenty Gallies, over-run the Iſlands of the *Archipelagus*, that he might give the enemy a feeling of their forces, and to get from thence ſome men for the Ore; which he readily did, and went to the Iſland of *Andro*, one of the *Cyclades*, as they were formerly called by the Antients, where landing his ſouldiers, he carried away above three hundred men; but he was not able to refrain the inſolency of the Souldier, who being in an Enemies Country, though of Chriſtians, committed many other out-rages, which made him haſten his return: but Generall *Zanne*, was this mean while gone from *Corfu*, having received new orders from the Senate, to go with thoſe forces which he had, more towards the *Levant*, and to indeavour to raiſe the ſiege of *Cyprus*, either by diverſion, falling upon ſome of the Enemies places, or elſe by carrying ſufficient recruits, ma-

making his ways through the midſt of the Enemies Fleet, and fighting them: Wherefore *Quirini*, in his return, found the Venetian Fleet upon *Modone*, which joyning with theſe her other Gallies, arrived two days after, upon the 4th of *Auguſt*, at the Iſland of *Candia*, and went altogether into the Gulph *Anſialeo*, called now by the Marriners, the Haven of *Suda*; which is a great Creek of the Sea, lying under the Promontory *Drepano*, called *Capo Melera*, which thruſting it ſelfe out, makes it the larger, and more capacious. Here Generall *Zanne* was very ſolicitous in providing all things neceſſary for the Fleet, wherein he found much difficulty, eſpecially in finding men enough to ſupply the number of the dead. Wherefore ſending ſome Gallies to the *Archipelagus*, again to that purpoſe, he went with forty of the beſt Gallies to the City of *Candia*, as to the fitteſt place to make all his proviſion in. The two Commiſſaries, and *Paloveſine*, ſtaid at the Haven of *Suda*; the Generall at his departure, having left them the ſame Authority, which they were very induſtrious in making uſe of, to furniſh their Gallies with men, wherein they made good uſe of *Luca Michiele*, Commiſſary of *Cania*, who by the Authority which he held there, and much more by the love which he had wonne amongſt thoſe people, proved an excellent inſtrument to propagate that buſineſſe. But the other difficulties being at laſt overcome, and the Fleet being ſufficiently provided of Souldiers, and Mariners, they were notwithſtanding forced to keep within the Havens, and loſe the beſt time for action at Sea, expecting daily the Churches Gallies, and thoſe of *Spain*, which by new advertiſements from *Venice* they underſtood, were to joyn together by directions given to *Doria*, and to *Colonna*, and meet the reſt as ſoon as might be at *Candia*. Wherefore the Senate added this to their former orders given to their Generall, that his chiefeſt indeavour ſhould be to finde out, and to fight the Enemies Fleet. At laſt, about the end of *Auguſt*, *Mark Antonio Colonna*, the Churches Generall, and *Andrea Doria*, Generall to the Catholick King arrived, which cauſed much joy in the Venetian Fleet, all of them being infinitely ambitious to fall upon ſome honorable Enterpriſe. The Venetian Generall had Orders from the Senate, to uſe all manner of honour and reſpect to theſe Commanders, and to give them the precedency, in regard of the Princes whom they did repreſent; but that in any enterpriſe they ſhould undertake, they were onely to adviſe. *Zanne*, when he heard of their comming, went with his whole Fleet out of the Haven of *Suda*, to receive them with all demonſtrations of honour, having to this purpoſe ſent the Captain of the Gulph, with a ſquadron of Gallies out before him. The Fleet ſtood expecting them, divided into two parts, as into two great wings, ſaluting them as they came with all their great Guns, and Harchebuges; and when they were all met, they entred into the Haven, where after a ſhort ſtay, by common conſent the whole Fleet went to *Scythia*, to reſolve there what courſe they ſhould fleer, and to raiſe the ſiege of *Cyprus*.

Whilst the Christian Fleet through severall impediments, had spent much time in preparation, and in getting together: the Turks having with more resolution disposed of all their Forces, were gone forth very strong to Sea, and without any obstacle, prosecuted their design prosperously; which they did the sooner, for that *Selim*, after having long said that he would go himselfe in person to the coasts of *Caramania*, resolved not to part from *Constantinople*; his former order being allay'd by the advice of *Mehemet*, and *Mustafa*, wherein all the other Bashaws joyn'd with them; but their ends were herein differing; for *Mehemet* thought it not safe to leave the States of *Europe* unguarded, by his going into parts so far off, since according to the customs, and to the honour due to so great a Prince, he was to be attended by all the best Warriers; so as *Bossina*, *Albania*, and *Greece*, would be left exposed to the assaults of the Enemy. He likewise knew *Selim*'s nature, and customes to be such, as if they should be known by the Army, it might lessen his reputation, and occasion some disorder. To these, his own particular interest were added, fearing lest upon any sinister accident, he might be thought so have been negligent, in not having made timely provisions for such things as were necessary for so great an Army: But *Mustafa*'s reason was, for fear lest by the presence of his Master, his glory would be diminished, and his merit upon any happy successe made the lesse, since it was done under the grand Signors Conduct. *Selim* therefore by their counsell altered his resolution, but not without the Souldiers complaint, who were for the most part well minded to this voyage. They accused *Selim* of cowardize, and *Mehemet* of covetousnesse, who to shun giving the donative, which belongs by priviledge to them, when the grand Signor goes forth in person with the Army, had perswaded him to this dishonourable resolution. Thus *Selim* gave the whole charge, and honour of this War to *Mustafa*, making him Captain-Generall of all Enterprises by land; but *Piali*, the second Bashaw, was to command in chiefe at Sea, who was by birth an *Hungarian*, little vers'd in Navall affairs, but who by the good successe, had some years before against the Spanish Fleet at *Gerbi*, had won some honour and reputation: Yet the particular charge of the Marriners, and of ordering the voyage, remained in *Ali*, who supply'd the place of chiefe Admirall. This *Ali*, was *Aga* of the *Janisaries*, (so is their Captain called) and was made Captain at Sea chiefly by the means of *Mehemet*; who telling the grand Signor, that it was dangerous to have one and the same man to be both Bashaw *della Porta*, and Captain at Sea, had made his Enemy *Piali*, a disturber of the Peace, be removed the year before. Yet *Ali*, having occasion the first year that he went forth with the Fleet, to go to *Cyprus*, and being perswaded, as it was conceived, by the easinesse which he thought he should finde in this Enterprise; and eg'd on thereunto out of a desire of glory, forgoing his peacefull thoughts, when he returned to *Constantinople*, and forgetting his obligations to *Mehemet*, sided with *Mustapha*, and *Piali*, the Authors of the War, and

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Mehemets Enemies, becauſe (as hath been ſaid) he had indeavoured to bereave the former of his life, and the other of his honour. So after *Piali*'s departure, *Muſtafa* went forth with other 55 Gallies; *Selino*, in token of extraordinary favour, having granted him the Imperiall Gally, a ſtately Veſſell, and richly furniſh'd, which, out of a certain *Grandezza*, and high point of honour, is wont to be imploy'd in any Sea-enterpriſe made by the *Ottoman* Emperours, without having any Chief, when the grand Signor himſelfe doth not go, onely with men ſufficient to guide her. Theſe being joyn'd together, went to be calkt and rig'd in *Nigroponte*, and from thence went to *Rhodes*, where having intelligence, that the Venetian Fleet was at *Zara*, and not able to get out of thoſe Havens, by reaſon of grievous ſickneſſe, and other neceſſities, and that there was no news heard of the Spaniſh Gallies; they thought they needed not apprehend the joyning of thoſe Fleets, nor that they would dare to advance, though they ſhould joyn; wherefore they reſolved to go with the whole Fleet to the Iſland of *Cyprus*. But as they paſt from *Nigraponte* to *Rhodes*, *Piali* would attempt the Fort of *Tine*, and indeavour to get that Iſland, lying at the end of the *Archipelagus*, between *Micone* and *Andro*, which was then in the poſſeſſion of the Common-wealth; being thereunto perſwaded, either by the convenience of the place, it being as it were, the key of the *Archipelagus*, and by which all Ships paſt, which went towards *Conſtantinople*, or from thence; or elſe, as it was ſaid, corrupted by the gifts and promiſes of *Joſeffo di Naſi*, an *Hebrew*, commonly called *Gio Miches*, one who was of great power with *Selino*, and hoped to get this Iſland to be given him, as he had gotten thoſe of *Paro*, and *Nixia*, a little before; the which was the rather believed, for that ſome proviſions, Souldiers, and Ammunition, which were ſent from *Candia* to *Tine*, were detained by the Governour of the two aforeſaid Iſlands, who was placed there by *Naſi*. *Jerolimo Paruta*, a Noble Venetian, was at this time Governour of *Tine*, who by reaſon of the being abroad of the Enemies Fleet, and of the detaining of the aforeſaid proviſions, was well prepared for whatſoever might happen. He had been careſull in repairing the walls, in levelling ſuch Houſes as hindred the defence, in placing the men of the Country upon the Guards, in providing Arms, and in fitly ordering of all things, as if he had foreſeen, that he was to be the firſt that muſt withſtand the Turks aſſaults. He was much incouraged to hold out, by the love which thoſe Inhabitants bore to the Common-wealth, and by the ſcituation of the place, which is naturally very ſtrong. For the Fort had but one front to defend, which lay towards the ſouth East, which by reaſon of its hight, was ſafe enough, and was ſurrounded every where elſe by an unacceſſible Rock. *Piali* being gone from *Caſtel Roſſo*, which is ſeated upon the head of *Nigraponte*, after Sun-ſet, came early the next morning before the Iſland of *Tine*, where landing about 8000 foot, he made them preſently march towards the Town, which was five miles from the ſhore, hoping to take it by aſſault. But the Governour, who was al-

alwaies vigilant, diſcrying the Fleet before it came to the Iſland, and indeavouring at one and the ſame time, the ſafety of the Iſlanders, and of the Fort, gave the Iſlanders timely notice of the Enemies approach by ſhooting off of Guns, ſo as they might get time enow to get within the Town, and by them he might the better reſiſt the aſſault, which was made that very day; and wherein the Enemy were repuls'd, and much galled by the Artillery as they retreated, in ſo much as they were forced to keep aloof off, and quarter that night in the plain called St. *Nicholas*. The next day, landing ſome great Guns, they intended to batter the Fort; but finding by the ſcituation of the Place, that that deſign would prove vain; they incampt about it, hoping that many men being gotten into the Town, they might take it by ſiege. Wherein having ſpent 12 days, and ſolicited the Governour in vain by Letters, containing both threats and great-rewards, to ſurrender the Town; and finding him ſtill more reſolute to defend himſelſe, they reſolved to be gone, having firſt ranſackt the whole Country, fired the farm Houſes, ruin'd the Churches, and kild all the cattle.

This action purchas'd great praiſe to the Governour, who was not at all daunted at the ſight of ſuch forces, had valiantly ſuſtain'd the aſſault; and in ſo great commotions of War, preſerved that Iſland which lay in the very jaws of the Enemy, and rendred this their firſt deſign vain. The Turks leaving the Iſland of *Tine*, went to *Rhodes*, where having ſtaid a while, and deſigned what they would do, they came to *Fenica*. Hither were all the Souldiers brought, which were to come aboord the Fleet, which being altogether, made above 200 Sayl, whereof there was 150 Gallies, and of the bigger ſort, ſome veſſels for burthen, one Gallyoune, ſix Ships, and a great number of leſſer Veſſels for carriage, called by the Turks, *Caramuſolini*, and about fifty Palandarie, which are made like ſmall Gallies, but ſomewhat larger in the Poope, and higher on the ſides, and much covered, containing about a hundred Horſe a peece. The Turks parted with theſe forces from *Fenica*, and ſteered their courſe towards *Cyprus*: but becauſe the actions of greateſt importance in this War, hapned in this Iſland, the poſſeſſion whereof was the cauſe of the War: it will be worth the while, to acquaint you with the State and moſt remarkable proprieties of this Country, before we proceed to the Narration, of what was there done.

The Iſland of Cyprus *lies towards the* Levant, *in the furthermoſt part of the Mediterranean; which, according to the ſeverall Provinces which lye upon it, hath ſeverall names given it. The Iſland looks on the Eaſt towards* Soria, *with which, if we will credit the teſtimony of the Ancients, ſhe did at firſt joyn in a* Terra Ferma. *On the Weſt, lies* Panfilia, *which is now called* Sarmania: *On the South,* Ægypt, *and* Caramania *on the North, which is the ancient* Cilicia, *on which ſide this Iſland lies neareſt the continent: It is ſeven hundred miles in compaſſe, extending it ſelfe about* 200 *miles in length, Eaſt North-Eaſt, towards the* Levant; *but in the largeſt part, it is not above ſeventy miles over. It is of a very good Air, being*

placed

placed in the beginning of the fourth Climate, under the ninth Parallel, ſo as it produceth almoſt all things belonging to humane life, in great abundance and perfection: And though hardly the fifth part thereof be cultivated, the half thereof lies every other year fallow; yet is it ſo fruitfull, as it hath not onely wherewithall to ſupply the neceſſity of the Inhabitants, but to ſerve Forrainers: Beſides Corn, it yields much Sugar, Cotton, Saffron, and many other things, which are tranſported into forrain parts. It abounds in Salt-pits, which though they be now reduced to the third part of their former number, yet as much pure white ſalt may be taken from thence every year, as will load one hundred great ſhips. It abounds alſo in ſeverall ſorts of Creatures, excellently good; nor doth it want Mines of the moſt pretious Mettalls. By reaſon of this great plenty of all things, it was anciently called Macaria, *as if Bleſſed, which made the Poets fain, that the goddeſſe* Venus *was born here, and did delight to live here, as in her proper neſt: Wherefore the Cyprians erected a famous Temple to her, in the City of* Paphos. *It was celebrated by antiquity, as the ſeat of nine Kings, having within it thirty Cities, which though according to the cuſtom of modern daies, they be greater in number then reality, yet there remains many worthy memorialls, of their priſtine grandeſſa and proſperity. And there are yet ſeen the ruines of ſeverall Cities, as well Maritime as Inland, which are wholly deſtroyed. But at this time, her chiefeſt Townes are* Nicoſſia, Famagoſta, Baffo, Cerines, *and* Limiſo; *which latter two were onely reduced into any ſtrength, there not being any other place in the whole Iſland able to reſiſt the Turks power, though* Cerines *hath held out long formerly againſt leſſer forces. The Inhabitants of this country were ſo highly eſteemed for worth in war, and for experience at ſea, as* Alexander *the great, forbore to moleſt them with his Arms. And we read in modern Hiſtories, that they did many memorable acts in the buſineſſe of the Holy Land, and in Soria, againſt the Infidells. This Iſland was Tributary to the greateſt Empires of the world; for following the fortune of other Eaſtern people, it became obedient to the Kings of* Egypt, *and to thoſe of* Perſia, *and laſtly to the* Romans. *when the Roman Empire began to decline, it was poſſeſt by the* Saraſins, *which the Turks make uſe of at this time, to ſhew, they have ſome juſt pretence to this Iſland; affirming, that they found in their Hiſtories, that their fifth Captain of the Mahometan Religion, after* Mahomet, *had acquired and poſſeſt it; and that there were the Sepulchers of many Muſſelmans, which they could not ſuffer to remain in the power of thoſe, of another Religion. But it was recovered from the Saraſins by the Chriſtians, in the year* 1122. *and joyned to the Kingdom of* Jeruſalem, *when they went to the taking of the Holy Land. And after ſeverall accidents, being ſeparated from thence, it was governed for many years by Lords of its own, under the protection of the Emperours of* Conſtantinople, *till ſuch time as* Richard *King of* England *ſold the Signiory thereof to the Knights Templars, by whom it was quickly ſold to* Guido Luſignano, *who being driven by Sultan* Saladine *out of* Jeruſalem, *withdrew himſelf to live in* Cyprus, *and was the firſt Latine Lord, whoſe ſon ſucceeding his father in the Dominion, got it by the Pope's authority to be made a Kingdom, the firſt Grecian Lords having uſed the title of Dukes. The peacable and quiet condition of this whole Kingdom, continued under the Government of twelve Kings, except the city of* Famagoſta, *which was poſſeſt by the Genoveſes. After which,*

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the Kingdom falling into the hands of Lewis, *ſon to* Amideo *the* 7th. *Duke of* Savoy, *by the right of inheritance of* Charlotta, *daughter to King* John Luſignan, *it was taken by the aid of the Mamalucchy, by* James *ſon to the ſame King, illegitimate, a man of much valour, and of aſpiring thoughts, who alſo recovered* Famagoſta *from the Genueſes; and that he might be the better confirmed in the poſſeſſion of the Kingdom, procured the friendſhip and protection of the Venetians, by marrying* Catharina Cornaro, *adopted daughter of the Common-wealth, who was made heir of that Kingdom by the laſt will and Teſtament of her husband. And by her it was freely given to her Country, as you have heard before. By which it may be known, what reaſon the Common-wealth had to make any attempt, and expoſe her ſelf to all danger and trouble, for the preſervation of ſo rich and noble a Kingdom, which was ſo lawfully poſſeſs'd by her.*

But to return to our narration. The Turkiſh Fleet was diſcryed to be about *Baſſo*, upon the Weſtern Cape of the Iſland, on the firſt day of *July*, which falling lower towards the South, ſcoured the River which is between *Lemiſſo*, and the Promontory, which is called by many *Capo de Gatti*, taking many priſoners, and ſacking and pillaging ſeverall country houſes. But making no long ſtay there, they ſteered the ſame courſe, and came the next day to *Saline*, a place which lies upon the ſame ſhore, ſomewhat more towards the Eaſt; where not meeting with any to withſtand them, they landed their Artillery, and their ſouldiers, and ſecured their quarters by ſtrong Rampiers, from whence they iſſued out, to plunder the neighbouring parts, endeavouring to inform themſelves by the Priſoners, of the affairs of the Iſland. And advancing as far as *Leucata*, a Town nine leagues from *Saline*, they eaſily reduced thoſe country people to their obedience, to whom *Muſtafa Baſhaw* gave many gifts, and promis'd them much more, thereby to invite others to ſubmit to his devotion, eſpecially the Mountainers, whom he could not ſo ſoon reduce by force. This mean while, the Turks ſent forth 80 Gallies, and many Bottoms of *Barbne*, ſome to *Tripoli*, ſome to the Rivers of *Caramania*, to raiſe more Souldiers, and Horſe; ſo as their whole forces being ſoon after brought together, there were found (as moſt men affirm) in the Turkiſh Army 30000 Foot, 3000 Pioniers, 2500 Horſe for war, beſides as many or more for burthen, 30 pieces of Artillery, ſome bearing bullets of 50l. weight, ſome of a 100l. and 50 Faulconets. But there were not Garriſons in the Iſland of *Cyprus*, ſufficient to reſiſt ſuch forces; for there was not above 2000 Italian Foot in the uſuall Garriſons, nor were there any more ſent afterwards, ſave 3000 of the common people *di Terra Ferma*, and the 2000 of *Martinengo*'s men, which by ſuffering at ſea, were reduced to a much leſſer number. So as the greateſt hope in defending the Cities, lay in the new Militia, which was muſtered of the Iſlanders themſelves, from whom, as was affirmed by many Captains and Governours, excellent ſervice might upon all occaſions be expected. Nor were there any Horſe in the Kingdom for action; ſave 500 *Stradiotti*, which were ſtill kept in pay, nor was it eaſie to get more; for though many of the Nobles, who enjoyed ſeverall things

things from the *Camera reale*, ſome through antient, ſome through new privileges, were bound to finde by thoſe their Fee-farms three or four horſes a piece, for the Princes ſervice, and that theſe amounted to about 700 Horſe; yet were there not many more than 100 of them, that were ſerviceable at this time: Nay, the breed of Horſes was very much decayed throughout the whole Iſland, by reaſon of the greater conveniency which the Inhabitants found, in riding upon Mules, whereof this country produceth great abundance, and thoſe very large. Things were therefore in a very bad poſture, ſince there wanted ſufficient forces to withſtand ſo powerfull an enemy, who were maſters of the field; nor could they long maintain two Forts, whereof *Nicoſſia* being one, by reaſon of the largeneſſe thereof, required a great many ſouldiers to defend it; and the other, which was *Famagoſta*, though it was leſſer, was ſo weak and imperfect, as it likewiſe required many men, and thoſe valiant ones too, to make good the defects of the Fort. And though theſe forces were but ſmall, yet were they of leſſer uſe, for want of experienced Commanders: for there was not any one in the whole Iſland of quality or condition, ſave *Aſtore Baglione*, who was Generall of that Militia, *Martinengo* being dead at ſea, as hath been ſaid. Nor was there any Commiſſary Generall of the Iſland, nor any Venetian Magiſtrate, as is uſually had in all places, in times of danger; for *Lorenzo Bembo*, who held that place, was dead but a little before, in whoſe place, though the Senate ſoon choſe *Sebaſtian Veniero* Commiſſary of *Corfu*, yet could he not come ſo ſoon to *Cyprus*, to execute his office. The chief commands of War were therefore conferred upon divers Cyprian Gentlemen, who were of great wealth and nobility, and very well affected towards the Common-wealth; but of very little, or no experience at all, in the Militia, and therefore the leſſe fit for ſuch employment. Count *Rocas* was made *Baglione*'s Lieutenant, who, after *Bembo*'s death, held ſupream authority in all things belonging to the Militia. *Jacomo di Nores*, Count of *Tripoli*, was Maſter of the Artillery; *Jovanni Singlitico*, Captain of all the Horſe of the Kingdom; *Jovanni Soſomino*, Captain of the Pioners; *Sapione Caraffa*, and *Pietro Paolo Singlitico*, Captains of the Country people, who were to be placed in ſtrong ſcituations upon the Mountains; and ſo other offices and employments were diſpoſed of to others. And the received opinion being, that the Turks would firſt aſſault *Famagoſta*, *Baglione* would go to the cuſtody thereof himſelf, that he might uſe his endeavours, where there ſhould be moſt need. Things being thus ordered, after many conſultations, it was concluded, That the firſt thing they would do ſhould be, by all poſſible means to hinder the enemy from landing; or at leaſt to infeſt them, keeping along the ſhoar whither they ſhould ſeem to come, ſo as they ſhould be enforc'd to ſeparate, and change their ſtation, by that means prolonging the buſineſſe, ſince they could not tarry long upon thoſe downs without danger, where there was no harbour for their Fleet. According to which advice, as ſoon as they heard newes of the enemies approach, Count *Rocas* parted from *Nicoſſia*, with three hundred

Horſe, which was all that in ſo great haſte could be got together, and with one hundred Dragoons, commanded by *Antonio dal Beretino*, and *Lazaro Cocopani*; and marched towards the place, which was deſigned for muſtering all the Horſe, which was a fitting place for that purpoſe, not far from the ſhoars of the *Saline*, where it was thought, the enemies Fleet would land their men, becauſe there was the beſt Anchoring, and for that it was neareſt the two chiefeſt Cities, *Nicoſſia* and *Famagoſta*. *Baglione* went alſo from *Famagoſta*, with 300 Dragoons, and 150 Stradiotti. *Pietro Rancadi*, who was Governour of the *Albaneſe* Militia, going at the ſame time from *Baffo*, with the reſt of Cavalry; which being all met, they reſolved not to advance any further, nor to attempt any thing, but to return all from whence they came; were it either, for that they conſidered their forces better, or for the neerneſſe of the danger, being much troubled at the ſuddain newes, that above 300 ſail (for ſo it was reported) were already upon the ſhoar; or for that they thought, it was too late, and would be to no purpoſe to do what they formerly had reſolved, the enemy being already arrived, and having begun to land their men. So as all things were left free, and ſafe to the Turks, to their no little wonder; for they began at firſt to ſuſpect, that this eaſie entrance into the enemies country, did not proceed from any weakneſſe, negligence, or cowardice of the defendants, but that it might be done out of ſome deſigne, or military ſtratagem, to draw them at unawares into ſome ſnare. They therefore knew not at firſt what to do, and proceeded with much caution: but having over-run many parts, and done much prejudice, not meeting with any reſiſtance, they grew more bold: They did not onely advance with their whole Camp, but roved up and down every where, whither ſoever their deſire of pillage, or any other thing drew them, without any Order or Colours.

But the Commanders, that they might loſe no more time in vain, began to think upon drawing near one of the two chiefeſt Forts of the Kingdom; *Piali* was for expugning *Famagoſta* firſt, hoping to get it within a few daies, which being loſt, he ſaid, *That Nicoſſia muſt likewiſe neceſſarily fall ſoon into their hands; for that being full of unneceſſary people, far from the ſea-ſhore, and in midſt of a Campagna, poſſeſt by ſo many enemies, it would not be able to be relieved, without which it could not long hold out. That* Famagoſta *was a little and a weak Fort, and ſo defective, as it would not be able to withſtand the firſt Battery; nor were the defendants ſo many, or ſo valiant, as that they durſt expect the aſſault of ſo victorious an Army, whoſe reputation would be ſo much encreaſed by that victory, as all things would become eaſie, which might as yet peradventure be thought difficult. Nay, this ſole example inſuſing terrour into all the Inhabitants, would be ſufficient to put them ſoon, and with little trouble, in poſſeſſion of the whole Kingdom.* But *Muſtafa* affirmed on the contrary, *that the reputation of ſo great forces ought not to be leſſened, by falling upon petty enterpriſes, whereby to encourage the enemy, and to diſhearten their own men. That* Famagoſta *was poſſeſs'd by the Genueſes, for the ſpace of 90 years, and yet the Luſignian Kings were Maſters of the Iſland at the ſame time. So as it might be conceived, the taking of that City would*

would not make much towards the getting of the whole Kingdom: whereas the whole Nobility were with-drawn into Nicoſſia, *and moſt of the People, Wealth, and Ammunition of the Iſland, ſo as one labour might do the whole buſineſſe. That the alterations which are often ſeen to fall out in a ſhort time, when great actions are in hand, are not to be foreſeen: nor was it certain, that* Famagoſta *would be ſo ſoon taken, but that they ſhould rather be neceſſitated to imploy thoſe Forces elſwhere, according as the Chriſtian Fleet ſhould divert them: ſo as if they ſhould depart from the Iſland, and leave the Enemy Maſters of almoſt all the whole Kingdom, they ſhould get but little good by ſuch an enterpriſe. He further added, that the Air about* Famagoſta *was very bad, the Town being ſeated low, amongſt mariſh grounds, and that therefore it would be unſupportable to thoſe that were not long accuſtomed thereunto; that therefore they were not to carry their Souldiers where they were likely to periſh of ſickneſſe, but where they might give proof of their valour: that to die without praiſe or merit was common; that no worthy valiant man could fear the greateſt dangers of War, or of the Enemies Forces, when they were accompanied with the hopes of glory. Moreover, that they had learnt by ſuch Priſoners as they had taken, that the men of chiefeſt Authority, and beſt experienced Souldiers, were with-drawn into* Famagoſta, *wherein the true defence of Cities lay; not in walls nor Bulworks, when every mans valour is to be tryed in aſſaults; the skill and worth of his Souldiers being much better, as was known by experience, in taking in of ſtrong holds, then was the art or induſtry of Chriſtians in erecting, or in defending them. That their great train of Artillery, the infinite number of their Pioners, and their experience in ſuch things, would facilitate their throwing down the wals of* Nicoſſia, *and the bringing of their valiant Souldiers to an aſſault; wherein being to meet with but little reſiſtance, by reaſon of the paucity and puſillanimity of the defendants; it was not to be doubted, but that the victory would fall into their hands, with as much, nay peradventure with more eaſineſſe, then they could hope for of* Famagoſta, *but certainly with much greater rewards, and more worth their labour and hazard.*

For theſe reaſons, and out of the reſpect born to *Muſtafa's* authority, they reſolved to attempt *Nicoſſia* firſt, towards which the whole Camp moved the 22d. of *July*, having ſent five hundred Horſe towards *Famagoſta*, to hinder commerce between thoſe two Cities. All this while the Cavalry lay idle in *Nicoſſia*, leaving the whole Country open and free to be pillaged by the Enemy, though Cavailer *Roncadi*, and ſome other Gentlemen of the City, did often earneſtly deſire, that they might go out, and ſhew themſelves to the enemy, to keep them from growing the bolder, by reaſon of theſe the *Nicoſſians* too timorous, & peradventure too cowardly counſells. But thoſe who had the Government of affairs, not thinking it fit to hazard thoſe men, who were intended for the defence of the City, would by no means be brought to give way thereunto. Yet being more moved by the offences of their own men, then by thoſe of the Enemy, when they heard of the Rebellion of *Leſcara's* family, which had not onely ſuddenly come in to *Muſtafa*, but committing other out-rages to the prejudice of thoſe of the Ci-

ty, had ſent ſome of their men to perſwade other Citizens, who had retired themſelves to certain narrow paſſages amidſt the mountains, and were free from being injur'd by the Turks, that following their example, they ſhould diſcend into the plains, and ſubmit willingly unto the Turks; it was reſolved one night to ſend out 100 Horſe, and 400 Foot to fire that Hamlet, whereof almoſt all the inhabitants, to the number of above 400 were put to the ſword. Thus their treachery was ſeverely puniſht, and by the terror thereof, the deſire of Novelty was curb'd in many of the Inhabitants, by reaſon of the ſlavery wherein they were, for the aforeſaid cauſes; ſo as it was clearly ſeen, that hoping by change of Government, to change their fortune, they were not onely not likely to oppoſe the Enemy, but rather to afford them all conveniency: which inclination of theirs, *Muſtafa* ſought by all poſſible means to nouriſh, making many preſents, and greater promiſes to ſuch as ſhould come in unto him: But the Turks purſuing their way, without any obſtacle, drew near the walls of *Niccſia*; and as ſoon as the Army was diſcovered, by thoſe that were within the Town, they were all poſſeſt with infinite fear. *Nicolo Dandalo*, was then Governour of that City, being made Lieutenant thereof by the Common-wealth, a man of weak judgement to manage ſo weighty a buſineſſe, but who had that preferment put upon him, out of an opinion conceived, that though he was not very quick witted, yet he was good at action, by reaſon of the experience which he was believed to have gotten in ſeverall imployments at Sea: He having either loſt his underſtanding through the extraordinary apprehenſion of danger, or not knowing through his want of reaſon, and underſtanding, how to provide againſt ſo great an exigency, increaſed the difficulties and danger: for when the Enemies Fleet was arrived, he had not got the Ditches to be fully emptied, nor ordered the Militia; nor thoſe of the Country, nor provided for ſufficient victualls for the City. To amend which diſorders, he was forced to commit greaters; a publick Edict was made, that it ſhould be lawfull for every one to take Corn whereſoever they could finde it, which being brought into the City, ſhould be underſtood to be their own; which being too late a remedy, could not work the effect which was expected, a good part thereof being left abroad in the Country houſes, with a double inconvenience to the Country-men, by reaſon of the advantage the Enemy made thereof. Moreover, having with very little regard to the eminency of the danger, diſmiſt the meaner ſort, he in great haſte, and confuſion, ſent for them back, before they were got to their own homes, and did at the ſame time liſt new Souldiers in the Country, as the occaſion and neceſſity did beſt dictate: whilſt our men oppreſt thus by many miſchiefs, ſpent their time in ordering their affairs, and in adviſing how they might hinder or diſturb the Enemies proceedings; all reſolutions being the longer in taking, for want of any Chief-taine, who might decide the diverſity of opinions: the Turks had leaſure and opportunity given them, to ſet up their Pavillions, plant their Artillery, and fortifie their

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Quarters, not meeeting with any diſturbance, ſave by ſhot from the Town. For though the *Stradiotti* did often ſally out with ſome companies of Harchebugiers to skirmiſh; yet not daring by reaſon of their ſmall numbers, to go further from the walls, then they were ſheltred by ſhot from the Town, nor the enemy approaching ſo near, as that they might be thereby prejudiced, nothing of moment inſued. And *Andrea Corteſe*, Captain of the *Stradiotti*, a bold and adventurous man, being one day advanc'd a good way before his own men, he was inviron'd by a great many of the Enemy, and after having valiantly defended himſelfe for a long while, was ſlain. The Turkiſh Army incampt themſelves from *Santa Marina*, to *Aglangia*, poſſeſſing the whole ſpace of ground which was oppoſite to four Bulworks: and on the other ſide of the Fort, whither the Campe reached not, each Baſhaw ſent out 100 Horſe, and as many Foot, ſo as the City being inviron'd on all ſides, could neither receive in, nor ſend out any men.

Nicoſſia ſtands in the midſt of the Iſland, almoſt equally diſtant from the Northern and Southern ſhore, and from the two utmoſt parts of the Iſland, *Baſſo*, and *Carpaſſo*: It abounds in freſh water, is of an indifferent wholſome air, being breath'd on by the pleaſant South-weſt wind, which inlivens and refreſheth the Inhabitants when they are wearied, and ſwlter'd with the immoderate heat of that Climate, wherefore it was more inhabited then any other City of the Kingdom; and this was the cauſe why the Iſland being to be ſecured by a Fort, the *Cyprians*, not valuing any other ſcituation, concur'd all of them readily and liberally in contributing towards this, ſo as this City was reduced into a Fort-Royall, by the means of *Franceſco Barbaro*, Commiſſary of the Iſland, and of *Julio Sovorgnano* the Governour, to whom the Senate had committed the particular care thereof. The Fort was of a circular form, with eleven Bulworks, whoſe Front was 75 paces, and their ſhoulders thirty; ſo as each of them was capable of 2000 foot, and of four pieces of Cannon, and they were ſo built, as there being out-lets on every ſide, the Souldiers might go ſhelter'd on all ſides, to the Counterſcarpe; but they were chiefly ſecured to the Plat-forms, which were above 30 paces broad, ſo as it was held by ſuch as were profeſſors of military diſcipline, one of the fairreſt and beſt Fortifications that was in the world, for as much as could be contributed by Art. But as there was plenty of theſe things, ſo was there ſcarcity of defendants: for when *Aſtore Baglione*, went from thence, Colonell *Roncone* remained there, with charge of the Communalty of the Iſland, and of all the *Italian* Militia, and ſome other Captains, who though they had ſome experience in War, and were ambitious of honour; yet having but ſmall Authority, their advice profited but a little: for they were either not liſtned to, through the indiſcretion of ſuch as ſtood at the helm of Government; or elſe accepted of with much diſpute and difficulty, and therefore but ſlowly, and badly executed. It was therefore reſolved, to ſend to *Famagoſta*, to deſire *Baglione*, that he himſelfe would come

come to *Nicoſia*, and bring ſome Souldiers along with him: but the Magiſtrates of that City thinking that they had not men enough to defend it, and not being certain but that the Enemy might alter their minds, ſo as they might have occaſion to uſe them themſelves; they poſitively refuſed to part either with their men, or with their Captain; and *Baglione* making uſe of their Authority, deſired to be excuſed for that time: adding, that *Martinengo's* Souldiers, having loſt their Commander, ſaid abſolutely, that they would render obedience to none but to him; ſo as his comming away might cauſe ſome great diſorder in that City. There were then in *Nicoſſia* 10000 foot for her defence, whereof 1500 were *Italians*, and all the reſt Inhabitants of the Iſland, to wit, 3000 of the common ſort, 2500 of the City, 2000 newly liſted into the Militia, taken out of the Country houſes, and paid partly out of the Exchequer, partly out of private mens Purſes, and 1000 *Nicoſſian* Gentlemen: Theſe were almoſt all new men unexperienced, and not over-well armed, in ſo much as many wanting Pikes and Muskets, were forced to uſe Bills and Halberts. But the City was very well provided of Artillery, nor were there wanting ſuch as knew how to manage them; They had likewiſe great ſtore of Pioners, to make uſe of upon any occaſion: for, to boot with 4000 liſted under *Jovan Soſſomeno*, they had taken in above 4000 more fit for ſuch imployments. Yet amidſt ſo many men, and ſo much ground, the Commanders not agreeing in the manner how to order their inworks, this ſo neceſſary proviſion was left unperfect. By theſe diſorders theſe Forces were weakned, which were certainly too few to reſiſt ſo puiſſant an Army of the Enemies; wherein, on the contrary, great obſervancy, and reverence was given to the Commanders, and all military actions, being ſeverely ordered, were with ſtrange readineſſe obſerved. *Muſtafa's* authority, who was a bold and warlike perſonage, as alſo his reputation by the fame which he had won by fighting in *Selino's* Army before he was Emperour, againſt his brother *Achomet*; the unhoped for victory which was then gotten, being attributed to his forward valours The Souldiers, who were accuſtomed to the duties of War, to labour and hardſhips, grew much more hardy, by the opinion they had of their Captains worth, and by the hopes of great reward which was promiſed them upon getting the victory. There were, as hath been ſaid, a great number of men in the Army, the chiefe foundation whereof conſiſted in 6000 *Janiſaries*, and 4000 *Spacchi*, (theſe are Souldiers who are kept in continuall pay, to ſerve on Horſe-back, and upon occaſion, do ſerve with others on foot) valiant ment, and brought up in War. Therefore the more humane foreſight had been wanting to provide againſt ſuch Forces, the more did they apply themſelves to beg aſſiſtance from God. Solemn proceſſions were daily made throughout the City, which were done the more frequently, and with the more devotion, by the example and exhortation of *Franciſco Contarini*, Biſhop of *Baffo*, in whom Epiſcopall dignity became more honourable and reverend by the ancient Nobility, and by the riches

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of his family, and by his own goodneſſe and worth. He being the prime eccleſiaſtick perſon, (for *Philippo Mocenico*, Arch-Biſhop of *Nicoſſia*, was then at *Venice*) was not wanting in performing ſuch duties to thoſe people, which they could have expected from their own Paſtour. The chief of the City being one day aſſembled in the Church of *Santa Sophia*, where were alſo many men of all conditions, he ſpoke thus unto them.

If I ſhall look upon the greatneſſe of the preſent dangers, I cannot but much apprehend the common ſafety; and as doubting the iſſue, and with a ſubmiſſe minde, yield to adverſe fortune. And if on the other ſide, I think upon your worth, magnanimity, fortitude, and, conſtancy, I finde a certain warmth ariſe within me, which encourageth me to hope for better things. But if I raiſe my ſelf from theſe more lowly cogitations, to the conſideration of divine providence and goodneſſe, my firſt fear is not onely allayed, but is changed into an aſſured hope: For when I obſerve the truth better, I know, that hard and difficult things become eaſye, to ſuch as are valiant; and even impoſſibilities to faithfull Chriſtians, are made facile. Therefore if you be not wanting in your antient and known worth, and if you continue conſtant and ſtedfaſt in that faith, which, together with your own ſafeties, you have undertaken to defend, I am aſſured, you wil find theſe troubles at the laſt, not ordained for your ruine, but for your praiſe and eternall glory. We know by infinite examples of all ages, how many ſieges have been withſtood and rendred vain, by a few, though the beſiegers were very numerous. Conſtant worth, and a noble reſolution of undaunted mind, being ſufficient to ſtave off greateſt dangers. But as for ſuch, whom God hath taken into his particular cuſtody, no powers of man hath been able to prejudice them; nay, Natures ſelf, the very Heavens and Elements have been ſubſervient to them. The waters ſtood ſtill, and made a ſafe paſſage to the Jewes, through the midſt of the ſea; the moſt ſcorched grounds afforded them fountains of clear water, to refreſh them withall; and the Heavens gave them Manna, *a miraculous food, to nouriſh them. We are to hope for theſe, or the like aſſiſtances, from the hand of God; for* Selino Ottaman *is a no leſſe wicked and cruell perſecutor of the faithfull, then was that antient* Pharaoh. *Nor are we Chriſtians, who are bought with the blood of his Son, leſſe dear to God, or leſſe beloved by him, then any others have formerly been, of which future miracle, we have an evident late example, which may perſwade us to believe we ſhall ſhare of. Do you not know in what condition the Iſland of* Malta *was, this time five year? begirt by ſo long and ſo ſore a ſiege, oppugned by ſo many ſouldiers, defended by ſo few, void of all hopes of help, and in all ſorts of want and neceſſities: Yet the defendants, no whit leſſening their valour nor loyalty, for whatſoever adverſe fortune, the Barbarians power was rendred vain and uſeleſſe, and they were laught at, for their over-daring attempt. And that the power of divine providence might the more appear, the Fort, when reduced to the laſt extremity, was freed from the ſiege by the enemy, before it was relieved by friends. You are to imitate theſe ſtout and valiant men, by expoſing your ſelves willingly to all the labours and dangers of war; nay, you muſt exceed them: for thoſe Knights, being forrainers, of ſeverall Nations, fought for religion, and glory; you do not onely defend theſe, but alſo your wives, children, and eſtates; ſo as all things, both human and divine, invite you to ſhew invinci-*

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ble valour; and that the more readily and boldly, as that you being free men, and generous, are to fight againſt ſlaves, baſe and unarmed people, wont to overcome more by their numbers, then their valour. Which advantage, they at the preſent want, this City being defended by ſtrong walls, and by ſo many great guns, as this alone will be ſufficient to repulſe the enemy, who if they ſhall dare to aſſault us, you are ſure of the victory, if you can but withſtand their firſt brunt. For it cannot be long ere the ſuccour come, which you have heard our common-wealth is ſending us, with a powerfull Fleet, which will never refuſe to expoſe all her forces readily, for the preſervation of this Kingdom, which ſhe eſteems, as a noble member of her State, and loves ſo well. Theſe humane proviſions being of themſelves ſufficient to deliver us, will, through your prayers, faith, and firm reſolution to forego your ſins, make you invincible; when your ſins being puniſhed more by fear then pain, you ſhall have time and reaſon, to honour and praiſe the All-glorious God, who ſhewing you onely the face of his anger, in the fury of this barbarous Ottaman, *will have provided for your ſouls health, and for your atchieving of heavenly bleſſings, together with the preſervation of your lives, country, and eſtates; to the end that you may uſe all theſe hereafter, to his glory, who is the true and liberall Lord, and the free giver of all grace.*

The whole Auditory ſeemed much affected with theſe words, ſo as they cheerfully comforted one another; and preparing couragiouſly to defend themſelves, they betook themſelves ſolicitouſly to all military actions, to ſecure their Parapets, to beſtow their Companies in places of greateſt danger, and to guard their Bulwarks carefully. The danger encreaſed daily, as the enemy drew nearer; for the Turks wanting neither for diligence nor induſtry, were come with their Trenches very near the Ditch, and by frequent Muſquet ſhot, playing upon thoſe that were upon the walls, kept them from appearing upon the Parapets. Moreover, they planted divers great Pieces towards the City, on St. *Marina*'s ſide, whereby they did much prejudice to the houſes, not without great fear unto the people. But that which gave the Commanders juſteſt cauſe of fear, was, their ſtupendious earth-works, which being made with great art and expedition, ſeverall Forts were ſeen within a few daies, to be raiſed to ſuch a height, as the enemies ſtanding thereupon, might fight ſecurely, and upon great advantage; and make uſe, not onely of their Artillery againſt our men, but of their Arrows, and artificiall fire-works, which being thrown over the walls, and faſtning upon wool-ſacks, whereof the Traverſes were made, deſtroyed thoſe works, depriving thoſe within of thoſe defences. The difficulty grew the greater to the defendants, for that being but a few, they could hardly ſupply the duties, which the defence of ſo many places required; ſo as they were forced to keep from ſending people abroad to moleſt the enemy, leſt they might add to their own difficulties. Their chief hope lay in their Artillery, which being well managed, did diſturb the enemies works; *Antonio dal Berentino*, a witty man, and a well experienced Canonier, did much good thereby to thoſe of the Town: But the City ſoon loſt him, and many others, who were well verſt in that affair; for being ſhot by the ene-

enemies, whereunto they were continually expoſed, moſt of them were ſlain: So as the Turks brought on their Trenches ſo far, as they came to the Counter-ſcarfe, wherein making ſome breaches, they at laſt entred the Ditch; and having thereby made rampiers of earth, whereby to defend themſelves from the enemies ſhot, they began to undermine the Bulworks with their Mat-hooks, ſo as they ſoon made ſtairs, whereby they might the more eaſily mount the Bulworks; and climbing up thereby, they began to make ſome little aſſaults upon the Bulworks, *Coſtanzo* and *Padacataro*, (which were ſo called, from the families of ſuch Gentlemen, as had had a particular care in building the Fort) to ſee, how they that were within would behave themſelves. And it ſo fell out, as thoſe who were upon the defence of *Coſtanzo*, being ſurpriſed at unawares, ſuffered themſelves to be ſo charged, as many of the Turks advancing very boldly, got beyond the Parapets; but *Paolo dal Guaſto*, and *Andrea da Spelle*, falling upon them with their Companies, the enemies were repulſt, much to their prejudice; but not without the loſſe of many of our men, particularly of *Andrea*, who fighting valiantly amongſt the foremoſt, was ſlain. This unexpected aſſault did ſo terrifie the defendants, as many thought, that if the Turks had ſeconded the firſt aſſailants with greater forces, the City would have been loſt. But the eſchewing of this danger gave them no better hopes, for they could find no way to diſturb the Turks works, who labouring continually in the making of, as it were, ſeverall Cawſeys of earth, twenty five foot broad, which reached from their Trenches to the Breaches, which (as hath been ſaid) was made in the Counterſcarf; and ſheltring thoſe waies on the ſides, with faggots, and baskets fill'd with earth, they prepared for greater, and more ſecure aſſaults; which if they were not timely oppoſed, there was no way of ſafety left. So as though it was a hard and dubious thing, to expoſe the beſt of their few good ſouldiers, to ſo great danger; yet no better exigency appearing, they reſolved upon that courſe at laſt, which had been ſeverall times before refuſed. *Ceſare Piovine*, an Italian, Count *Rocas* his Lievtenant, ſallied therefore out of the Town, with part of the Italian Foot, and with the Horſe, intending to fight the enemies Trenches, and their Forts, to clog their Artillery, and to deſtroy, or at leaſt to do what miſchief he could to their works, which reſolution was very welcome to the ſouldiers, who were impatient to ſee themſelves daily waſted, and the utmoſt of dangers to draw nigh, without making any triall of themſelves, or taking revenge upon the enemie. But this generous action, being perhaps too lately attempted, and then too precipitouſly purſued, wrought not the good effect which was hoped for, nor which the happy beginning promiſed; wherein *Piovine* boldly advancing, took two of the enemies Forts, and ſlew almoſt all that were within them; who being ſweltered with the extream heat, (for it was at full noon when our men aſſaulted them) and being free from any apprehenſion, had laid aſide their Arms, and were fallen aſleep. But *Piovene*'s ſouldiers, according to the abuſive cuſtom of our Militia, gave over purſuing the victory, and fell to pillage; which diſorder became afterwards the greater, becauſe

the Grecians and Albaneses, having too early advanced with their Horse, to assault the enemies Trenches; were it either, for that vying with the Italians for valour, they would be the first that should appear in that action; or that they were not well pleased to be commanded by *Piovine*; they, by this their unseasonable haste, made those of the Camp too soon acquainted with their comming, so as many Turks hasting thither, they easily made our men run, who were divided, and busied about plunder. But *Piovine*, together with Count *Alberto*, and *Jovan Battista de Fano*, tarrying with some few of their men, to defend the Port which they had taken, after a long and stout withstanding, the enemies comming fill in, in great numbers, were cut in pieces. These valiant men were encouraged to make this defence, out of hopes of being soon assisted by those from within, the assaill signe of succour being already given between them. But because the Turks, who upon the notice of our mens comming out, were assembled together in great numbers, and making use of this occasion, prepared to assault the Bulwark *Costanzo*, as they did afterwards: Count *Tripoli*, who had the keeping thereof, was forc'd to stay Captain *Gregorio Pauro*, who was appointed to go forth with the relief, that he might make use of him, and of his men, against the enemies unexpected assault; who not being able, after a long dispute, to mount the Parapets, were forced to retreat. Thus the Turks continued many daies to annoy those within, by severall waies, and to attempt the taking of the City, though but with trivall assaults. Wherefore by reason of the paucity of the defendants, our forces were much lessened, which could not well discharge all the duties which were to be done, both by day and night, in severall parts of the City. The Parapets of the Bulwarks were already very much weakened, and in some places wholly cast down, by the enemies continuall shot; so as great diligence was used, to fill up those Parapets with earth, and to finish the in-works, where they were imperfect, and to erect some Cavalliers for more security, upon the Bulwarks. But these works proceeded on but slowly; for the Pioners, wearied with watching, and other hardships, grew not able to perform their work; and because the enemies Artillery, which were levelled by day, shot also by night, and did much harm. Yet the souldiers, especially the Italians, and the Gentry of the City, continued stedfast in their resolution, to defend themselves to the very last, being a little comforted, with hopes, that the Venetian Fleet would soon come and raise the Siege. No answer was therefore given to divers Letters, which were conveyed by the Turks into the City, by Arrowes; wherein the Bashaw *Mustafa* writing, sometimes to the Governours, sometimes to certain of the chief Nobility of the City, and sometimes to the people in generall, exhorted them to yield, promising, in case they would do so, to use great liberality and humanity towards them; and denouncing severe punishment, if they should doe otherwise. But finding that they could not learn any thing of the people's, nor of the Governour's intention by this means; they made signs of parley to those of the Bulwork of *Costanzo*; and having

having free liberty given them to do ſo, they in the name of the Baſhaw *Muſtafa*, ſaid, *That he wondered very much that he had received no anſwer to any of his Letters, as if his Forces were deſpiſed, which were notwithſtanding ſuch, as he might have ended the War much ſooner by them, had he not had regard to their ſafeties, which they themſelves ſeemed to ſlight ſo much. That therefore he had thought good to admoniſh them, that duly weighing the ſtate of their affairs, which was now reduced to the utmoſt of danger, by the death of ſo many defendants, and for that there was no hope of relief left them; for he had had certain intelligence, that the Venetian Fleet being oppreſt with much ſickneſſe, and other difficulties, could not ſtir out of their Havens: it might ſuddenly ſo fall out, that they might in vain intreat thoſe fair conditions which they now refuſed; for he could no longer moderate the Souldiers rage, who had made frequent demands, that they might be permitted to plunder the City, in reward of the labours and dangers which they had undergone: So as if they ſhould delay ſurrendring the Town, the ruine thereof would be attributed rather to their fooliſh obſtinacy, than to the cruelty of the Enemy.* Having quickly reſolved to give an anſwer to theſe words, for the Truce was to laſt but for two hours, they put an end to the parley, telling them onely, *That the Souldiers and Citizens were firmly reſolved to defend the City with all their might, to the very laſt minute, and to keep loyall to their Prince; ſo that whatſoever the event ſhould be, nothing could be more deſired of them, but better fortune, which they hoped they ſhould not fail of, ſince they would not be failing to themſelves, to their honour, nor to their religion, which, together with their ſafety, they had undertaken to defend.*

Thus having placed all their hopes in their Arms, the Governours thought good to feed the Souldiers and people with hopes of Succour, which did chiefly increaſe in them their reſolution, and courage to defend themſelves. Wherefore they made it be divulged by a Renegado who was fled from the Enemies Camp to the City; that he had brought Letters from *Famagoſta*, which brought certain news of the arrivall of the Chriſtian Fleet; which that it might be the more credibly believed, the Captains which were upon the Mountains with the Iſlanders, were ordered to give the ſign of ten fires, which every one knew was to give notice to the City, that the Chriſtian Navy was arrived. This wrought ſuch impreſſion in ſome, as imagining that to be true which they did ſo much deſire, they affirmed, they ſaw the Turks begin to remove their Artillery, and their Pavillions. But the Enemy who feared nothing leſſe, continued their batteries, whereof nothing of remarkable inſued for ſome days, ſave onely that *Jacobo di Nores*, Count of *Trepoli*, one of the chief Barons of the Kingdom, who had won the name of being vigilant and valiant, was ſlain in an aſſault which was given to the Bulwork *Coſtanzo*, and his Brother *Franciſco Maria* was in his place made Governour of that Bulwork.

Thus did the Turks waſte thoſe within by little and little, with frequent skirmiſhes: but they durſt not enter upon the Bulworks, for fear of Mines; whereof they were the more cautious, by reaſon of the loſs which they received at the expugning of *Zighet*. More-

over, *Muſtafa* thought he had too few men to make a great Efforte; for the *Janiſaries* were not very forward to be the firſt that ſhould fall on; wherefore he ſpun out the time, till ſuch time as having more certain news of the Enemies Fleet, he might, (as he did afterwards) ſafely increaſe his Army by thoſe that remained in the Gallies: Who as ſoon as they were come to the Camp, all fear of the Fleet being over, and the Cawſeys being now perfected, and rendred ſecure, which led from the Trenches to the four Bulworks of *Podacataro*, *Coſtanzo*, *Davila*, and *Tripoli*: he began to place all the Commanders and Souldiers in their proper imployments, and gave an orderly aſſault at one and the ſame time with his whole Forces to all the four Bulworks, which the beſieged interpreted to be done by the Enemy as their laſt eſſay, with intention of departing ſuddenly, if they ſhould not ſucceed therein. So great an impreſſion had the news of the arrivall of the Venetian Fleet made in them, which being held by all to be true, they incouraged one another, affirming confidently, that the Victory, the end of their labours, and their ſafety from all danger lay, in withſtanding the fury of that aſſault. Wherefore worthily out-doing themſelves, and the opinion which was held of their Forces; they repulſ'd the Turks that day every where, and ſlew very many of them: Whereat *Muſtafa* being much incens'd, and beginning almoſt to diſpair of getting the City, as he thought he might eaſily have done, he ceaſed not continually to ſolicite the Souldiers, that they would once more be brought to give another aſſault; ſometimes reproaching them of cowardiſe, ſometimes promiſing largely to reward their valour. *And what is it, ſaid he, that can infuſe courage into you, if that now that you do ſo far exceed the Enemy, both for number and military diſcipline, who are but a few, and thoſe freſh ſouldiers, and unexperienced in Arms, you cannot ſo much as abide their looks, whom you have ſuffered to baffle you ſo ignominiouſly, being ſtrucken rather with a panick fear, then with any danger? If the hopes of prey provided for you, by the plunder of ſo opulent a City, if the deſire of glory, in having by your valour won ſo noble a Kingdom to the* Ottaman *Empire, be not able to excite in you that fortitude and generoſity which is alwaies wont to accompany thoſe who fight under the proſperous Enſigns of the* Ottaman *Empire; you muſt never think hereafter of any military action: for no Commander will dare to conſide the honour of the Grand, and alwaies invincible Signor, under his guidance, that grand Signor, whoſe perpetuall felicity ordain'd to him by heaven; you ſeem not to know, by believing that any Nation is able long to reſiſt his Forces. Be ſure, unleſſe you will reſiſt your ſelves, the Enemy muſt ſoon yield unto your Proweſs, and to your Princes fortune, who having a juſt regard to gallant actions, doth largely impart rewards unto his Souldiers; ſo as there is no degree of honour, to which each of you may not by his own worth be brought; to whom alone all the wealth and honour of the* Ottaman *Empire is reſerved, which are diſpoſed of in other Dominions, more according to favour, oft-times purchaſt without any merit, or according to the vain name of Nobility, then by true and peculiar worth: whereas there is not any one of you, who may not hope for the higheſt honours of the Militia, to which*

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the way lies always open, and whereunto you are particularly by this occaſion invited. Which words the Baſhaw being willing to confirm by more expreſſe promiſes, he made it be proclaimed throughout the whole Army, that the firſt three who ſhould mount the walls of the City, ſhould be made St. *Jacchi*; and in caſe any Baſhaw ſhould dye, he who ſhould firſt enter the City, ſhould ſucceed in that dignitie. The Souldiers being thus incouraged, order was given for an aſſault the next morning, wherein the Turks, before ſunriſing, approached quietly to thoſe very Bulworks, which they had before attempted, hoping the more unexpectedly they ſhould fall upon the Enemy, the more eaſily they ſhould get the victory; and ſo it fell out. For finding thoſe who were upon the guard of the Bulwork *Coſtanzo*, faſt aſleep; they overcame the greateſt difficulties without any diſpute, and getting upon the Parapets, did not afford them time to defend themſelves; nay being amazed between ſleep and fear, they could not get, time-enough, into their inward works. The opinion of the comming of the expected ſuccour, had wrought ſo much with our men, as they thought the noiſe which was made the preceding night by the Turks, ſtanding to their Arms, was an aſſured token of the raiſing of the ſiege; ſo as in that reſpect, and becauſe they were almoſt quite ſpent with watching and labour, they had the more ſecurely betaken themſelves to their reſt: The Turks entring promiſcuouſly in this confuſion, with our men into the inner-moſt works, it cauſed ſuch noiſe and terrour, as many began to run away. Count *Rocas* was lodged a little way diſtant from the Bulwork, who learning what had happned, more by the noiſe and tumult, than by any certain information, put on his Arms, wherein he ſpent ſome time; and comming to the place of Conflict, found all things in ſuch diſorder, as, though he kept his own men from running, yet could he not bring ſafety to what was already almoſt in diſpair, for being ſhot with a Musket in the head, all the reſt, who through hopes in him, had with much difficulty, and upon great diſadvantage, diſputed the buſineſſe as yet, quitted the defence of the walls, and ranne every one to their own houſes, hoping to provide for their wives ſafety. So as though *Pietro Piſani*, a Counſellor, and *Bernardino Polani* came quickly thither, they in vain uſed their Authority and example to ſtay the people, who were already in diſorder and much confuſion; amongſt which, whilſt *Polani* mixt himſelfe, and did by force ſtay ſome of them, he together with them was cut in pieces. But *Piſani* retreated with the reſt to *Piazza*, whither people ranne from all parts to ſave themſelves, and were not as yet purſued by the Turks; for minding onely the making of themſelves Maſters of the Walls, after they had driven the firſt from the Bulwork *Coſtanza*, they went preſently to the other Bulworks, where the Enemy were valiantly fought with, but eſpecially with the Italian foot. But in fine, finding their in-works loſt, and that they were at the ſame time fought with, both before and behind, not being able to make any longer reſiſtance; they quit the Walls, and betook themſelves all to make good the

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Piazza, which they did for a while againſt the aſſaliants, till the Baſhaw of *Aleppo* came in, who entring the Town by the Bulwork *Tripoli*, haſted firſt about the Walls, killing many that were tarried behinds though throwing down their arms, they in vain indeavoured pardon. And having routed ſome armed Companies upon the Bulwork *Barbaro*, who had been got together by *Jovanni Faliero*, a noble Venetian, and one that being but a private Merchant in the City, had upon ſeverall occaſions given good teſtimony of his valour; and meeting with nothing to withſtand him any where elſe, he came to the *Piazza*, where finding ſo many in arms, as they made ſtout reſiſtance: he preſently made three pieces of Artillery be brought from off the Walls, wherewith he diſordered, and ſorely indammaged thoſe ſquadrons which defended the *Piazza*, and forced them to forſake it, many of them withdrawing themſelves into the Courts of the Palace, whither the Lieutenant, the Biſhop *Contarini*, and divers others of the chiefe of the City, were firſt come. And thoſe that could not get in, being ſcattered up & down, and not having any defence, were either ſlain, or taken Priſoners: but ſoon after, he made ſign of parley to thoſe that were within the Court, and ſent to the Lieutenant a certain Cyprian Fryer, to Treat with him, who having yielded a little before, was received upon his Parole. This man having in the Baſhaw's name, promis'd life unto them all, was immediately ſent back with *Tutio Coſtanza*, who in the Lieutenant's name, ſaid, they would ſurrender. By whoſe order they having all forthwith laid down their Arms, it fell miſerably out, that at the opening of the Gates, the Turks, who were thronging round about, entred violently into the Court, and cruelly, put all thoſe unarmed people to the ſword: wherein the Lieutenant, the Biſhop, and all the other eminent perſonages, ranne the ſame fortune as did the Souldiers', and the meaneſt men. After which, the Turks ran without any order or diſcipline all over the City, plundering the Houſes, deſtroying the Churches, diſhonouring Matrons, violating Virgins, and putting all to the Sword, without any diſtinction either of ſex, age, or condition. So as the Turks ſlew that day above 20000 perſons; and thoſe whoſe lives were ſpared by the cruell Enemy, rather for their greater puniſhment, then out of any charity, were tyed in chains, drag'd over the dead carkaſſes of their parents and friends, and carried away Priſoners. Thus that City, which for many years had lived in great pomp and ſplendour, and in great abundance of all things, did in one day undergo all the extreams of calamity; affording by this ſo horrible ſpectacle, a new example of variety of humane affairs. This ſacking, hapned on the ninth of *September*, the fourth day after the Turkiſh Army was incamp'd before the City. The booty which was exported by the Enemy, and ſent to *Conſtantinople*, to be preſented to the grand Signor, and to the Baſhaws, was very great and rich; yet did they not go away wholly triumphant, for a ſhip which was loaded with many of the moſt precious things, and with the better ſort of Priſoners, was not got far from the Iſland, when the Ammunition fal-

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ling on fire, it utterly perished, with all that was within it.

Nicossia being taken and sack'd, *Mustafa* leaving 4000 Foot to guard it, march'd with his Army towards *Famagosta*; for after the taking of *Nicossia*, the Turks found no obstacle, but easily made themselves Masters of all the rest of the Island: All the other Towns being neither strong, nor having people to defend them, yielded suddenly to the enemy, as did also *Cerines*, though *Jovan Maria Mudazzo*, who had the custody of the Castle, and Captain *Alfonzo Palazzo*, in order to the advice and exhortations of those of *Famagosta*, had some few daies before signified, that they would defend themselves as long as they could. Those of the Mountains did the like; *Scipio Caraffa*, *Paolo Singlitico*, and others of the Nobility, accompanied with many Grecian Priests, and by a great croud of country people, comming in suddainly to *Mustafa*, and swearing fealty unto him; so as now, nothing in the whole Island but *Famagosta*, held for the Venetians. *Mustafa* therefore led his Army thitherward, and pitcht his Camp at the *Pomadamo*, three miles distant from the City, making many Turks ride daily to & fro within sight of those of the Town, with the heads of divers chief persons, who were slain at *Nicossia*, upon their Launces, to terrifie the souldiers, and to make them desist from their resolution, of standing out the siege. He afterwards drew a little nearer the City, making his Trenches, with baskets full of sand, for that that soyl was not proper for such works. But those of the Town sallying out to skirmish with the enemy, drove them twice from their Trenches; and by their Artillery from the Fort, destroyed three Forts, which the Turks had with much expedition raised, at St. *Georgio*, at *Priepole*, and at *la Torre del Ocha*, whereby the besieged got no great good, as it fell out afterwards; for in a few daies, they had consumed in this businesse onely, more then 50000 weight of powder. But because the winter came already on, which was not seasonable for the siege, which was likely to prove a long and hard businesse; and because some of the men were to be employed in re-inforcing the Gallies; by reason of the advertisment, that the Christian Fleets were joyned; *Mustafa*, being desirous not to try his fortune again, whereby he might lessen the glory which he had gotten, in taking *Nicossia*, had severall treaties with the besieged to come to an agreement. Wherefore suffering *Jovanni Sosomano*, whom he had taken prisoner, to go into the Town, under pretence of getting monies for his ransom, he made many motions, tending to surrendring the Town; that he should tell the Governours, and Commanders, That if they would not of themselves resolve to surrender the City, they might, whilst they had time to do so, write to their Masters at *Venice*, to acquaint them with the condition they were in, with how hard it was to hold out against so great an Army; and to exhort them to make use of this occasion, of accommodating their affairs with the grand Signior, and consequently of securing their Dominions, by yielding up that, which they could by no means keep. *Mustafa* made severall Letters of the same tenure be written, and ordered it so, as they might seem to be written by the Governours of *Famagosta*,

gata, and come to the hands of the Consul at *Constantinople*. But the Governours and people of *Famagosta* were resolved, to hold it out to the last; therefore they did not onely not listen to any such discourse, but in stead of writing to the Senate for leave to surrender, they resolved to write very effectually for relieefe. And to the end, that the condition of affairs, and their own particular needs, might be the better understood, they sent *Nicolo Donato* to *Venice*, who was then with two Gallies in the Haven at *Famagosta*; with whom came also *Jerolimo Rogazzoni*, Bishop of that City, very well instructed with all things, and fit for such an employment.

But it is now time, that we return to acquaint you, with the proceedings of the Christian Fleet, which parting (as hath been lately said) jointly together, from the Haven at *Suda*, came to *Scythia*, where the Commanders began to give their severall opinions, how those forces were to be made use of, to the best advantage, some perswading *for assaulting some of the* Ottaman *Towns, and for the endammaging them as much as possibly they could, upon their own confines, whereby they might make them forego* Cyprus, *and come with their Fleet, and the greatest part of their forces, to relieve themselves, where their affairs should be endangered most: which if it should not so succeed, yet it would stand with their first purpose, to countervaile the losse which they might suffer, in losing any of the Townes of* Cyprus, *which peradventure might be more easily recovered by those means, then by defending it now. Wherefore they affirmed this to be the safer, and more advantageous course to be taken, than to go for Cyprus, whereby in many cases, they might rather reap losse then profit; for it would not be in their power, to force the Turkish Fleet to fight, which riding in good order, being flanckt on both sides by great Vessells, full of Artillery, might keep upon those shores, as in a safe haven, and either not be brought to fight, or if they should, it would be a sure token that they knew they might do it upon great advantage. Nor could they hope for more safety, when they should be arrived at* Cyprus; *for the good they could expect by landing their men, to assist* Nicosia, *could not be answerable to the danger they might incurre, the enemy being so strong, and Masters of the field; and to besiege the besiegers, would be almost impossible, since there was such store of victualls in the Island. And then again, to keep long at sea, especially in that season, and amidst the Rivers of the enemies Country, was a thing which might be subject to several accidents; and if any misfortune should befall, they could not avoid the imputation of rashnesse.* But on the contrary, others, and chiefly Generall *Loane*, were no lesse fervent for going [illegible], alledging, *That that Fleet was principally destin'd for the defence of* Cyprus, *which, by reason of their so long delay, could not be freed from danger, by any diversion. That the onely remedy, and not without very great hope of it, in going to finde out the enemy's Fleet, and in fighting them. For at the newes of their arrivall, the Turks would be forced to withdraw unto their Fleet, and would abandon the siege of* Cyprus *to defend themselves. And if they should busie themselves any longer about it, what could they desire more for certainty of victory, than to finde the enemy dispers'd up and down the Country, and the Gallies abandoned, and exposed to secure prey. But that it was much more like, that the Turks, when they should have notice of the Venetian forces, and of their Gallies, being joyned*

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ed with those of the Church, and of Spain, *they would depart with their Fleet from* Cyprus, *not to fight, but to return to* Constantinople. *And that therefore, meeting the Enemie upon the way, they might fight them upon great advantage. But howsoever, they might promise unto themselves as far as the uncertainty of war would permit, prosperous successe from this their forwardnesse; for though they were inferiour to the enemy, in the numbers of shipping and men, yet did they undoubtedly exceed them in the goodnesse of their vessells, and valour of their souldiers. Moreover, they being fresh and entire, now that they were sufficiently recruited with marriners and souldiers, they might upon great advantage fight the enemy, who must be wasted and wearied by much of action, wherein it was to be believed, they might have lost the flower of their men; and that certainly, if they should get no other good thereby, they should gain much honour, by approaching so near, and by so much urging the enemy's Fleet. Whereas on the contrary, to fall upon any other undertaking, would argue fear, as if they shun'd encountring the enemy, whereby they would be much enheartned, and our men discouraged, especially those that defended* Cyprus. *Nor would it be wisely done, to lose what was ones own, to get what was an other's; and that so much the lesse, for that it would be the harder for a weaker Principality, such as was their Common-wealth, either to maintain what they should get, or recover what they should lose, from the Turkish Empire, amidst their own territories, so full of souldiers.* These reasons being of themselves very strong, drew all to be governed by them, especially, because they were conformable to the orders and desires of the Senate; to wit, That setting aside all lesser affairs, they should minde the main businesse. They therefore all joyntly resolved to go for *Cyprus*; and those who were formerly of another opinion, shewed no lesse forwardnesse to do what was resolved upon. Thus parting from *Candia* on the 18 of September, they steered their course towards *Cyprus*. The whole Fleet consisted of 181 Gallies, 124 of the Venetians, 12 man'd out by the Pope, and 45 of the King of *Spain*'s. And to boot with these, 12 great Gallies, and 14 Ships man'd by the Venetians, together with a great number of Vessells of burthen, fraught with ammunition. There were in this Fleet about 15000 Foot, to boot with a great number of Voluntiers, who were come from all parts, most of them Gentlemen, and people of good quality. And though many of the first Venetian souldiers, that were on board, were wanting; yet the first number, which was 10000 Foot, was almost made up by new men, taken from the Islands. And in the Pope's Gallies, there was above 1000. and about 4000 in those of Spanish. These were all commanded by men of great esteem and experience, so as they went boldly on to find out the enemy. Thus they sailed with favourable winds towards *Cyprus*, though, that they might keep company, they used onely the Trinchet; and having gone above 300 miles in three daies, they came to the Castle *Ruzzo*, which is a Fort lying over against the *Sette Cani* in *Caramania*, and not above 150 miles from *Cyprus*. The night, and foul weather coming on, our men were fain to put into the Havens of *Vathi* and *Calemiti*; and here they met with the unfortunate newes of the losse of *Nicosia*, whereat they were all much abash'd. Wherefore calling

a Councell the next day, wherein they would have the advice of all thoſe that bore Lant-horns. Thoſe, who whilſt in *Scythia*, were againſt this enterpriſe, did now more expreſly proteſt againſt it: Yet the reſt promiſed, that they would not obviate, what had been formerly reſolved upon, neither by their votes, nor by their counſells, provided that the whole forces ſhould joyne therein. But *Doria* ſoon declared openly, that he would by all means return back; ſaying, *That they went from* Candia, *with a reſolution to relieve* Nicoſſia; *which being now loſt, they had not the ſame reaſon to expoſe themſelves to the haſard of a Battle, which was by this newes become much more great and conſiderable: For the enemies having nothing to do on land, and being grown bold and inſolent by this victory, would be all of them got aboard the Fleet, not onely ready to withſtand us, but to advance and meet us, who ſhould aſſault them. To this, the ſeaſon of the year may be added, winter being at hand; the long voyage which they were to make, before they could get into their Havens; and the particular care he had to preſerve that Fleet, which was committed to his truſt by the King his Maſter.* He was ſo poſitive herein, as neither Generall *Zane*, nor Commiſſary *Veniero*, who being gone aboard, ſeemed very deſirous to make for *Cyprus*, could by any means perſwade him, to run the ſame fortune with them, and to try the fortune of war, now that he was come ſo far along with them in company; ſince they could not excuſe themſelves of the imputation, which would be laid upon them by all men, of having conſumed ſo many men, and ſpent ſo much time in doing nothing. But all was to no purpoſe. Nay, his actions witneſſed this his will no leſſe, then did his words; for it was obſerved, that *Doria* keeping his Gallies from mingling with the reſt, by the way as they went, kept ſtill to the lee-ward, to the end, that he might do (as it was ſuſpected) whatever he liſted; and that the night that he was at Caſtle *Ruzzo*, lying more outwards towards the Sea, then the reſt, though a briſk winde that blew, might have adviſed him, to have withdrawn to more ſafety, made it alſo be ſuſpected, that he intended, if the winde ſhould grow ſtronger, to ſteal quietly away, and ſeem as if he had been neceſſitated to do ſo. Whereupon thoſe others, who were not for advancing any further, taking occaſion from *Doria*'s words and proceedings, were for returning back. Thus *Doria*'s aſſured reſolution appearing, and the others dubiouſneſſe, Generall *Zane* was forced to think of returning, though much againſt his will, ſeeing that he could not obey the Senate's orders, and muſt leave the enemy free and at liberty, to return home in triumph, after having done ſuch injuries, and made ſuch prey. But aſſuredly, if we ſhall reflect upon what enſued, this advice did not deſerve blame, being accommodated to the time, and an occaſion of avoiding greater dangers: For in returning, the Fleet met with great ſtorms, which ſuffered it not to get wholly ſafe into the Havens; for ſome of the Pope's and of Venetians Gallies being driven on land, by boiſterous winds, ſplit in ſunder. And the Turks (as was underſtood afterwards) being informed by *Caracceleby*, who had been ſent towards *Candia*, to diſcover the proceedings of the Chriſtian Fleets, that they were joyned, and ready to ſet forwards, &c

to fight them, laying aſide whatſoever might be a hinderance to them, & all unuſeful people; had man'd all their Gallies with choiſe and freſh ſouldiers, & ſtood expecting our men, who were wearied with ſo long a voyage, & ſo many ſufferings. The Chriſtian Fleet being thus parted from *Caſtel Rozzo*, came joyntly together to *Scarpanto*, and entred into *Triſtano* Haven, where *Doria* taking his leave, went preſently with his Gallies towards *Puglia*, and from thence to *Sicily*, ſeeming to mind nothing, ſave how to get quickly home: So as *Colonna* and *Zanne's* indeavours proved all vain, who were deſirous to keep thoſe Forces united, and to fall upon ſome other enterpriſe. For *Doria* refuſed to fall upon any petty buſineſſe, as not worthy for his Kings Fleet, to run any hazard in; and as for any long or difficult affair, he ſaid, the ſeaſon was not fitting. Thus the Popes and the Venetian Fleet, being weakned by *Doria's* going away, and hearing that *Piali* was parted from *Cyprus* with a great number of Gallies in purſuit of them, they ſteered their courſe towards *Candia*, not without danger of being ſet upon by the Turkiſh Fleet, which being advertis'd of our departure, made ſuch ſpeed as it arrived at the Iſland of *Stampalia*. *Piali* thinking (as it was believed) to find ſome aſſured prey of ſome ſcatter'd Gallies, which might be ſayling upon the ſhore of *Candia*, void of any ſuch feare, which he could not do, by reaſon of the great winds which blew from the North, to which the beſt Havens of *Candia*, which look towards the *Archipelagus*, are directly expoſed. And this was ſo credibly believed, as *Quirini*, who was in the City of *Candia*, with certain Gallies, came ſuddenly to joyn with the reſt of the Fleet, at *Suda*; which not long after went for the ſame reaſon all away together in a body to *Candia*, to get into a place of more ſafety. But *Piali*, who peradventure intended no ſuch things, or were it that by reaſon of the times he altered his deſign, turning backward, penetrated further into the *Archipelagus*, intending as he ſeemed, to winter in the Haven *Calegiero*, which to that purpoſe he made be cleared of ſome ſhelves, though changing his mind again, he left ſome guards abroad, and went with the Fleet to *Conſtantinople*. The Venetian Generall indeavouring to dive into theſe deſigns of the Enemy, had ſent two Gallies towards the *Archipelagus*, which lighting unwares upon five of the Turkiſh Gallioons upon the Iſland of *Paris*, either of choice, or out of neceſſity took ſeverall wayes, and ranne ſeverall fortunes. For the one of them, which was commanded by *Vicenzo Maria de' Priuli*, came to a fight, and after a long and valiant conteſt, had her Maſters Mate, and all that were in her cut in pieces, and fell into the hands of the Enemy: the other, commanded by *Angelo Suriano*, taking advantage of the time, and giving way apace, eſcaped the danger and got ſafe away. At the ſame time, five Gallies of *St. John* of *Jeruſalem*, which were ſayling towards *Candia*, and commanded by *Pietro Juſtiniano*, Prior of *Meſſina*, a noble Venetian, who had given ſufficient teſtimony of his valour ſome years before in the ſiege of *Malta*, and was therefore made Generall of that religious order at Sea, being aſſaulted by a great

ſquadron of Turkiſh Gallies, were all of them but hardly dealt with; two of them being taken by the Enemy, the other three, whereof the Admirall *Juſtiniano* was one, got with much ado into the Haven at *Suda*. Thus ſo great Venetian Forces, put to Sea at ſo vaſt expence, and with ſuch incredible ſpeed (all humane accidents, thoſe of War eſpecially, being ſubject to various chance,) produced not the leaſt good to their affairs; nay, it may be ſaid, they were rather cauſe of prejudice to them, for they hoped ſo much in the good which they expected by their Fleet, againſt the enemy, and they were wholly ſo buſied in the buſineſſe of the *Levant*, as they did not much mind leſſer affairs, which might have brought them certain, and no ſmall advantage.

The Turkiſh ſubjects in *Albania*, had made an inſurrection in ſeverall parts; and being deſirous to ſhake off the yoke of ſlavery which they lived in under the *Ottoman* Empire, they deſired aſſiſtance of men and arms from the Magiſtrates of the Venetian Towns, which lay upon thoſe confines; ſaying, that aſſoon as they ſhould ſee a Venetian Standard, they would readily give obedience to the Common-wealth, and would give up their Sons as hoſtages of their Loyalty; in which their requeſts, although they could not receive ſatisfaction according to their neceſſities, and deſires, yet great ſtore of the inhabitants of *Monte Negro* came in unto them, and from about *Boiano*, which is now called the Country of *Drino*, and from other parts of the *Marcovicchi*, to put themſelves under the Venetians Government; ſo as above a hundred Towns were received into the obedience of the Common-wealth, by the Governours of *Antiviri*, *Dolcingo*, and *Budua*; by which riſings, and by reaſon of the ſmall Garriſons which were then in the neighbouring Turkiſh Towns, it was thought they might make good this their action, though ſufficient forces had been ready to aſſault them. The Venetian Magiſtrates of that Province, ceaſed not notwithſtanding, to do all that they were able, to nouriſh and increaſe the good affection of thoſe people towards the Common-wealth, and to make way for better ſucceſſes. Amongſt theſe Magiſtrates, *Aleſſandro Dorato*, chief Magiſtrate of *Antiviri*; the Arch-biſhop of the City, interpoſing himſelfe therein by the means of ſome of his friends, held ſecret intelligence with *Muſtafa*, who was Governour of *Scutari*, to deliver up that Town into our mens hands, upon promiſe of very great rewards; for which enterpriſe, whilſt foot were aſſembling out of the neighbouring Garriſons, and whilſt *Ferrara*'s Horſe were expected, together with two *Brigandines*, which were to come for that purpoſe from *Zara*, the opportunity was loſt; for were it either that many Souldiers were come into the Fort of *Scutari*, from *Vallona*, which hindred his deſigns, as *Muſtafa* alleadged; or that under pretence of this practice, he plotted ſome miſchiefe to our men, which he found afterwards by new accidents he could not compaſſe; the buſineſſe could not be effected, nor had they ſo great forces, as they might hope thereby to force the Town, which was already Garriſonized with new men. The like ſucceſs, and our of the

the ſame reaſons, had the buſineſſe of of *Aleſſio*; attempted not long after, by thoſe of *Dulcingo*. For having taken the Suburbs of the Town, with thoſe few men which they could put together, and chaſed the St. *Jacco* of *Ducagini*, who was come with ſome Horſe to relieve the Town: they could not keep long before the Caſtle, nor ſo ſoon effect the enterpriſe by a few men, but that it was impeded by the *Belgerby* of *Greece*. But our men made War upon the confines of *Zara*, rather to keep the Enemy from doing injuries, and to ſecure that Country which was mightily infeſted by the Turks, than out of any other hopes; for the enemie were mightily increaſed in Horſe thereabouts, ſo as our light Horſe, which kept for the moſt part within the City of *Zara*, went out as occaſion required to hinder Pillage, and many other miſchiefs which were done by the Enemy; wherein *Brandolino Brandolini*, Count *di Val-di Marino*, and *Jerollimo dal Nero Vicemino*, did behave themſelves gallantly with their *Ferrara* Horſe; wherewith appearing often in the field, and valiantly aſſaulting the Enemy, who came to do miſchief, they revenged themſelves upon them before they ſuffered them to depart. But no remakable action hapned in theſe Countries: Pillage, rather then Battel, being the effect of this firſt years actions.

At the ſame time that theſe things hapned, whilſt the Fleets were gone prepared for hoſtile actions, the buſineſſe of the League which was agitated (as hath been ſaid) by common conſent in *Rome*, was no leſſe ſolicitouſly attended; where as ſoon as ſufficient Commiſſions were come from the King of Spain, and from the Signory of *Venice*, to their Agents, inabling them to conclude it, the Pope ſending for them to come before him, in a grave and affectionate manner, ſpoke unto them thus.

As ſoon as there was any news heard of War reſolved upon by Selino Ottaman, *againſt the State of Venice, we, fearing leſt this might be the beginning of much miſchief to Chriſtendom, a million of our enormous ſins having provoked Gods anger againſt us; We I ſay, preſently betook our ſelves to our prayers, and devotions, which if they might not impetrate pardon for us, might at leaſt mitigate the puniſhment, wherein we have intermitted nothing, neither by our internall peculiar affection, nor by our admonitions, nor by our example, which belonged unto our office, as the true Paſtor and Cuſtos of the Flock, committed unto us by God. And now we begin to rejoyce, thinking that our humble Petitions have not been powred forth in vain, ſince the Catholick King, moved by the divine ſpirit, hath ſo eaſily and ſo quickly been perſwaded to concur in this holy League, and to this purpoſe hath made choice of pious und wiſe men, that ſo important a buſineſſe may the more eaſily be brought to a good end. And the like good diſpoſition of minde is ſeen in the Venetian Senate, all whoſe votes have conceur'd to the undertaking of this War; Thoſe Senators being reſolute and conſtant, not to diſpence with any coſt or paine, wherein their own ſafety may be concern'd, and the common good of Chriſtendom, which was certainly very much threatned by the Turks. Which, as it is well known to you Gentlemen, who are ſo wiſe, ſo ought you with all your ſtudy and indeavours, to intend this union, wherein the purchaſing of perpetuall peace and quiet to*

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your Princes Dominions, and immortall glory to their names, is negotiated. Mens Governments and Empires, are not ſecured from ruine, by the farre diſtance of others mens Countries; but thoſe ruines are retarded, that they may fall the heavier. Conſtantinople, Cairo, *and* Jeruſalem, *how far are they diſtant from the* Caſpian *Gates, from whence theſe Barbarians had their firſt beginnings? and yet theſe Seates of nobleſt Empires, are inſlaved by a forrain people, neither known nor feared by them before. And at this time, when theſe men, extending the bounds of their Dominions on all ſides, are become neighbours to almoſt all Princes; now, that over-running the Sea with their ſhipping, and having ſo many Havens in their hands, they have made the way more eaſie for them into the moſt remote Regions; Shal it be ſaid, that* Spain, *or any other Province, is free, or ſafe from the power of ſuch an Empire, which being wholly ordered for War, will never meet with any Boundures, but making one War ariſe from an other, aſpires at the univerſall Monarchy? But ſay, that the Venetians were ſolely concern'd in the damage and danger of this war, it ought aſſuredly be common to all Chriſtian Princes, ſince it is made by Infidels againſt the faithfull; nay againſt that Common-wealth wherein the true Chriſtian Religion hath alwaies been profeſt and nouriſht, and which hath ſo often defended and maintained the dignity of this holy Sea, the head of Chriſtianity; and which imports not a little, ſince ſhe fights in defence of the Kingdom of* Cyprus, *the preſervation whereof ought to be highly eſteemed and defended by every Chriſtian Prince, leſt that Iſland which lyes ſo opportunely for the enterpriſe of the Holy Land, fall not into the hands of Infidels. To which enterpriſe, now that the Empire of* Conſtantinople *is loſt, that paſſage will be ſhut up, whereby Chriſtians have formerly paſt happily thither. Nor will we diſpair, and think that our fervent deſires ſhall alwaies prove vain, but that we may yet ſee a* Croiſado, *wherein all Chriſtian Princes and people may ſo zealouſly concur, as a new Kingdom of Jeruſalem may be founded, and the Trophy of the Croſs be replaced there; ſo as that bleſſed Land be no more the receptacle of impious and wicked men. The Hermit* Peter *was able to perſwade ſo many Princes, and joyn together ſo many Armies, almoſt of every Nation, for ſo glorious and pious an enterpriſe, in the time of Pope* Urbane; *who knows, but that God may be as gracious to us? And that the time is now come, we have ſome ſigns thereof, ſince God hath ſo long preſerved ſo famous and and powerfull a Common-wealth, from ſo many dangers; and that he hath been pleaſed by ſo many wayes, to increaſe the power and dignity of the Houſe of* Auſtria, *wherein he hath now given us ſo powerfull and pious a Prince, that he may quell the pride of the Enemies of the Holy Faith, and parallel the worth and glory of* Charlemain, *whoſe fame is made ſo illuſtrious, by the memory of ſo many things done by him, for the increaſe of Chriſtian religion. This ſo great and honourable work, and the hope of ſuch happy ſucceſſe, is recommended to your diligence and truſt, ſo as you ought not onely be diligent and effectuall, in executing your Princes deſires, but labour by all poſſible means to confirm them in this their good intention; nay ſolicite and provoke them, indeavouring that as their intereſts cannot be ſeparated in reſpect of Religion, nor State; ſo neither may their Forces, nor minds be divided, but united together by the firm bonds of charity, and common ſafety; ſo as they may become a terrour to thoſe ene-*

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mies, whom rather our own discords, than any worth in them, hath made to undervalue us. But let us overcome our selves, and our affections, and we shall easily overcome others. The Forces of these three Potentates being firmly united, will be such, and so many, as we may promise thereby unto our selves, noble and assured victories. Besides, we do not doubt, but that our example will invite the Emperour, and all other Christian Princes, to partake with us, not onely in our labours and expence, but also in glory. We will use our authority with them, will pray, admonish, and solicite them, to enter into this holy League, and not to be wanting to their common safety, honour and duty, to the end, that howsoever our conscience may tell us, we have not failed in any thing, in the discharge of that place, whereunto God hath called us. And if it shall be thought, that our presence may further the busines, and that our authority and example may move others, the imperfections of old age shall not detain us, from willingly exposing our life to all danger and labour, to whom nothing can be more welcome, then to die for the glory of Christ, and for the good of Christendome.

The Embassadours, and the two Cardinalls, seeming to be much affected with these words, humbly thanked his Holinesse, and promised to lend all their assistance, with sincerity and diligence, in so important and pious a businesse, and which was so much desired by their Princes, as well for their own particular interests, as for the common good of Christendom. But all these words, though much magnified by all parties, produced not answerable effects; for every one minding their own ends, as those differ'd, so differ'd they in their opinions: and the conclusion of the businesse was spun out to an unseasonable length, wherein many months were spent in vain. The Pope deputed five of the chiefest Cardinalls of the Court, to intervene in the Treaty, in the name of the Apostolick See; *Alexander*, the Popes nephew, *Morone*, *Cesis*, *Grassi*, and *Aldobrandino*; with whom, when the two Spanish Cardinalls, and the Spanish and Venetian Embassadours, begun to treat, they presently met with many difficulties. The Signory of *Venice*, because all her Territories by Sea, are first exposed to the violence of the Turks; and because the League lessened not the expence of so many Garrisons, in their so many Cities, and Maritime places, and did not secure their affairs, but that they were to be at greater expence and danger; being desirous to reap some advantage, which might be answerable to so many inconveniences, propounded things, which tended to the abating of the Turkish power, and to the destroying of their Fleet, and to the bereaving them of some of their Dominions, that for the future, they might not fear their forces. Which things, though they might also bring advantage to the King of *Spain*, yet was not the event so certain, nor the profit so apparent, and at hand. Therefore the King's Commissioners thinking, that, if their King's Dominions were not more safe, were yet further from danger, proposed temporising, and rather to wait for the advantage of time, then to expose any thing to fortune. They therefore endeavoured the making of a perpetuall League, and upon such tearms, as tended more to defend themselves, then to offend the enemy; by which League, the Catholick King would have reaped much good; for by being, as

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he alwaies was, at open wars with the Turks, he made uſe of the credit and forces of his friends, without drawing a new enemy upon himſelf; and by encreaſing his power much at ſea, and carrying the war far off, he freed his Dominions from the expence of Garriſons, and from being moleſted by the Turkiſh Fleets; which things did not onely not put him to greater expence, but (which is but ſeldom ſeen) war brought ſafety and advantage to him: For to boot with the leſſening of his ordinary expence, in maintaining ſouldiers in ſo many maritime parts, he reaped ſo much profit by the immunities granted him by the Pope, which were now the greater, by the new conceſſion of the Croyſado in the *Indies*, as did largely ſupply the charge he was at in his Fleet; for during the League, the revenues of the Crown of *Spain* were encreaſed to about two thouſand millions of gold. Theſe were the Kings thoughts, which were nouriſhed and fomented by divers of his State-Miniſters, chiefly by ſome of thoſe, with whom the Treaty of the League at *Rome* was entruſted; for it was generally thought, that their opinions corrupted the Kings good intentions, and was the occaſion of depriving Chriſtendom of the good, which men thought might have been expected upon this occaſion, had it not been for them: And yet they themſelves, that were the raiſers of ſo many difficulties, propounded contrarieties. And as if they had thought it nothing to abaſe the Turks power, and to ſave themſelves from the preſent danger, began to propound other things, whereby utterly to deſtroy the whole Mahometan Sect, and all their Empires; conſtantly affirming, that this League was to be declared, to be not onely againſt the Turks, but generally againſt all Infidells, intending thereby alſo to extirpate the Moors; and the *Ottoman* Empire being overcome, to proceed on to the King of *Perſia*, to the end, that Chriſtendom might be for ever ſecured, from theſe barbarous Infidells. The vanity of which propoſition appearing too plainly, they bounded that Article afterwards within narrower precincts, and would have *ill Siriffo*, or King of *Barbary*, and the Moors, and others depending upon the Turks, to be named as enemies to the League. But notwithſtanding, when any thing of action was propounded, they appeared to be very backward; they would not conſent to what the Venetians deſired, to wit, That the forces of the League ſhould be intended to continue, for at leaſt two or three years, and that they ſhould be ſuch, as might be employed in the greateſt enterpriſes of the *Levant*, for the common advantage of the Colleagues. Againſt which, it was objected, That Princes could make no certain reſolution in things, which depended upon the variety of ſeverall accidents; that therefore they were to inform themſelves of the Turks preparations and deſignes, and reſolve accordingly upon the Leagues forces, and what they ſhould do every year, in *Rome*: Which being but a ſemblance of ſatisfaction, was thought, would really hinder or retard all good ſucceſſe, the chiefeſt time for action being thereby to be ſpent in diſputes. This intention of the King's Agents, aiming too much at their own accommodation, and at the prejudice of the common cauſe, appeared

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yet more plainly in other things, more especially in their constant opinion, that the enterprises of *Barbary*, should be particularly named, in all the Articles of the War; alledging, that without this hope, the King could not get that sum of monies out of *Spain*, which was requisite, for the expence he should be at, in the League. But the Pope, who proceeded with great sincerity in all things, and aimed onely at the universall good of Christendom, sought sometimes to temper the Spaniards immoderateness, by reason, sometimes by seeming angry, protesting, that unless they came to a speedy resolution, he would withdraw all those acts of favour, and all those immunities, which he had granted their King, for the raising of monies to this end. Nor was he wanting, in using his endeavours with the Venetians; he exhorted them, to accommodate themselves even to such resolutions, as might not be over advantagious, encouraged them to hope well, and promised, that he would never abandon their cause, nor be wanting, in favouring and assisting them to his utmost. The Cardinalls, deputed to this business, siding sometimes with the one party, sometimes with the other, that they might the more easily bring them together, laboured very much to put an end to the Treaty. *Morone*, a man of much experience, in the management of important businesses, and very well spoken, adhering often to the propositions made by the Venetian Embassadours, as those that aimed most at the common good, endeavoured to remove the Kings Agents from their peculiar interests, or rather, to make them more capable of truth.

Is it not most true, (said he) *that by fighting the Turkish forces in the* Levant, *where they are strongest, the Catholick King will not onely secure the Spanish seas, which he shall hardly do by the African affairs, but will also procure safety to his other Dominions for many years, nay perhaps for ever? For when the enemies Fleet shall be ruined, and when he shall be weakened in the very heart of his Kingdom, by the losse of places neer to* Constantinople, *which is the seat of his Empire; Who can doubt, but that* Algeers, Tunnis, Tripoli, *and other Towns that lie further off, will suddenly fall, without either pain or peril, into the Kings power? As on the contrary, there is nothing more certain, then as long as the Turks shall continue strong, and keep their forces entire, it will be a very hard matter to get those Towns, and almost impossible to keep them, of which, we have late and assured experience, since in that respect, the Emperour* Charls *the* 5th, *could never get the City of* Algeers, *though he did very much desire it. For it was judged, it would be rashly done, to attempt any such action in the summer, when the Turkish Fleet would be at her strongest; and if it should be attempted in autumn, it would prove more troublesome, more dangerous, and no good would be got thereby, by reason of the short time, that the Militia could keep in field, and by reason of the hazards at sea, which the Fleet should be exposed unto. But if such things were feasable, certainly, greater victories were not to be laid aside for them, upon such an occasion as this, nor were such hopes to be lost. But time and occasion must be waited for, to bring things to maturity; and in the mean time, the preservation of the Kingdom of* Cyprus *in the power of Christians, and which was the chief cause of this Treaty, should be endeavoured. Wherefore, to make any parti-*

eular mention of the African parts, in the present Articles of this League, would be nothing, but to wrest it from its true end, and vainly to beget jealousies in the Colleagues. And yet, I pray you, what of tie, or what of caution is had, by these expresse words? Is it not clear enough, that the League being made against the Turk, and against his Dominions, it is to be understood, that those places which he holds in Barbary, *are therein comprehended; against which, the forces of the League shall turn themselves, when reason, and the condition of affairs, shall advise thereunto. To do it at another time would be prejudiciall, and not to be wish'd for by him, who aimed at what was good. Nor was it to be said, that the Colleagues were at liberty, to deferre the enterprise; it was rather to be believed, that they would all concur the more willingly therein; the Venetians, in requitall of the good they had received; and the Pope, seeing that now the greatest dangers of Christendom were over.* The King's Agents being convinc'd by these, and by the like reasons, betook themselves to other excuses, saying, That they would write to *Spain*, to know the Kings pleasure more particularly therein. Hereunto were added other difficulties; for the Spaniards endeavoured, to lay some note of jealousie upon the Venetians, by obliging the Colleagues, under the penalty of Ecclesiasticall Censure, to observe what should be established by the League; every one seeing plainly, whither such a condition tended, and how unequall it was in many respects; chiefly, because the Catholick King was free from any such danger, by his own grandezza. There were often disputes likewise, touching who should command the Fleet in chief, the Spaniards craving the prerogative, not onely of naming the Captain Generall, which was easily condescended unto; but to substitute any other with the like authority, in the absence of him that should be chosen: So as diffidence encreasing by means of these things, the businesse of the League began to cool very much, which was begun with such fervour. At which, the Venetian Senate being the more troubled, because it was far from what they hoped for at first, they resolved to send another Embassadour to *Rome*, deputed particularly for that Treaty, to shew the Pope, how desirous they were of a conclusion, and their constant resolution to continue the war; and also to put the more reputation upon the businesse, by its being negotiated by two of the Common-wealth's Representatives; and this was the rather thought fitting, because the Embassadour *Suriano*, had given occasion of speech, that he had given way to some of those things, which were yet in dispute; nay, such as had been alwaies gainsaid by the Senate. *Jovanni Soranzo* was chosen for this Embassie, who though he joyned very wisely with *Suriano*, to have the League concluded, yet meeting with the same difficulties, he could do no good. So as to the wonder and grief of all men, the time was unusefully spent, which should have been rather now employed, in executing things resolved upon, then in resolving upon what should be done.

At the same time, the Treaty of the League was continued at the Imperiall Court, but with no better successe; for the Emperour having spent many months under severall pretences herein, being de-

desirous to keep from declaring himselfe as long as he could, said at last, that having made Truce with *Selimo* for eight years, whereof onely three were as yet expired; he thought he was bound in honour to observe what he had promised. But that though he should be otherwise perswaded, he neither could nor would do it without the approbation of the Princes and Hauns-Towns of the Empire; as also without the advice of his own particular States; so as it behoved him to take time, and to expect the firm resolution of others, who perhaps might have changed their minds, by reason of what had hapned at *Nicossia*; that he might not resolve upon a thing of so great concernment, without great maturity; and so much the rather, for that he not being the principall in this League, and yet there being a place therein reserved for him, no respect of his did hinder the others from concluding, nor did his delay exclude himselfe: whereby it was evident, that *Cesar* had no mind to interest himselfe in this War. And the like intentions were seen to be in the other German Princes, and Hauns-Towns: for an other Convention being by order from *Cæsar* propounded to be called in the Dyet at *Spire*, particularly to treat of things appertaining to the League; they answered, That when, his Majesty should be molested by the Turkish Forces, they would not fail to lend him all their assistance, but that they did not intend to enter into so sore a War unnecessitated. Therefore to keep the Embassador *Soranzo* any longer in that Court, was but little for their honour, and not at all for their advantage. The Senate recalled him back to *Venice*, and having design'd *Antonio Tiepolo*, Embassador to the King of *Polonia*, for the same purpose, who was already on his way: when they received this answer from the Emperour, they quickly sent for him back, being firmly opinioned, that that Nation, though very warlike, and an Enemy to the Turks, and which had formerly opposed him all that they could, though but unfortunately, would not resolve to meddle in that war, without they were therein accompanied by *Cæsars* Forces. But there were many reasons, which made *Cæsar* unwilling to declare himselfe in favour of this League; For having but a little before been unfortunate in the tryall of his Arms against the Turks; and added, by the losse of *Zigbet*, to the prejudice and shame which Germany had received some few years before, by that Nation at *Buda*, and at *Essechio*, in his father *Ferdinando's* time; he had resolved not to put himselfe upon the hazard of war again, unlesse much provoked, or rather forc'd by necessity: and therefore having made Truce with Sultan *Selimo*, he studied to continue it. He likewise knew that the Authority and Forces of the Empire were great onely in name and appearance, but that in effect the latter was but weak, and the former but of little esteem. Nor could the Emperours promise themselves any assistance from *Germany*, as well by the so many discords caused in her, by the diversity of Government and Religion; as also for that their greatnesse grew troublesome, the Imperiall dignity being become almost hereditary in the House of *Austria*; and the words and exhortations of the King of *Spain*

were not peradventure such, as that he could ground his hopes thereon: for that King knew, that when the Emperour, who was not able of himselfe to withstand the Turks, should be molested by them in his own Dominions, he must be forced, in respect of his alliance, and for having exhorted him to the War, to assist him with monies, and so to draw a burthen upon himselfe, in a time when he was at greater expence elsewhere. To these respects the doubt was added which *Cesar* had, lest the entring into so odious and difficult a War, might be a cause of diverting him from that which he ought chiefly to aim at, to wit, at the making his eldest Son, *Rodolphus* be chosen King of the Romans, and at the establishing the Imperial dignity in his off-spring, who had but little else to trust to; and yet cloaking these his cogitations, as much as he might, he would not make the Venetians dispair of having him a Confederate in this War, to the end that they might the more willingly imbrace it and break off all Treaties of Agreement, whereby his Dominions might be much secured, and he might the better attend his own particular ends, whilst this so formidable enemy being busied elsewhere, suffered him to live quiet. These were the treaties touching League against *Selim*, which were this year begun with much fervency, but ended fruitlesse, as you may have seen: Now let us return unto the Fleets.

The Venetian Generall being return'd (as you have heard) to the Haven of *Canie*, partly because his Enemies were nigh at hand, and his friends far off; partly by reason of the season, which was not fit for actions at Sea, thought it a vain and rash thing to attempt the relieſe of *Famagosta*; whither it was resolved that 1600 Souldiers should be sent in three Ships, and that they should be secured by a convoy of 12 Gallies, by reason that they heard that eight Turkish Gallies remained upon the coast of *Famagosta* to hinder them: but Commissary *Veniero* prest very hard, that that City might have as many more ships, and as many more men sent thither for the better security and longer preservation thereof, where, in all the hope of preserving, or rather of recovering the Kingdom of *Cyprus* lay; which not being able, by reason of many impediments, to be effected, *Veniero* in that respect, and much more of sickneſse which befell him, tarried behind in *Candia*. Marquis *Rangone Pallerefino*, was destin'd for the Captain of these men; but he absolutely refused to go, alleadging, that being sent to go into *Famagosta*, if *Baglione* were not there, and if he should be there, to go into *Nicosia*; he was now free from any such obligation, because the last was lost; and it was certainly known, that an other Commander was in the former: the which being judged not to be a reason fitting to be given by a Souldier, especially at such a time, he incur'd some note of infamy thereby, in the opinion of the Souldiery; whereupon he being oppreſt with grief, dyed not long after, and *Luigi Martinengo* was chosen in his place, to be the Commander of that relieſe, who was then Governour of *Canie*, and who with much alacrity offer'd to undertake that service. These directions being

ing given in *Candia*, the Generall thought fit to be gone from *Candia* as ſoon as he could, ſo to eaſe that Iſland of the charge it had been at, in feeding ſo many men, and to free it from the fear of ſo powerfull an Enemy, ſince *Piali* would not then have any occaſion to winter in the *Archipelagus*: ſo leaving *Quirini* in *Candia*, with the Gallies of that Kingdom, with ſome Gally-ſlaves, and other three great Gallies, he went with the reſt of the Fleet to *Corfu*, having eſcaped a great ſtorm at Sea in his voyage, and with much ado got into the Haven at *Vatica*, where the Generall expected orders from the Senate, either to ſtay there, or elſe (as he had adviſed) to paſſe on into *Dalmatia*, for the better acconchiating of the Gallies, and for the furniſhing of the Fleet, which did already want all things. But *Colonna*, and *Palaveſino*, preparing ſuddenly to be gone, to which purpoſe they were got to the head of the Iſland, were forced by reaſon of contrary winds, to keep a whole moneth in the Haven of *Caſopo*; from whence parting at laſt, they met with great tempeſts and dangers, particularly *Colonna*, whoſe Admirall was ſet on fire by lightning, and burnt; and he being got into *Franciſco Trono*'s Convoy, ran almoſt at once two great hazards. For that Gally was likewiſe driven on ſhore, and ſplit by the ſame Tempeſt, ſo as the men that were in her could hardly eſcape. But having eſcaped that ſtorm, *Colonna* came to *Zara*, and having acquainted the Senate with his voyage, and with his actions, he went forthwith to *Ancona*, and from thence to *Rome*, to give an account of all that had hapned, to the Pope: but *Palaveſino* fell grievouſly ſick at *Lieſena*, ſo as he was forced to tarry long in that City. Generall *Zane* fell likewiſe into a ſore ſickneſſe at the ſame time, occaſioned by the many ſufferings both of his body and mind, which made him crave leave of the Senate to lay down his charge, and to return home for cure, which was granted him, and *Sebaſtiano Veniero* was choſen in his place, and orders were preſently ſent to him into *Candia*, to go forthwith with two of thoſe Gallies to *Corfu*, and to take upon him the Government of the Fleet, which it was already reſolved upon, ſhould remain all that winter in that Iſland, and ſhould be there fitted with all things. But for fear leſt *Veniero* might have tane his voyage towards *Cyprus*, before he ſhould receive theſe orders. The Senate reſolved to chuſe a Commiſſary-Generall at Sea, who in *Veniero*'s abſence, was to have the ſame authority as he had; and in his preſence, ſhould notwithſtanding keep in the Fleet, and have the next place under him: For howſoever, it was thought very fit, that in times of ſuch difficulties, wherein oft-times reſolutions touching the totall buſineſſe, was to be taken upon the place; the Common-wealth might be ſerved by the Counſel and Authority of more then one. And to this place was *Agoſtino Barbarigo*, choſen by generall conſent, a man of ſingular wiſdom and integrity, in whoſe worth the Common-wealth might ſafely place her hopes. Thus did the firſt years war end, which was begun with great, but unſucceſsful hope.

He who ſhall firſt conſider the vaſt maritime Forces, which the Common-wealth of *Venice* was able to raiſe in ſo ſhort a time, muſt con-

confeſſe that her inſtitutions are excellently good, concerning the Sea-Militia, and that ſhe is no leſſe accommodated therein, in times of War, than in times of Peace; but he who ſhall afterwards reflect upon the whole paſſages of this year, wherein ſo great a Fleet, and ſuch preparations for War could effect nothing, either touching their own defence, or the offending of the Enemy, may learn by what hath been already ſaid, that good orders are not alwaies able to preſerve Dominions, nor to bring what they take in hand to a good end; but onely when they meet with ſuch as do execute them well, or rather when they are attended on by fortunate Incounters, or by ſome happy Genius particular to that Province; without all which, we often ſee the wiſeſt Counſells prove vain, the accidents and diſorders to which humane actions are ſubject, being almoſt infinite, eſpecially thoſe of war, which are not to be foreſeen, nor amended by humane wiſdome, as ſhall more clearly appear in what ſucceeded afterwards, as we ſhall purſue to relate.

The End of the Firſt Book.

THE

THE VVARS OF CYPRUS.

Book II.

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The

THE Venetians were ſo troubled at the loſſe of *Nicoſſia*, and at the other ſucceſſes, which fell out almoſt in all things quite contrary to their firſt conceived hopes, as they knew not well what to do; for on the one ſide, their great deſire, to recover the reputation of their forces, and to revenge the injuries which they had received, incited them to renew the war, with yet greater forces, and to try their fortune once more. But on the other ſide, when they conſidered the power of the enemy, and the uncertainty of being aſſiſted by other Princes, who were all ſeen to be bent upon their preſent and particular intereſts, they were put upon other thoughts, and ſometimes bethought themſelves of making ſome fair agreement, which they knew, by advertiſement from their Conſul, that the Turks were not averſe unto. The poſſeſſion which they yet had of *Famagoſta*, the fame which was divulged abroad of the League, and of the Colleagues great forces, and the, as yet, uncertain end of the whole war, made them hope, they might the more eaſily obtain peace, and reduce their affairs into their former tranquillity. And then, the ſo many difficulties which they met with in concluding the League; the bad Augury conceived, by the firſt ſo unfortunate beginning of their forces, & by a certain malign influence of ſo many adverſe chances, made them almoſt deſpair of doing any good by war. The Senators were the more perplext with theſe doubts, not knowing well what to reſolve upon; for that they had a fair occaſion offered them, of negotiating peace, with their honour, and with ſome hopes of good; for Baſhaw *Mehemet* continued ſtill his firſt deſire, of bringing things to ſome accord, not being pleaſed with whatſoever ſhould happen by war; which if it ſhould prove croſſe, the aſſociate Princes wanted not forces, whereby to trouble and endanger that Empire; and if it ſhould prove proſperous, the honour and authority of his rivall *Muſtafa*, would be too much encreaſed. *Mehemet*, moved by theſe cogitations, had alwaies, in many diſcourſes, kept an endeavour of peace on foot with the Conſul, being very deſirous to draw out of him, whether he had any Commiſſion to treat thereof, or no; and at laſt began to promote that of himſelf, whereunto he found no invitation: He tooke his riſe, from the complaints which were daily made at Court by ſuch, whoſe friends were impriſoned, or had their goods detain'd in *Venice*, after the war was declared. He treated with the Conſul, that he would be a means to his Lords and Maſters, that the ſubjects of the *Ottoman* Empire might be ſet at liberty, and have their goods reſtored; it being againſt the juſtice and dignity of that Nation, that the Venetian Merchants ſhould be free, and enjoy their goods, in all the Turkiſh Dominions, when thoſe that lived under the wing and protection of ſo mighty a Prince, ſhould be detained priſoners, and be bereft of their goods. The Baſhaw ſhewing, that the grand Signeur was much ſcandalized hereat, did not onely give leave to the Conſul to write to *Venice*, but ſeemed very deſirous, that he would

would ſend away an expreſſe meſſenger, who might treat thereof more lively, and get a ſpeedier reſolution therein. And at the ſame time, he offered occaſion of diſcourſe, by means of *Hebraim*, wherein he manifeſted his intention, of inviting the Venetians, to ſend an expreſſe to *Conſtantinople*, who, together with this buſineſſe of the Merchants, might motion ſome treaty of Agreement. He therefore ſometimes wiſh'd the Conſul to conſider, that the Kingdom of *Cyprus* was laid ſo waſte by the war, as that no advantage could be made of it a long time: Sometimes he would exaggerate the good that was got by peace, and the great miſchiefs which war would bring with it, if the Venetians would continue therein, againſt the *Ottaman* family; magnifying his Maſter's forces, and his new deſignes, of aſſaulting the Venetian Dominions with his Fleet, and with his Army, both by ſea and land. And offering at the ſame time, to uſe his authority, that the antient friendſhip between the Common-wealth and the *Ottamans*, might be renued, wherein, he ſaid, his Maſters would finde at laſt, they might more firmly ground their hopes, of preſerving their power and Empire, then in the uncertain aſſiſtance of Chriſtian Princes, who, as experience had oft-times ſhewed, were no great friends to their grandezza. Thus the Conſul, by permiſſion from the Baſhaw, nay, by his expreſſe order, diſpatch'd away the Maſter of his houſhold from *Conſtantinople*, and one of the Dragomani, with Letters, which were dictated to the Conſul by the Baſhaw's ſelf, touching the buſineſſe of the Merchants; wherein he afterwards gave a particular account of all that had paſt between him and the Baſhaw, and of the Baſhaw's minde. At the ſame time, *Graſcinan*, a French Gentleman, who negoriated ſome buſineſſe in that Court for the French King, parted from *Conſtantinople*, who when he came to *Venice*, ſaid, How that the Baſhaw *Mehemet*, had had many diſcourſes with him, about the buſineſſe of peace; nay, that he carried Letters from the grand Signior, and from the Baſhaw, to his King, whereby he might finde, they would be content, that the King of *France*, as a friend to both parties, ſhould intercede in the treaty of Agreement. Which propoſalls, though they were ſuſpected by the Senators, as made rather, to make them ſlacken their proviſions for war, and their joyning in league with other Princes, then out of any intention of laying down Arms, and comming to a good peace; yet the various accidents of the preſent times, prevailed much with them, to make them liſten to theſe Treaties. For in the concluſion of the League, to boot with other things, a new difficulty aroſe, touching the time when it ſhould commence; the Spaniards being deſirous, that this ſummer might paſſe over, and that they might not be tyed to the obſervancy of the Capitulations therein contained, till the next year, nor that the League ſhould be of force till then; and the Venetians were afear'd, they ſhould not have forces ſufficient, to withſtand ſo powerfull a Fleet, as they underſtood the Turks were ready to put forth. Wherefore they writ very earneſtly to the Pope, that he would uſe his authority, in overcomming theſe difficulties; they ſhewed, *How that by his advice, they had*

embraced this war, had ſent away the Chiaus, by whom they might have negotiated their affairs, and neglected other accommodations, which had often been propounded to their Conſul. How that, by his advice likewiſe, they had ſo long expected the Spaniſh Gallies, whoſe aſſiſtance proved afterwards more in name then in reality. And that, ſeeking to out-do their own ſtrength in all things, they had ſhewed their readineſſe to ſettle ſuch a League, as they conceived ſhould be pleaſing to him, and ſuitable to the neceſſities of Chriſtendom. But all this produced not ſuch effects, as the time required; for the Pope, who of himſelf was wholly ſet upon the generall good, and knew, that the Venetians intents were anſwerable thereunto, confeſs'd, that their deſires were juſt and honeſt; and exhorted them, *not to go leſſe, notwithſtanding their ſo ſmall ſucceſſes. That war did always produce various effects; but that at laſt, worth, and a conſtant reſolution, and the juſtice of the cauſe, did prevail. Neither ought they to diſpair of help from others, nor yet of their own forces: ſince neither was there ſo much time ſpent, nor were the difficulties ſuch, but that they might be overcome, and a Fleet be put together, which would not be onely able to face the enemies Fleet, but to beat it.* Yet being a Pope of eaſie impreſſion, and being perſwaded to the contrary by thoſe, who for their own particular intereſts, did adhere too much to the Spaniards, he either leaned towards thoſe things, which might weaken the League, or retard the concluſion thereof, or elſe did not vigorouſly interpoſe his authority. But that which the Venetians were exceedingly troubled at, was, to ſee, that the Pope was buſied in other affairs, and full of other troubles; for *Ceſar*'s Embaſſadours having proteſted, that if the Pope would not annull the conceſſion of new titles, which he had made unto the Duke of *Florence*, the Emperour would be forced to uſe all poſſible means, for the maintaining of his own dignity, and the honour of the Empire. The Pope being full of jealouſie and fear, and yet not being willing to retract, that which he thought he had authority to do, and which he had with reaſon done, prepared to defend his honour, and the reputation of the Apoſtolick See, even with temporall Arms: He therefore was diligent in liſting new men, and provided for Arms, Monies, and all things elſe neceſſary. He made a generall Proclamation be made, which did redound to the particular prejudice of the Venetians, That no body whoſoever ſhould have any ſouldiers out of the Eccleſiaſtick Eſtate; and this with ſuch ſeverity, as *Pompeo da Caſtella*, and *Jovan Aldobrandini*, were impriſoned, for having raiſed ſome Foot for the Venetians, in the Churches territories. He proceeded likewiſe very ſparingly, and onely in generalities, in his promiſing aſſiſtance for the Turkiſh war. So as it was daily feared, that there would be ſome commotion of Arms in *Italy*, than which, nothing could at that time prove more pernicious. The Senate reſolved therefore, to ſend Secretary *Fomenti* ſpeedily away to *Rome*, to appeaſe the buſineſſe; but the Secretary's going being a while after ſtopt, to ſhun fomenting ſuch an opinion, the ſame employment was recommended to their Embaſſadours at *Rome*, who were to beſeech the Pope, to conſider well the condition of the preſent times, the eminent danger that threatned Chriſtendom, and that

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the remedy to ſo many miſchiefs, (if any were to be found) lay onely in him, which ſhould move him to value very little, or not at all any other reſpect how important ſoever, which might diſturb the hopes of ſecuring Chriſtendom from the power of ſo dreadful an enemy, to wch he had already opened the way, by declaring himſelf piouſly & zealouſly, to be the head & firſt Author of the union of the Chriſtian Princes: Whereunto though the Pope did graciouſly give ear, yet pleading neceſſity for his excuſe, he ſpun out time, & left the ſucceſſe of War in a doubtful condition. Out of theſe reſpects, the Venetians were the better pleaſed with their comming, who came from *Conſtantinople*, and thought it fit to make uſe of this occaſion, and think upon the buſineſſe of Peace: for they ſaw their hopes grew every day ſmaller, and more uncertain; and that reaſon why for ſome moneths paſt, they had forborn doing ſo, was now ceaſed; to wit, the fear of making men jealous that they intended an agreement: For they found by experience, that their entrance into the War with ſo firm and conſtant a reſolution, had wrought effects contrary to their hopes, ſince thoſe who for their own reſpects, were glad that the Common-wealth ſhould be buſied in this war, did rather cool, then grow fervent in her defence; and that haply they would have been more forward therein, if they had ſeen them leſſe reſolved not to lay down the Arms which they had taken up againſt the Turks. The Senators thinking therefore, that to fall upon this treaty of Peace, though no good ſhould come thereon, and that their intentions ſhould either be ſuſpected or diſcovered, might rather further then retard the eſtabliſhing of the League; they reſolved to betake themſelves to the treaty of Peace. The Government and charge thereof was therefore given to *Jacobo Ragazzoni*, as one who by reaſon of his much traffick, was nearly concern'd in the buſineſſe; and who by reaſon of his great experience, was thought fitteſt for this imployment. He was ſent to *Conſtantinople*, to treat concerning the reſtitution of the Merchants perſons and goods, which had been detained on either ſide; to boot wherewith, he had ſecret inſtructions given him by the Councill of Ten, which he was to carry to the Conſull, the ſum whereof was, *That if any diſcourſe of Peace ſhould be hereafter promoted, he ſhould not appear averſe unto it, but enter further thereinto, if he ſhould find the buſineſſe might be undertaken, upon fair conditions, and not detractive from the dignity of the Common-wealth; to wit, either by re-having the Kingdom of* Cyprus, *upon payment of ſo great Tribute to the Turks, or by the Common-wealths keeping of* Famagoſta, *or by yielding that up, upon the being poſſeſt of ſome other State in lieu thereof, elſewhere; and that the Territories of* Albania *and* Dalmatia, *ſhould be returned to the ſame boundures as they were before the war.* Power was likewiſe given to *Ragazzoni* to treat of all theſe things, and to put on the buſineſſe by the ſame way; if peradventure the Turks, who ſeemed deſirous to have one ſent over expreſly to that purpoſe, would not treat with the Conſull, becauſe he was a priſoner, or out of any other reſpect. Advertiſement was forthwith given to all the Princes Courts, of *Ragozzoni's* being gone for *Conſtantinople*, ſaying (as it was true) that he

was ſent to negotiate the affairs of particular Merchants, and not to exceed ſuch Commiſſions as were given him.

But though there was nothing elſe communicated, every one preſently ſuſpected that *Ragatzoni* had ſome other private Commiſſion to negotiate peace; to the which they were the eaſlier perſwaded, for that it appeared by what hath been ſaid, that the Venetians had great occaſions offered them, to think of ſecuring their affairs by this means; having unfortunately, and in vain, as it now appeared, taken up arms againſt ſo powerful an Enemy. The Pope being therefore jealous, and the fear which he had conceived of *Ceſars* Forces, beginning through other new accidents, to be aſſwaged, began to think upon the treaty of League more cordially, to which he was alſo ſolicited by the Spaniards. He therefore reſolved to ſend *Mark Antonio Colonna*, to *Venice*, to the end that he himſelfe, who was a man of an acute wit and mature judgement, and one whom the Venetians thought very well of, might, by word of mouth, by favour, & by granting ſome things that were formerly denyed, hinder the treaty of Peace, and make them aſſent unto a ſudden concluſion of the League. *Colonna* being come to *Venice*, and being ſeverall times admitted into the Colledge, did in the Prince his preſence, earneſtly and efficaciouſly perſwade to the embracing of the League; labouring to ſhew, that he was more fervent in this buſineſſe, that he was not able to bound his affections, nor would he conceal what his reaſon dictated unto him, becauſe he knew his perſwaſions tended to a buſineſſe which would prove very advantageous for the Common-wealth; and that therefore his being able at one and the ſame time to ſerve his naturall Prince, the Pope, the King of *Spain*, to whom he was obliged by ſervice, and alſo their Lordſhips, to whom he found himſelfe no leſſe obliged, for the affiance they ſeemed to have of him, then to the reſt, made him more fervent in this buſineſs.

I am not come, Gentlemen, (ſaid he) to perſwade you to embrace war, or to incite you to purſuit; becauſe this your generous reſolution is ſufficiently known by many of your actions; by your diſpatching away the Chiaus, who was ſent to ſet the buſineſſe of Agreement on foot, by your muſtering ſo many Forces ſo ſpeedily, by giving ſo expreſſe Commiſſion to your Generall to Garriſonize Cyprus, *and to expoſe himſelfe to all hazard, rather than to ſuffer the Enemies Fleet to return ſafe home; which things, I my ſelf can witneſſe to others: That which I have to do, is, onely to ſhew you how good and firm the foundations are, upon which you may ground your hopes, and how opportune the means are, which God hath put into your hands, to effect that which you have propoſed unto your ſelves, in manfully maintaining war againſt this barbarous Infidel; by which you are aſſured to have a glorious victory. The intention of the Pope, and of the Catholick King, is aſſuredly ſuch, as I may aſcertain you, you ſhall never find your ſelves deceived in any thing that you can promiſe unto your ſelves, in this holy and generall ſervice, from them or from their forces; and if you will not credit me, you muſt believe experience and reaſon. Hath not the Pope readily granted his aſſiſtance, man'd Gallies with his own ſubjects, made himſelfe the Protector of this League? Hath he not been ſo favourable thereunto, as freely to grant*

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those graces towards the establishment of this holy union, which he hath always denyed to the Catholick King, for raising of Monies to defend Spain *against the Insurrection of the* Moores; *and of* Flanders, *against the Rebels both to their God and Prince? And the King of* Spain, *how willingly did he listen to the proposall of this League? how readily did he give Commission to his Agents to conclude it? how affectionately, without being bound thereunto, hath he granted his Gallies for the defence of your Dominions? what confidence hath he shew'd in you, by trusting them in your Havens? And now we have certain intelligence, that great preparation of Shipping, and of Souldiers, is making in* Spain, *to send away* Don John *with all speed into* Italy. *These things being justly weighed, leave not any the least place for doubt, of the intentions of this so pious, and so truly Catholick King. If therefore it shall be thought, that these Princes have been hard in being brought to any of these things, it must be assuredly believed that it hath happned, partly out of a desire of establishing this union more firmly, and of taking away all impediments at first, that might obstruct it; partly because the very nature of the things propounded, hath in it somewhat of difficulty, or peradventure of impossibility; as that the King should set forth a hundred Gallies this year, when he hath not at the present above fourscore. Yet the Pope and the King labour to overcome this difficulty: Orders are already sent to the Vice-Roy of* Naples, *for the manning out of* 20 *Gallies with Letters of Mart in that Kingdom; and those of* Savoy, Florence, *and of* Malta, *are indeavoured to be had: nay the Pope hath promised, that the number of* 100 *shall be made up, and that there shall be Forces enough this year, not onely to oppose the proceedings of the Turkish Fleet, but as I hope, to fight them, and to vanquish them. But for Gods sake, what jealousie, what danger, can rise from the League, which will not be found to be much greater, and more certain in making peace, if it were to be had, now that the Enemies forces are intire, and stronger than ever? You are very wise, and your Councells use to be the rule and example of good Government to other States. You may very well know, that the Turks can obtain no greater victory, nor that any thing can prove more prejudiciall to us Christians, than that the occasion of so great a union of Christian Princes, vanishing after so many Treaties, nay after the firm beliefe of all men, that the League is already established and concluded; the Turks may for certain find, that the Christian Princes shal not be able at any time to raise forces sufficient to prejudice the* Ottaman *Empire: And that, as not any one of them is able of himselfe to oppose their power, so the discords between themselves, the misfortune of our times, or our sins, secures them from the danger of their joyning together, whereby they wil grow to dispise the name of Christian the more, and wil be the more incouraged to assault them every where; but I neither wil, nor ought I fear, that this malady should still continue; I rather hope, that when you shall have duly considered these respects, you will readily pitch upon embracing the League which is offered you; and that I shall have the honour and the consolation of having been the instrument of confirming it; and (if it shall so please God) perhaps of producing some good effect thereby.*

Colonna his authority and eloquence, wrought much upon the Senators; but the mighty concernment of the businesse, the experience of the last years passages, the condition of the propolalls being

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but in generall, and uncertain, and the hopes, that treaty of peace might produce ſome good effects, diſtracted the Senators, and made them dubious in their opinions. They therefore gave him generall anſwers, remembring their actions, which might make the world believe, they were well enclined to the League; and objecting ſomething to what he had ſaid, but neither narrowed nor enlarged the Treaty, ſtanding reſolute upon the point, that the buſineſſe might either be abſolutely concluded, or abſolutely laid aſide. But *Colonna* having received new orders from *Rome*, whereby greater ſatisfaction was given, in point of the forces, and of the time of uſing them, and of recruiting the Gallies, as the Venetians had deſired, for this firſt year; and particularly, that the Pope did promiſe to grant three Tenths yearly to the Common-wealth, for the ſpace of five years, out of the goods of the Clergy of the Common-wealth; The whole buſineſſe was diſcuſs'd in the Senate, to the end, that knowing on the one ſide, what was in agitation at *Conſtantinople*, and the directions which they had given to their Conſul, and to *Ragazzoni*, touching the treaty of peace; and on the other ſide, the Pope's conditions, and what was propounded by the Catholick King, for the concluſion of the League, they might more maturely reſolve either upon war or peace, and do, what might be thought, would bring moſt advantage and ſafety to the Common-wealth: wherein the Senators differed in their opinions. So as continuing ſtill in the ſame ambiguitie, they did not reſolve upon any thing. But ſuch anſwers were given to *Colonna*'s propoſalls, as differing more in words, then in ſenſe; they ſtood ſtill upon generalities, without declaring themſelves any waies abſolutely, touching the concluding, or laying aſide of this Treaty. Whereupon, whilſt the buſineſſe was one day agitated in the Senate, *Paolo Tiepolo*, a Senator of mature judgment, and long vers'd in the government of the Common-wealth, though he was not then of the order of the *Savii*, whoſe proper and peculiar charge this uſeth to be, ſtood up, and ſaid:

If it what is now before us, the glorious fame were onely concern'd, which our Common-wealth hath purchaſed with all men, by her generous reſolution taken the laſt year, of accepting the war, intimated unto us by the Turks, and of defending our State againſt their inſolency, I might peradventure be ſilent, and look for what the end of theſe our irreſolute counſells might at laſt prove; though certainly it is no ſmall loſſe which befalls a Prince, when his reputation is loſt, wherewith States are no leſſe governed, then by forces. But ſince I know, that this our unſeaſonable delay leads us to ruine, whilſt vainly relying upon far diſtant, and fallacious treaties of peace, we will bereave our ſelves of the aſſiſtance of other mens forces, and of our ſelves onely, withſtand the violence of ſuch inſolent enemies, I muſt oppoſe what is propounded, and ſpeak my contrary opinion. For I think it very pernicious, to reſolve upon nothing, and to ſpend our time onely in ſpeaking; for by ſo doing, we ſhall at laſt be deprived of thoſe helps, which we have for ſome months paſt ſought, towards the concluſion of this League, though the Colleagues were not unwilling to aſſiſt us. Moſt illuſtrious Senators, I fear, that our mindes are rather altered by this deliberation, then

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the condition of affairs. Did not we know, that we had to deal with a powerfull enemy, when with such zeal and generall consent, we resolved upon this war? when we refused all treaty of agreement, whereunto we were invited, by the comming of the Chiaus; and readily entertained the confederacy, which the Pope offered us? were we not acquainted with the uncertainty of war, and with the usuall difficulties met withall, in the colleaguering of Princes? Yet since we saw no trust could secure us, from these barbarous Infidells, whose power and ambition doth daily increase, and that the delaying of war did not free us from danger, but did rather encrease it; for we hoped, that the honesty and justice of our cause, might at last, after severall, both good and bad adventures, prevail, and make us victorious; since we intended, by our dexterity and patience, to purchase the good-will of other Princes, and making them sensible, that their interests were concerned in ours, draw them to a reall and firm confederacy, that the common cause might be agitated by joynt forces and advice. It was these reasons, and not chance, that moved our Senate to take up Arms, and to undergo the hazard and expence of war, and to treat upon the speedy conclusion of the League: And shall we now suffer the first unfortunate successe in war, the first difficulties arising amongst the confederates, as if all our generousnesse and constancy were past, not onely cool our former fervour, and make us forgoe our former resolves, but so to bereave us of all counsell, as involved in ambiguity, we shall not know what to pitch upon, which whilst we do not, having neither peace nor league, suffer all conditions to be uncertain, every thing suspected, and all businesses to go backward: when if we shall duly consider things, as they are in themselves, unintrelloped in our own affections, we shall find it evident what we are to do. For all respects concur in prosecuting, and in stipulating a speedy confederacy: Advantage and Honour advise unto it, our security is great, and great the glory which we may hope for thereby. And if there shall ever be a time to think upon this union, certainly the occasion is now offered us, not onely out of necessity, to oppose the formidable greatnesse of the Turks, but by reason of the opportunity we have now to do it. Certainly this is the time, since we finde all Princes, not onely willing, but in a posture of power to undertake it. Who finds not an ardent zeal in the Pope, of exalting Christianity? Do not all the King of Spain*'s actions shew, how great a lover he is of peace, how well content he is with what is his own, and onely desirous to abase the Turkish power, that they may not molest his Dominions, nor disquiet his peace? It cannot be denyed, but that the Emperour is sufficiently desirous of glory, and of recovering the Kingdom of* Hungary*, whereof he is for the greatest part at this time deprived, by these common enemies, which he hath witnessed, by his late taking up Arms against* Solyman. *And if these do not readily satisfie our desires, we may be sure, the hinderance proceeds from necessity, and not from want of good-will. The Pope's Exchequer is exhausted, he hath been forced to impose taxes upon the Ecclesiasticks, to procure money for this war; nay, by the contribution of Monkery in our State, wherefore he must proceed more reservedly, in granting Tenths, and other aids. The King of* Spain *is so oppress'd, by the burthen of governing so many Dominions, as he must manage his affairs by the hands of severall Ministers, and by the advice of many, which sometimes retards maturity, and is the reason, why his intentions are not so easily made known, nor produce not conformable effects so soon. The Em-*

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perour hath not forces enough of himself, and cannot dispose of the German forces, without the consent of the Princes and Hans-towns; therefore he is slow in resolving upon what, both his words and reason shews, he is willing to do. But certainly, the death of the Transilvanian is luckily happned at this time, which will necessitate Germany to take up Arms, and to embrace this occasion, unlesse she will suffer that Province to fall under the obedience of the Turks, and thereby encrease her dangers. These hinderances then, which arise from usuall difficulties, which are inseparable from such businesses, nay, from all weighty affairs, ought not to beget difficulties or jealousies in us, nor alienate us from the friendship of those Princes, in whom we finde no ill towards us, but rather many signes of good-wishes, towards the welfare of our Common-wealth. Whereunto if we were to be perswaded by no other reason nor arguments, we cannot certainly fail, if we measure the mindes of those Princes, but by their own interests; wherein, how much the neerer they are concerned in this war, and in our behalf, we ought to rest the more assured, that they will not abandon us, and with us, themselves. Does not the Pope see, that the ruine of this Common-wealth, would draw along with it the ruine of all Christendom, and that neither his Court nor he should be secure in Rome? Does not the Catholick King know, that if Candia, Corfu, and the other Islands be lost, Cicily and Calabria will be the frontiers against the Turks? that if the enemy grow stronger by the ruine of others, his danger will be the greater; and that by how much the forces of this Common-wealth are weakened, the withstanding the Turkish Fleets will light the more heavy upon him. The Emperour can never be sure to have his Dominions safe, whilst he hath so potent a neighbour; and must know, that how much the later other Princes are in lending us their assistance, and how much the lesse they shall be, we shall be the sooner perswaded to accept of any agreement; which will be nothing else, but to afford time and convenience to this Common enemy, to turn his Arms against Hungary, and against the Empire. Wherefore shall we then admit of doubts, without reason, and let slip those things which are in our own power, to rely upon what depends upon the will of others, and chiefly of those, whom we have great reason to suspect, by reason of their accustomed cunning, and of their late deceits? The conclusion of the League is certain, the event of the treaty of peace uncertain. And it may well happen, that the prolonging of our determination, may cause the League prove doubtfull, and our peace be never the surer; by which, in my opinion, we shall get but little advantage, since it bears with it, onely the bare name, not the quiet nor security of true peace; nor do I think, that any reall peace is at this time to be had, but rather, that these things are proposed to us by Mehemet, to cheat us, not out of any favour to us; to the end, that we being lull'd asleep by the pleasing name of peace, as by the Syrens singing, may be lesse carefull in providing for war; and that through these our vain hopes, the confederacy of Christian Princes be dissolved, which the Turks do not a little apprehend; and without which confederacy, they promise unto themselves for certain, the possession of our Dominions. The Turks are by nature haughty, and now grown more insolent by their prosperous successe in Cyprus; they are alwaies perfidious, alwaies our enemies: What reason have we to believe, that they desire peace now, and are reall in the propounding thereof? And grant, that the first Bashaw may perchance desire peace, to lessen Mustafa's greatnesse, it is most

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assured, he dares not mention it to the grand Signior, but upon severe and unjust tearms for us, lest he thereby ruine himself. But say, that these things which reason, not fear, dictates unto me, prove false; ought this Senate to part from its antient and laudable custom, of valuing their word, of proceeding still with all sincerity, of not doing any thing, which, in the sight of the world may appear to be not altogether so honest, just, or reasonable? Is it not known to all men (and say it were not, are not we conscious to our selves) how far this treaty of confederacy is proceeded in? Now that all our desires are yielded unto, is not our word engaged? The State of affairs is still the same, we ought not to be changed. What more of ambiguity remains? what excuse can we make for this delay? what reason for abandoning, what hath already been agreed on? Really, that which troubles me most, is, to think, that as the repute of constancy and sincerity in this Senate, hath prevailed much with these Princes, to make them the more readily confederate with us; so in the future, this inconstancy and double dealing of ours, may so alienate us from the friendship of all men, as either out of anger, or mistrust, they will suffer us to run upon our ruine. If peace be treacherous, the League is sincere; the successe of the latter most assured, the event of the former most uncertain; the one may bring us long and true security, the other frees us from danger onely in appearance, and but for a while. Let this Senate then now resolve, not to busie it self any longer in such doubts, and not to listen to any thing which shall be proposed, unlesse to what may terminate, conclude, and put a finall happy end to this businesse.

Tiepolo was attentively listned unto; and many signes were seen of adhereing to his opinion. But *Andrea Badvero*, a man who bore great sway in the Senate, and who was one of the *Savii Maiori*, which party did wholly promote delay, spoke thus to the contrary.

The repute of wisdom (said he) *which this Senate hath purchased throughout the world, is now so looked upon by all men, as, though so many and so important respects did not concur, a just desire of preserving this honourable reputation, were able to make the result of this businesse now in hand, weighty, difficult, and dubious. A League, and a Peace, with powerfull Princes, are both in hand, at the same time, and to the same end, but by very differing, nay, by full contrary means: The one and the other of them, may make us hope for a speedy conclusion, but neither of them, with such honour and security, as may freely invite us to accept thereof, and may ease us of all trouble. So as if onely one of these were to be discust, it would not be easie what to resolve; but both of them joyned together, affords almost inexplicable difficulties. Therefore you ought not to wonder (Gentlemen) if in a businesse of such importance and dubiousnesse, men be not so clear nor resolute in their proposalls, and if they seek to be more enlightned by time, and by proceedings, so as they may be safely led out of so many difficulties; and the rather, for that we need not fear, that the Spaniards will slacken their provisions, for any such delay of ours, but will be the more diligent in hastening them, to encourage us, to repose the more confidence in the forces of the League; and for that, though they did verily believe, we would lay down Arms, they were to keep in Arms, since the Turkish forces prepared against us, were likely to fall upon them. And truly, I see not why, having begun a treaty of Agreement, we should, without expecting the first an-*

ſwer, ſo oblige our ſelves with others, as it may not be lawfull for us to do, what may be thereby offered, towards the ſecuring of our affairs, ſince we may be looſe by their means, not by any fault of ours, and peradventure upon better tearms. What certainty have we of the event of this war? what hopes? what likelyhoods, that we ſhould ſo ſuddenly (not to ſay, ſo precipitously) determine to continue it long, as if we were ſure of glory and triumph? Paſt experience may teach us, what good we may expect from war againſt the Turks; this Common-wealth hath alwaies been unfortunate, in taking up Arms againſt them, and hath been forced, not without loſſe of ſome Territories, to yield unto their greater forces, and to a certain Genius of their Empire. But if we have forgot things done long ago, how can we forget the paſſages of the laſt year, which are yet freſh in our memorie? And if we ſhall conſider, in how ſhort a time we loſt ſo many men, and ſo much mony, not onely getting not any thing thereby, but loſing a noble City, nay, we may ſay, a flouriſhing Kingdom, how can it be thought a wiſe advice, which puts us upon the neceſſity of continuing that war? The miſchiefs we may receive thereby, are great and certain; our hopes of repairing our ſelves, ſmall and uncertain. For, happen what will, war is alwaies accompanied by many miſeries; but is more grievious to this our City, then to any other, ſince it does in a manner block up the ſea, by which it receives its wealth, and abundance of all things; and doth deprive her of commerce, whereby Arts do therein flouriſh, which are one of her chiefeſt ornaments. For my part, I cannot fancy unto my ſelf thoſe high conceits, as ſome do, who know not how to meaſure the preſent condition of affairs, the fortune which attends the enemy, and our weakneſſe and misfortune; who do not conſider the ſtrength of thoſe forces, which do depend onely upon one; and the inconſtancy of Leagues, by which never any great enterpriſe was atchieved, or which could continue long, by reaſon of the differing, nay, contrary deſigns of Princes, by reaſon of the jealouſie of States, and the ſuſpicion which one Prince hath alwaies of another. He who promiſeth unto himſelf a better end of this League, then was that of late years made againſt Soliman, and who does not believe, that what befell us at Peveſa, and the difficulties we met with at Caſtelnuovo, be to be renued, to our prejudice and ignominy, thinks that the world will alter, and delights to cheat himſelf with vain hopes. But ſome may be perſwaded to be for this League, not moved thereunto by any hopes, but drawn out of a certain conſideration, that this treaty is already far advanc'd, ſo as to withdraw from it now, may taſte of inconſtancy, and appear a fault, & that thereby we ſhal debar our ſelves ever hereafter, of the aid of other Princes: To which purpoſe, I would I could forget, how other Princes have carried themſelves towards us, and how little they have valued our faith or conſtancy. How can we forget the confederacy, broken by Lewis the 12th, King of France, at the ſame time that he conſtantly affirmed, and ſolemnly ſwore, he would never forego our friendſhip; whereof having once made uſe to his own advantage, he did not onely abandon us, who, not to forſake him, had with great expence and danger, taken up arms, Arms againſt the Emperour Maximilian, but did mainly conſpire againſt us, that our ruine might be the reward of our fidelity. I will ſay nothing of what followed afterwards; the aſſiſtance in appearance, but real oppreſſion, plotted againſt us by Ferdinando King of Spain; the ſo various counſells of Pope Julio the 2d. and Pope Leo the 10th. ſometimes for our good, ſometimes for our ruine. So as it behoved us

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in a ſhort time, to change both friends and enemies, becauſe we found all confederacy fraudulent. And at laſt, our fore-fathers drew our Common-wealth out of ſo many calamities, and reſtored her to her priſtine greatneſſe, rather by knowing how to accommodate themſelves to the times, and by wiſdom, then by war. Theſe examples would not, peradventure, be to be praiſed, if it were not uſuall with Princes, to proceed with ſuch ambiguity, nay often, with ſuch contrariety in their counſells, as they muſt neceſſarily tread in the ſame ſteps, who will preſerve their Dominions: So as not being ſure, that any reſpects ſhall be born to them, they muſt be pardoned, if they bear but little reſpect to others. And it is an aſſured truth, that thoſe reſpects are not to be had, where the common good is treated of, the preſervation of a Common-wealth, or a State, as in private actions. We therefore ought to regard the treaty of League onely ſo far, as we think it may make for our good, holding it for a certain truth, that thoſe will deal juſt ſo with us, who now ſeek to joyne with us in League, whoſe proceedings, if we will obſerve, ſhall we not clearly ſee, that their own private intereſt is the rule whereby they walk, in all their deſignes and actions? And I wiſh to God, that this were well underſtood; they would then know, that their welfare is almoſt inſeparably annex'd to ours. For, whatſoever we ſhall now do, we may both for the preſent, and for the future, promiſe juſt ſo much to our ſelves from the aſſiſtance of others, as will ſtand with their own advantage, and according as times ſhall fall out. But grant, that ſo great an eſteem ſhould be put upon that; have we, I beſeech you, after the engagement of our word, after the agreement unto Articles, been faulty in our promiſes? Have we treated upon advantagious or abuſive tearms? Much conteſtation and difficulties have ſtill been found in this buſineſſe; we have no ſooner yielded to many things, but that thoſe obſtacles being taken out of the way, others have been raiſed of greater importance, and more difficult. Which way of proceeding is ſuch, as ought rather make us forego ſuch a confederacy, though ſtipulated, then invite us to obſerve it now, when we are at liberty, and that the preſent accidents adviſe us to prolong the time, without further engaging our ſelves. Is it not too apparent, that we can make no uſe of this League, ſave in ſhow, and by the vain report of great warlick preparations, but never in reality. The hundred Gallies, which the Spaniards were bound by Articles to Man, would now be reduced to fourſcore, and the time of their joyning with ours, is ſpoken of uncertainly; ſometimes, the whole month of May *is taken for it, ſometimes no determin'd time. The delay of theſe aſſiſtances, are better expreſt by effects, then by words. The laſt years orders to* Doria, *are at firſt not well underſtood, afterwards worſe obſerved. The Gallies deſtin'd for our preſent aid, are to go to* Barcellona, *to bring away the Emperour's ſons, the Bohemian Princes; and we ſhall hope to find them at* Otranto, *according to promiſe, in fitting time for our occaſions. A greater doubt then this doth yet occur to me, when I call to minde, the Kings Agents preſſing ſo earneſtly, that the buſineſſe of* Algiers *ſhould be ſpecified in the confederacy, and then meet with theſe difficulties. For we muſt with reaſon doubt, that the Spaniſh forces will go this firſt year, for the Rivers of* Affrica, *for their own particular ſervice, pleading for their excuſe, that the League hath not ſufficient forces, to ſend the Fleet into the* Levant, *againſt the Enemy; and making uſe of this occaſion to minde that enterpriſe, whilſt they may be free from fear of the Turkiſh Fleet, by the Turks being*

buſied in the action of Cyprus, *and by the counterpoiſe of our forces at ſea. Theſe then will be the aids, theſe the forces, theſe the hopes, wherewith we are to continue the war, maintain* Famagoſta, *defend* Candia, *and beat the enemy from the confines of* Friuli *and* Dalmatia, *againſt which, we hear great ſtore of men are raiſed. But will our neighbours forces defend us? or the ſtrong oppoſite country ſecure us? The Archduke* Charles, *who was ſo forward in the beginning to defend theſe paſſes, does not he now anſwer our deſires, by ſaying, He can reſolve upon nothing, without the advice of his brother the Emperour? And the Emperour, ſeeming not to believe thoſe rumours, which were firſt raiſed by his Agents, doth now ſo neglect his anſwer, as I fear, when need ſhall require, he will neglect his proviſions. But it is alleadged, that peace will bring with it but a ſhort and ſeeming ſecurity, ſince the Turks may violate it the more eaſily, when they ſhall have opportunity or a deſire to do ſo, when they ſhall ſee, they may make peace when they pleaſe, and are ſure, their injuries ſhall not be revenged. I deny it not: But I ſay, the condition of theſe things is ſuch, as it is vain to perſwade our ſelves, that we, by any thing we can do, can alter their uſuall and naturall fickleneſſe. Therefore what is ſaid of the peace which we are now in hand with, with the Turks, may be ſaid, of whatſoever other aggreement, made with any other Princes, which is eaſily broken by ſeverall accidents; nor will there be pretences of injuries wanting, when men are pleaſed to take them, and they are eaſily made to do ſo, by the hope of agrandizing and accommodating themſelves. Wherefore we ſee, friendſhip laſts but a while amongſt Princes, and the leſſer while, by how much they are the more powerfull, and neerer neighbours. But howſoever, you will ſay, we muſt not forbear to uſe Treaties of iner then Arms; nor muſt we refuſe a ſhort quiet, becauſe we cannot enjoy a perpetual tranquillity. There is at leaſt thus much good in peace, as it ſecures us from preſent labours and dangers; and this ill in Leagues, as they, upon uncertain hopes, expoſe us to certain expence, and to great dangers; ſo as we haſten thoſe evills by theſe means, which we ſeek to ſhun. It hath therefore been the conſtant purpoſe of this Senate, for theſe many years, to do any thing, whereby the friendſhip of the Turks might be preſerved; and yet there was not any one that did doubt, when war was reſolved on, that ſuch a confederacy as this which is now propoſed, might be had; but all confeſs'd, that little good was to be hoped for by it, becauſe it was known, that it was dangerous for us to ſuffer the Turks greatneſſe to encreaſe ſo much; this remedy of a League was not thought very fitting for it, and not to be uſed, but upon great neceſſity, as was now done, when we deſpaired to allay* Selino's *fury, in the heighth of his anger. What is now to be done, when we ſee the State of affairs ſomewhat altered, but to temporiſe with the enemy, whom we cannot ſuppreſſe, to make him jealous by this treaty of League, to ſweeten him with a treaty of peace, to keep ſeverall waies open, and to follow that, which time and affairs will ſhew us, ſhall be moſt for our good, and as God ſhall inſpire us to do, for the preſervation of our Common-wealth.*

Theſe words wrought variouſly upon the Senate, ſo as they remained ſtill in the ſame irreſolution, but moſt of them being enclined towards the League; whereunto they were much perſwaded, for fear of ſome ſcandalls that might be imputed to them, of inconſtancy,

ſtancy, for having ſo ſoon altered their minds, as if they were mated by the firſt misfortunes of war. The queſtion was put, and carried by many voices, of ſending to their Embaſſadours which were at *Rome*, to ſtipulate the League, which was the ſenſe of the anſwer which they gave to *Colonna*, who preſently after returned to *Rome*; where the Pope hearing of this determination, made the Catholick King's Embaſſadour, and thoſe of the Common-wealth, be publickly brought into the Conſiſtory, and making what they had agreed upon be readd by the Datory, he, laying his hand upon his breaſt, was the firſt that ſwore to obſerve thoſe capitulations: wherein he was followed by *Paceco*, in the name of the Catholick King, *Gravella* being gone for *Naples*; and then the King's Embaſſadour, and thoſe of the Common-wealth, took the ſame oath upon a Maſſe-book; and the next day, though the Venetian-Embaſſadours were againſt it, ſaying, That in point of honour, any ſuch declaration ſhould be deferred, till that *Ceſar* might have notice thereof, and his pleaſure therein might be more expreſly known; the Pope, a ſolemn Maſſe being onely ſaid, and a Proceſſion made in St. *Peter's* Church, would have the League publiſhed, whereof theſe were the particular Articles. *That a perpetuall League ſhould be made between* Pius *the* 5th. (*who engaged himſelf for the Apoſtolick See, and for his Succeſſors, by the conſent of the Colledge of Cardinalls*) *and* Philip *the Catholick King, and the Duke and Senate of* Venice; *to abate the power of the Turks, who had lately by force of Arms aſſaulted the Kingdom of* Cyprus, *which lay very fitting, for the enterpriſe of the holy Land. That the Colleagues forces ſhould conſiſt of* 200 *Gallies,* 100 *Ships,* 50000 *Foot, Italians, Spaniſh, and Dutch;* 4500 *Horſe, with a ſuitable train of Artillery and Ammunition; which were to be employed, as well in defence of the aſſociate Princes Dominions, as in oppoſing the Enemie, particularly in the enterpriſes of* Algiers, Tripoli, *and* Tunis. *That theſe forces ſhould meet at* Otranto *in* May *next, or in the beginning of* Aprill, *ſo to paſſe into the* Levant, *and proceed againſt the Enemie as time ſhould adviſe, and as the Commanders ſhould think fit. That notwithſtanding, theſe things might be altered, the proviſions of war be increaſed or diminiſhed, according as the need or conditions of the enterpriſes ſhould require, which they were intended for, which was every year to be conſulted upon, and determined at* Rome, *in the* Autumn. *And that if it ſhould be reſolved not to undertake any common enterpriſe that year, it might then be lawfull for any of the Aſſociates, to minde their own particular affairs; chiefly the King of* Spain, *thoſe of* Algiers, Tunis, *and* Tripoli; *in which caſe, if no great Turkiſh Fleet ſhould be abroad, the Venetians ſhould be obliged to furniſh the King with* 50 *Gallies, and the King was bound to do as much for the Venetians, if they ſhould attempt any thing againſt the common enemy within their Gulph: Provided always, that thoſe who would have any ſuch aſſiſtance, ſhould firſt have greater forces in readineſſe. That all the confederates ſhould be bound reciprocally, to defend each others Dominions, which ſhould be aſſaulted by the Turks, and particularly all places belonging to the Church; in which caſe, they were to give over all enterpriſes, that were begun againſt the Turks. That the King was to contribute the full half of all the expences of the war, and that the other half being divided into three*

parts,

parts, the Venetians should defray two parts, and the Pope the third, who not being able to contribute so much of himself, the other confederates should make good what was wanting of that Proportion, of three parts whereof, the King was to pay two, and the Venetians one; who moreover should be particularly obliged to give the Pope 12 Gallies, furnisht with tackling and Artillery, which the Pope was to man for the service of the League; but that generally every confederate should be bound to contribute such things for the common cause, as he should most abound in, and the others want, which should be regulated in the accounts according to the aforesaid proportion; That the exportation of Corne should always be open in all places, with a limited tax for the carrying out; and that they should be extracted from such place or places, as lay fittest for the occasion; their needs being first satisfied who were to give way thereunto, that in all consultations, and deliberations, the Commanders in chief of the three Confederates were to intervene, and what the most should determine, should be firmly concluded: but the execution of what should be resolved on, should remain in him who should be declared Captain-Generall of the League, which should be Don John *of* Austria, *and in his absence,* Mark Antonio Colonna, *with the like Authority, though he should at the same time retain the name and quality of Generall of the Church. That it might be lawfull for* Maximilian *of* Austria, *the Emperour Elect, for the King of* France, *and for the King of* Portugall, *to joyn in this Confederacy; and that all the Colleagues should use their uttermost endeavours to perswade them, and the other Christian Princes to do so. And in case of addition of any other Confederates, it was to be understood, that what proportion of expence they should be at, should go to the augmenting of the Forces of the League. No particular mention was made of dividing such places as should be gotten; but it was refer'd to what was expresst and declared in the Articles of the League, in the year 37, if any difference should fall out between the Confederates, the Pope should be the Arbitrator and Judge: so as that should be no breach of the Confederacy, nor any impediment in the execution of what was established therein.*

These Articles being sworn unto, as hath been said, and afterwards signed and sealed by the Embassadours, were ratified by the same Princes within the appointed four moneths. But because the Confederates were not bound to the observancy of these things till the next year: there was another writing stipulated apart, wherein these things were particularly contained, which were to be done this year; to wit, *That* 80 *Gallies, and* 20 *Ships, ought to be at* Ottranto *by the moneth of* May, *to joyn with the Venetian Fleet: Those of the Pope,* Savoy, *nor* Malta, *not being therein comprehended: And because a difficulty arose, touching the satisfaction to be given to the Venetians, towards the expences pretended unto for having more Gallies, than by the covenant they were bound unto: It was declared in the same writing, that the Pope was to be judge thereof, who was notwithstanding to determine particularly, that their debt being known, it should be made good out of what they ought, or should owe to the King of* Spain *for Corn, either formerly had, or to be had hereafter, the price whereof should be rated by the Pope; who took upon him likewise, though it was not expresly mentioned in the writing, to determine what satisfaction should be given to the Venetians,*

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for their pretences of charge for great numbers of Foot which they maintained in his Sea-Ports, more then the Garrisons of those places, to make use of them either in the Fleet, or otherwise against the enemie as occasion shall serve.

At the same time that these Treaties of League and Peace were discussing in *Venice*, wherein there was some difference in opinions, they all agreed, and were very diligent in providing for war: It was resolved, that 25 Gallies should be set out, which should have for their Governours Venetian Gentlemen, not onely of the Venetian Nobles, but many of those of the Cities of *Terra Ferma*, to the end that in the common cause, all might be partakers as well of honours, as of dangers and troubles, and because their greatest want was of men, by reason of the great mortality, and the apprehension which was had thereof; safe conduct was granted to the *Banditi* of the Common-wealth, to come and serve in the Gallies, either as Mariners, or Souldiers; and all Gentlemen of the Country, who would come willingly to that service, were exempted from any personall penalties for four years. 2000 to serve in Gallies, were likewise ordered from the Cities of the *Terra Ferma*; though this tax was formerly wont to be laid onely upon the Country. Souldiers were also brought from forrain parts, to recruit the Sea Garrisons, and for the service of the Fleet. And that nothing might be wanting to try the fortune of war again, a new Generall being already chosen, as hath been said, they would also change the two Commissaries. *Quirini*, Captain of the Gulph, was chosen in the place of *Celsi*, and *Trono*, Captain of the Ships in *Canale*'s place. But he dying at the same time, *Canale* continued in his place, & *Quirini* was succeeded in his place of Captain of the Gulph, by *Trono*, who was then in the Fleet. *Jovanni Vendramini*, & *Jov. Contarini*, were afterwards made purveyors, who were to have particular care of the publick Monies, and of all that was to be delivered out in the Fleet. This mean while, Commissary *Barbarigo*, having made haste from *Venice*, was come to *Corfu*, where the Fleet then was, as hath been said, to whom according to the order of the Senate, the Government was assigned over by Generall *Zanne*. But he held it but for a few dayes; for *Veniero* hearing whilst he was in *Candia*, of his election, left such orders as he thought convenient for the arming of the Gallies of that Island, and suddenly began his journey; and comming to *Corfu* in the beginning of *April*, took solemnly the place and dignity of Generall upon him. When Generall *Zanne* returned to *Venice*, there were many faults laid to his charge; and, as it often falls out upon such occasions, the cause of the bad successes, occasioned for the most part from bad seasons, and for many almost inseparable accidents, were attributed to his negligence, and want of experience: and whereas a kind of happy Genius had formerly made all his actions be commended and admired, whereby it was thought that the publick affairs recommended to his charge, should have good successe, as he was thought to have been very fortunate in his private condition, by reason of his Honour, wealth, and Children,

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and for that he had twice before been Generall, and ſo ſucceſſull therein, as all troubles and dangers ceaſed as it were with his election; ſo now theſe ſo many adverſities, were taken from off the publick ſcore, and laid to his private misfortune. Being thus accuſed of theſe faults, he dyed two years after, before he could juſtifie himſelf, proving the ſaying true; that, No man can be ſaid to be happy before his end.

The affairs of *Cyprus*, and preſervation of *Famagoſta*, whereupon the hopes of other events did depend, were not at this time forgotten, but as ſoon as the ſeaſon would permit, *Antonio Quirini*, who being taken from the Government of *Candia*, had this charge committed to him, after *Pietro Trono*'s deceaſe, departed with four Ships to carry the ſuccour formerly ordered for *Famagoſta*. Which that it might the more ſafely arrive, 12 Gallies were given for a convoy to the ſhips; for it was heard, that the Turks lay with ſome Gallies about the Iſland, to hinder the ſupply. *Marco Quirini*, went with his Admirall along with this Convoy, who, to boot with guarding the ſuccour, had the opportunity of doing an honourable action; for as he came to *Famagoſta*, he made the Ships advance within ſight of the Enemy, who were in *Coſtanza*, and lay with his Gallies concealed near Land: and ſeeing ſeven of the Enemies Gallies come forth to aſſault our Ships, he ſuddenly came behinde them, to keep them from returning back unto the ſhore. But the Turks, when they ſaw our Gallies, inſtead of indangering us, ſought to ſave themſelves, and to get to the ſhore whence they were come: ſo as the men, to whoſe aſſiſtance many were come from the Camp, got ſafe to Land, and abandoned their Gallies; three whereof, having but few men left in them, were ſunk by our ſhot: the reſt, which were gotten a little further off, eſcaped. For ſome ſigns of foul weather appearing, *Quirini* betook himſelfe to get his ſhips to be towde into the Haven; whereinto when they were gotten, they might eaſily Land the ſupply, which conſiſted of 1600 Foot, and much Ammunition and Victualls. The addition of theſe Forces, and the reſt of the recruit, did much comfort the defendants, and incourage them; and *Marco Quirini* his gallantry was mightily cryed up by all the *Famagoſtans*; and he purchas'd much more praiſe and reputation by other proſperous ſucceſſes; for whilſt he kept in that Haven he took a Ship, and other leſſer Veſſels of the Enemies, loaded with Ammunition and Victualls, which were going to the Army, wich were very ſeaſonably turned to the ſervice of the beſieged. And going with his Gallies not long after to ſhelves of *Gambella*, where he heard the Turks had made ſome Forts, he at unawares fell upon them, and deſtroyed them: which things being done, he thought he could doe no more good by his tarrying any longer there, and therefore returned with his Gallies to *Candia*. The Senators were not leſſe ſolicitous this mean while, in providing new ſupply for *Famagoſta*, whither they had ſent two Ships with 800 Foot, and ſeverall Ammunitions, which by relation of the Biſhop of *Ragozzoni*, the beſieged wanted. *Honorio Scoto*, was made Com-

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mander of the Souldiers, and *Nicola Donato* had charge of the Ships, who being come a little before from *Cyprus*, upon the occasion that hath been mentioned, offered to return himselfe with that succour, (for which he was much commended) and to comfort those that were to undergo so sore a siege; the Senate, thought fit to wite Letters of praise, and much affection to the communalty of *Famagosta*, telling them, *That they were very well pleased with their constancy and fidelity, which they would never forget, but reward them for it, when the times should prove better; and that largely for their labours, losse, and dangers; wishing them therefore to discharge their duties, in the defence of themselves and families, reposing their hopes of safety in themselves, and in the assistance of their Prince, and not in the words of barbarous Infidels: for the Senate would minde nothing more, than to provide for all things which should be necessary for that their dear and faithfull City: And that the so many Fleets, so many Souldiers, such expence, and such warlike preparations, aimed chiefly at the freeing of them from that siedge.* Letters of almost the same contents, were likewise written to *Baglione*, exalting his valour, as worthy of those he was descended from, and of the affection which he and others of his Progenitors had alwayes born to the Common-wealth, promising him rewards answerable to his merit, and affistance proportionable to the Forces of the Enemy.

The *Albanese*s continued at this time in insurrection, many of *Dugagini*, *Pedana*, *Ematia*, and *Sadrinia*, came in dayly to make several offers to the Representatives of the Common-wealth: Wherefore Commissary *Celsi* was ordered to go to *Cataro* (whither *Zaccheria Salamane* was gone before, with the Title of Commissary-Generall) to defend the City, and to advise of what was to be done in those parts: but *Celsi* falling sick by the way, *Nicola Suriano*, who was left Vice-Captain in the Gulph, whilst *Trono* exercised the same office further off at Sea, received orders to enter the River of *Boiana* with four Galies, to foment the Insurrection of those people, and to inform himselfe more particularly upon the place, whether there was any hopes of good to be done in the enterprises of *Durazzo*, *Scutari*, or *Alessio*, as was propounded and desired by the heads of the *Albanesi*. But *Suriano* having tarried awhile in those parts, found that effects were not answerable to words; and that no design could be had by such commotions upon the Towns of the Enemy, but with great uncertainty of successe. Yet that they might not be wanting upon any occasion that should be offered, the Senate had made *Jacopo Malatesta*, Governour-Generall in *Albania*, who going to *Cataro*, began forthwith to make several proposals, and it was at last resolved to fall upon *Alessio*, which was thought to be more feasable then the rest, by reason of scituation, there being many strong passes there, which might hinder the Enemy from being succord. But whilst things necessary for this purpose were a preparing, *Malatesta* being impatient of lying long idle, went one day out of *Cataro*, to pillage some Towns of *Risano*, which were not far off; and having overcome the difficulties of the scituation, burnt the Villages, and gotten much booty, as he was returning safe with all his men, through a valley, the Enemy fell upon him,

and not being able to defend himself, by reason of the disadvantagiousnesse of the place, he was much endammaged; not onely by musquet shot, but by stones, so as almost all his souldiers ran away; and whilst he, with some few of his men, withstood the fury of the enemy, who came down from the mountains, his leg was broken with a stone, and he was carried away prisoner into *Risano* by the enemy. But *Almoro Tiepolo*, Captain of the Pinnaces, and *Astore Visconte*, Governour of *Sebenico*, had better successe in *Dalmatia*; for having assaulted the Town of *Scardona*, they made the enemy seek their safety by flight, so as our men had leasure, not onely to take the Town, but also to get great booty in the neighbouring Country. The Turks ceased not this mean while, to plot all the mischief they could against the Common-wealth; those of *Castelnuovo* had held secret intelligence with *Trojano Ciciliano*, a Foot-Captain in *Cataro*, that upon their comming at unawares to the City, by his means, they might get in by the *Porta della Fiumara*, where the walls were weakest. But *Ciciliano* not being able to procure, that that Guard might be committed to him, out of another respect, for that treachery was not as yet discovered, the Turks failed in that their designe; and when the intelligence was known, the traitor was put to death. The enemy afterwards had other attempts upon that City, making some Forts in the mouth of the Gulph, whereby being able to keep out any vessells from entring thereinto, *Cataro* was in a manner besieged, and was in great danger of being taken: Wherefore it behoved to send some Gallies, to disturb those works, and to keep navigation open. These things made the Venetians be very vigilant, in keeping Commanders of authority, and strong Garrisons in their sea-Forts. Thus *Savorgnano*, not being able to serve any longer at *Zara*, the Marquis *Baltasar Rangone* was put in his place; and *Jacopo Foscarini* was made Commissary Generall of *Dalmatia*. *Luigi Georgio* went to *Corfu*, and *Marino de Cavalli* to *Candia*; the former in the place of *Veniero*, who was chosen to be Generall of the Fleets and the latter in *Mula*'s place, who could no longer attend that charge, by reason of sickness. By reason of these extraordinary expences, which amounted to 300000 Duckets a month, it became them to use all means possible, for the raising of monies: wherefore the number of Procurators were again encreased, sale was made of other publick goods, and monies by severall bargains brought into the Exchequer; wherein, to make the Citizens more willing and ready, Doge *Mocinego* encouraged them all he could, and was still the more carefull and diligent, in making all sorts of provisions, as being very ambitious of glory. He was much afflicted, that his government should begin with the losse of so noble a Kingdom. Wherefore the great Councill being one day assembled, the Doge standing up, spoke thus.

If ever citizens of any Common-wealth had a noble occasion to shew their generosity, their desire of glory, and of the common good, you now have it, to shew your worth, in preserving the splendour and dignity of this your noble Country, which the industry and perpetuall labours of our Ancestors, hath to their immortall glory purchased. We, through their deserts, and as

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the reward of their wisdom, do now enjoy a Common-wealth, which for excellency of government, exceeds all the most antient and modern Common-wealths, and is not much inferiour to any of the famousest, for Forces and Empire. And since the condition of times and place will not permit, that greater perfection can be added to it, in civill affairs, nor perhaps, that her antient glory may be increased by military actions, by enlarging our confines, which are every where environed by powerfull neighbours; yet ought we with like endeavour and vigilancy, minde the preservation of so miraculous a work, recommended to our care, to the end, that we may leave it such to others, as we have received it from our fore-fathers, whereby we shall purchase no small praise. We being now to govern our selves in a heavy war, against the fury of so powerfull an enemy, whose forces I confesse are to be feared, but with wisdom, not pusillanimity; but so, as fear may make us more diligent, more joynt, constant, and firm in all labour and danger, and not to slacken that fervour, wherewith we undertooke the war: nor to take us off, from our noble and generous resolution, of defending our Dominions, against the unjust forces of those, that seek to oppresse them. Let us call to minde, with how much praise and wonder to other Nations, our fathers and grandfathers withstood the violence, of almost all the Princes of Christendom, who joyntly conspired the ruine of our Empire; so as finally by their worth, the fortune of the vanquishing enemy was overcome, and by adversity, the Common-wealth wone more glory and honour. And if the losse of all our Dominions by Terra Ferma, *the having so many, and so potent enemies, and so neer at hand, could not prevail over our noble Ancestors; certainly, if we will imitate their domestick worth, the first frowns of fortune will not at all prevail over us, nor not onely not discourage us, but not make us forego any thing of our former hopes. The losse of* Nicosia *is assuredly very sore, but not such as may not be repaired. The fortune of war at first, is very uncertain and various; but at last, she associates with true worth; and the most valiant are at the last the most glorious. Our forces (God be praised) are yet safe and entire, and such, as had it not been for want of diligence, and good advice in our Commanders; or, it may be, for want of better fortune, the enemies might have had no cause to rejoyce. Our Common-wealth could at one and the same time, make war in severall Countries; nor did her being assaulted by* Bajazet, *Prince of the Turks, make her lay down the Arms which she had taken up, against* Lodowick Sforza, *Duke of* Millan: *fighting on the one side for their own defence and safety; on the other, for the honour of the Venetian name, and out of a desire of making new acquisitions. Nor are these things so far out of our memory, as that we not rather say, we have seen them, than heard of them. We may hope for these, and greater things, if there be in us the like worth, agreement, and readinesse to maintain and defend the publick safety and dignity. Wherefore though we may assure our selves, that all other Christian Princes will, for their own interests, favour and assist our cause, against the common enemy, who is now become so formidable to them all; yet we must repose our chiefest defence in our selves, constantly believing, that every ones particular good is inseparably annext, to the preservation of the liberty and prosperity of this Common-wealth; which being safe and powerfull, whatsoever else is most dear unto us, wives, children, friends, and goods, will be the more safely preserved from injuries, and we shall have*

great rewards of honours, and many other things reserved for us. Therefore as the charity we bear to our Country comprehends all other loves to whatsoever we esteem dearest; so he who is truly set on fire therewithall, knows no danger, shuns no inconveniences, values no expence, but freely sacrificeth himself, and all that is his, to this his true Mother and Nurse, from whence he must acknowledge, he hath received all things. Then you, Gentlemen, who have still agreed in all things else, must vary and contend onely in this generous emulation, who shal contribute most, and readiest, to the service of this his Country, in this her so great necessity. Let those, who for their age, or experience in the Militia, or Sea-affairs, are able to serve in person, either by way of command, or as private persons; put themselves into the Fleet: and such as are fitter for counsell, let them busie themselves, in thinking upon, in minding, and in providing for all such things, as may secure the present dangers, and may make way for better fortune. In this, the thoughts of all true Venetians ought to be busied; this ought to be the true, and onely aime and end of all their discourses and actions, in these so dangerous times. But above all things; let every man, according to his ability, contribute monies to the Common-wealth; which is the very sinews of war; assuring himself, he can put it forth to no better advantage; the little that he lays out hereupon, preserves all the rest, not onely his estate, but his honour, children, and life; none of which will be safe from the injuries, of the insolent victorious enemy; nor can any thing be dear or delightfull to him, the prosperity and pristine wealthinesse of this city being lost. We see, how wonderfull ready, not onely those who live under the wings, and protection of this Dominion, who may be perswaded to endure even the preservation of this Common-wealth, out of a desire of living quiet, and under a moderate government; but many other persons of honour, have come to serve in this war, from almost all the parts of Italy, and from forrain parts, making our cause theirs, and concurring with us in expence and danger; to the end, that this, the glory of Italy, and bulwark of Christendom, as our Common-wealth is, by all, reputed to be, may be preserved: which, as it ought to rejoyce us, and make us thankfull; so ought we not by any means suffer ourselves to be outdone by others, in the defence of our selves, and of our Common-wealth; but shew unto the world, that this city exceeds not others more in fortune, than in worth by Citizens. Briefly, Gentlemen, we must alwaies have an eye to the condition of these times, and of this war; which is such, as if we do but never so little give way unto the Enemy, or slacken necessary provisions, we shall not onely leave the Kingdom of Cyprus open to him, to be made a prey of, but all our Dominions by sea, will be exposed to manifest danger; the grandure of this Common-wealth, the principality of the sea, which hath with so much labour been for many ages gotten by our Ancestors, will be left to the discretion of bitter and powerful enemies. Whereas, on the contrary, we may through our diligence, constancy, and gallantry, hope for much better things; and by valiantly withstanding and repulsing the violence of this fierce enemy, purchase unto our selves much glory and honour. Who knows, but that this war may prove the exaltation of this Common-wealth, and of Christendom, and the confusion of the Ottoman Empire? I do despair not, but that a generall League may be made by all Christian Princes, whereof the treaty is already drawn neer to a conclusion with some. If by these forces, and Gods assistance, our Fleets shall have got the better of these enemies,

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who are grown so powerfull, more through our home-discords, then by their own valours will not the way be opened to their ruine? What may not be hoped for, of prosperous or happy? All our fears and hopes, as also our bad and good fortune, do for the most part depend upon our selves; who, by change of behaviour, may work a change of fortune. He who doth not justly consider these things, who apprehends not these dangers, who is not cheered by these hopes, deserves not to be called a Citizen of this illustrious Country, is no man, nor lives not; since he is not sensible of so many offences, is not awakened at his own safety, nor minds not his own good.

These the Doge's words, which were attentively listned unto by all, made great impression in all noble mindes, and encouraged them to continue the war, and to provide for all things necessary thereunto. Each enheartned other, lessening the past losses and misfortunes, and comforting each other with hopes of better successe. One shewed the necessity of defending themselves, for the maintaining of the Common-wealth, and publick dignity. An other more highly minded, aspired at greater matters, and to take a double revenge of the enemy, as well for injuries received, as by becomming Master of their Dominions. All things requisite, either for Navall preparation, for victualls or monies, were diligently taken into consideration. No pains, industry, nor cost was spared, in muniting the Forts, in recruiting the Fleet, and in adding thereunto forces sufficient to withstand, and to assault the Enemie. All hopes, thoughts, and designes, were now busied about Arms; no more talk of treaties of peace.

But whilst the Venetians were doing these things, the Turks were as solicitous in providing for war, that they might pursue their prosperous fortune. *Selino* was very much gladded, at the newes of *Nicosia*'s being taken, which, together with many other presents, in token of victory, was brought unto him by a son of *Mustafa*'s; *Mustafa*'s valour being highly esteemed by *Selino*, he was very ready to furnish him with new men, and with all other things necessary, to perfect the enterprise, wherein the Turks were more diligent, because they heard great fame of the Christian Fleets; yet did it cause no fear in that proud Barbarian, but did the more incense him; so as, not satisfied with the getting of the Kingdom of *Cyprus*, he threatned to beat the Christian Fleets, and to reduce the other Islands and places, belonging to the Venetians, under his power, which lay very convenient (as he said) for the making himself Master of *Rome*, the head of the Roman Empire, which did belong unto him, as supream Emperour, and which, as was foretold by their Prophet, should fall under the Dominion of the *Ottomans*. *Selino* abounding in these vast imaginations, fancyed unto himself, that when his Fleet should have carried sufficient succour to *Cyprus*, it should fight ours, and fall upon such other enterprises, as they should see occasion for. Thus valuing his power the more, by his prosperous successe in *Cyprus*, he was highly offended with *Piali*, for not going the preceding year into the Gulph, to finde out the Venetian Fleet, and fight it; and his fault being aggravated by *Mehemet*, who said, he had forborn doing so, out of fear,

fear, and that thereby he had much leſſened the reputation of the forces of the Empire, and not without ſome danger, leaving all the Maritime places, as it were, in prey to the Chriſtians, *Piali* was degraded from being Baſhaw, and *Pertau* was choſen in his place, who was to have the ſame authority in the Fleet. In order to theſe deſignes, twenty Gallies put to ſea from *Conſtantinople*, very early in the year, under the command of *Caiaceleli*, who meeting by the way with the Gallies of *Schio* and *Rhodes*, went along with them towards *Cyprus*, to hinder the relief which went to *Famagoſta*, and did ſo; for *Nicolo Donato* being gone with the ſhips of ſuccour from *Candia*, which Iſland he had touched upon, to learn ſome newes of the enemy, he was forced by a violent ſtorm, which had ſhreudly torn his ſhips, to ſteer his courſe backwards, and to return again to that Iſland, to provide himſelf of many things which he wanted; where he heard, that ſome Turkiſh Gallies lay in wait about *Cyprus*, to hinder the ſuccour: wherefore thinking it became him, to take ſome new advice touching his voyage, he deſired the opinion of *Cavalli*, Commiſſary of the Iſland, and of Commiſſary *Querini*; and finding them to agree, he ſtaid in *Candia*, where he landed his ſouldiers, and diſtributed them into the Forts, to augment thoſe Garriſons; it being judged, that if the ſhips ſhould be ſent without a convoy of gallies, they would incur certain ruine, from which they could not be ſecured by a few gallies, thoſe of the enemies being many; nor were thoſe of *Candia* fit to make ſuch a voyage; or, had they been fit, it was thought, it would not be wiſely done, totally to deprive that Iſland of the guard of thoſe gallies, wherein there were as then but a few ſouldiers; and when it was noiſed abroad, that the enemies were very near, and did intend to aſſault it.

After theſe firſt Gallies were gone from *Conſtantinope*, *Ali* went from thence alſo with 30 others to *Fenica* to take up men, and from thence went to *Cyprus*, where he tarryed for many dayes himſelfe, and ſent his Gallies the mean while to *Tripoli*, to take in more Souldiers, and Ammunition; and when the Army was provided of all things, *Ali*, leaving *Arumat* with 20 Gallies, ten Mahouns, five Ships, and many other Veſſels to guard the Iſland, went with 54 Gallies to find out Baſhaw *Pertau*, who being gone from *Conſtantinople* before, and meeting by the way with the Gallies of *Napoli* and *Metelino*, was come with about 100 Gallies to *Caſtel Rozzo*, where the whole Fleet was to make their Rendevouz. Not long after, *Il uzzali*, who was gone from *Algiers*, came to the ſame place with 20 Veſſels, and with many others belonging to particular Pyrats; and laſt of all *Ceſſan*, Son to *Barbaroſſa*, came thither with 20 Gallies which had been battered, and were now new Calkt. The Turkiſh Fleet being thus all met together, which conſiſted of about 250 ſayl, they went to the Iſland of *Candia*, whither being come, they entred the Haven of *Suda*, and going ſoon after towards *Cania*, they landed many men not far from the City, who burnt divers Villages, and made much prey of beaſts, and other goods; for the Inhabitants were all fled either to the City, or to the Mountains.

tains. The Commiſſary of *Cania* ſent forth a good Band of the Garriſon of that Fort; and with them many of *Quirini*'s Souldiers, out of his Gallies which were then in that Haven, to ſuppreſſe the inſolency of theſe Men, and to prevent further miſchiefe, who made the Enemy to retreat; and our Souldiers being afterward recruited with 300 *Corſick* foot, who were very opportunely come thither a little before, in a ſhip of *Genua*, under the conduct of Colonel *Juſtiniano*, they purſued the Turks; who as they retreated towards the Gallies to ſave themſelves, were many of them ſlain, and durſt not accoſt the Fort, knowing that it was well man'd: but they had a great mind to have pillag'd the whole Iſland, and the Maritime parts, had they not been diverted by foul weather. *Uluzzali* forbare not, notwithanding to go to *Rethimo* with 40 Gallies, in which City, (for all the reſt were fled at the news of the approach of the Turkiſh Fleet, not having ſufficient Garriſons to defend themſelves) there was none left but *Jerolimo Juſtiniano*, one of the Counſellors, and Captain *Jeraldo Alfieri*, with 100 foot, who as the Enemy drew near the City, began to ſhoot apace at their Gallies, not without ſomewhat indamaging them; whereupon the Enemy thinking that there were men enough in the Town able to defend it, they departed for that time, without making any further attempt. But afterwards landing ſome men on the neighbouring ſhores, and taking ſome Priſoners, they underſtond by them, that the City had not men enough within to defend it: So as *Uluzzali* reſolved to return thither, as to a ſecure prey. *Juſtiniano* ſeeing the Enemy returned, and landed, with a full reſolution to aſſault the City, was forced to abandon it, and to retire into the neighbouring Mountains, to ſave thoſe few Souldiers; and with them, and ſome others that he had pickt up in the Country, he betook himſelfe to guard the ſtrongeſt paſſes, to the end that the Enemy might not get further in to doe more miſchiefe. When the Turks were entred the City void of Inhabitants, 'tis a ſad thing to ſay the cruelties which they uſed to that miſerable Town; they plundered the Houſes, ranſackt the Churches, fired both publick and private Edifices, did not pardon the quiet of the dead, but digging up the graves, ſcattered them up and down every where, moved thereunto either out of hopes of finding ſome Monies there, or by that naturall inhumanity of dealing with the dead, as they could not do with the living: For which wickedneſſe they did in ſome ſort pay, for ſome of their Gallies were by a great tempeſt driven upon the ſhore, where together with the death of many, they were ſplit; and many others, who out of a deſire of pillage, were gotten further into the Iſland, were cut in pieces by the Souldiers, who were gotten out of *Cania*, and by the Country people, who came down from the Mountains: So as upon muſtering their men at their departure, they found above 2000 miſſing. The Enemies being gone from *Candia*, went to *Cerigo*, where they did much harm, and from thence the whole Fleet paſt to *Giunco*, and went to the Iſlands of *Zante* and *Cefalonia*, burning all the Towns, and laying the Countries waſte, all the Inhabitants being withdrawn into Forts.

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Whilſt the Turks did this mean while diligently attend their buſineſſe at Sea, they forgat not their Land affairs; for they had aſſembled together an Army numerous enough, and made *Acmat Baſhaw* Captain thereof, who being gone with his men from *Conſtantinople*, and keeping awhile in *Scopio*, made men doubtfull whether he was to go for *Dalmatia*, or for *Tranſilvania*; the times being ſuch, as there was reaſon to ſuſpect either of them: but ſoon after, *Acmat* marched towards *Ducagini*, with above 15000 Horſe; and it was known, that the *Belgerbie* of *Greece*, raiſed many Horſe to joyn with *Acmats* Army, which made it be believed, that theſe men were intended againſt the Venetians Dominions; and chiefly, ſince the Fleet was ſeen to advance ſo far, which being aſſiſted by the Land forces, it was thought that the Turks intended to attempt joyntly ſomewhat in the Gulph. Theſe things being firſt deſigned by the Turks, were the more hotly purſued, for that all Agreement grew deſperate, and all treaty of Peace was broken. For when *Ragazzoni* was come to *Conſtantinople*, it was known that the hopes had much prejudiced this buſineſſe; that if the Venetians would proſecute the Treaty, it might be brought to a good end, the Turks having begun to hope they might attain thoſe things by agreement, which were not to be had without doubt, and difficulty, by Arms. For before *Ragazzoni* came to *Conſtantinople*, a meſſenger was come thither, ſent in great haſte by the *Sangiacco* of *Cherſego*, Son to *Mehemet*, which gave notice of the others comming, with certain intelligence that he brought orders for a treaty of Peace; which as it cauſed much joy, ſo did fill it men with immoderate hopes. *So as the Baſhaw entering upon this Treaty, did in a magnificent manner extoll the* Ottaman *Forces. He ſaid, that* Selino *was heinouſly offended, that he had mighty deſigns againſt the Common-wealth, the which he prepared to aſſault with powerfull Forces, both by Sea and Land; and out of theſe diſcourſes he took occaſion to propoſe unreaſonable conditions of Peace: but yet proceeding very cunningly therein, he ſought to moderate the ſeverity of what he related in* Selino's *name, by his own indeavours full of humanity and affection. In fine, he adviſed the Conſull, to counſell his Senators, to deliver up the poſſeſſion of* Cyprus *freely, as that which did juſtly belong to the* Ottaman *Empire, and which lay more convenient for the other* Ottaman *Dominions; and that if it ſhould be laid waſte, it would be of great expence, and of no advantage to the poſſeſſors.*

By which words, the Conſul perceiving plainly, that there was no hopes of proceeding in the treaty of Peace with any publick honour, or with hopes of bringing it to any acceptable conditions, thought it fit that *Ragazzoni* ſhould depart from *Conſtantinople*, as he did: the Treaty in hand, which was formerly begun by him with great hopes, nay brought to a concluſion, of reſtoring the Merchants and their goods, being left imperfect; for when commands were already agreed upon, and given out to be ſent to *Soria*, and *Alexandria*, it was found that through ill offices done with the Grand Signor, his mind was altered, who had alwaies been very forward therein, ſaying often, that it was no more then juſt; And there-

therefore what had been before concluded, and eſtabliſhed, being again call'd in queſtion, other propoſalls were made; to wit, That the men and Merchants of all ſides, ſhould be brought to *Ragugi*, or at leaſt to *Zara*, where the exchange ſhould be made, that the reſolution of the Turkiſh ſubjects might be the better known. But this proving a buſineſſe of length and difficulty, and *Hebraino* dying unluckily at this time, who had the management of this buſineſſe, *Ragazzoni*'s journey proved to no purpoſe. At which time, Generall *Veniero*, that he might not be altogether idle, went with the Gallies that were then at *Corfu*, to the ſhores of *Albania*, to relieve the Caſtle of *Sopoto*, a place very fit (as hath been ſaid) for other acquiſitions. And the Fleet being entered into the Haven of *Palormo*, he might eaſily land the Garriſon, which being done, he paſt on to the Gulph of *Vallona*, where hearing that the Fort of *Durazzo* was very weak, and ill man'd, he went thither, hoping eaſily to gain it. The whole Fleet, when it came before the Fort, was divided into three ſquadrons, commanded by three Chieftains, *Veniero*, the Commiſſary-Generall; and the Commiſſaries, *Quirino* and *Canale*. The battery was at once begun on three parts, for ſo long a ſpace of wall as contained one whole curtain, and two great Towers; againſt which, finding they could no good, though they were frequently play'd upon by great Guns from all the Gallies: our men wanting Ammunition, and having but a few foot to give an aſſault, diſpaired of accompliſhing that enterpriſe, wherein their fortune had been no better than their advice had been; for they found the Town ſtronger, and better man'd then they were perſwaded; and not knowing the ſcituation, they left the Enemy ſome paſſes open, which they eaſily might have hindred, whereby new Garriſons paſt in afterwards, ſo as our men were forc'd to depart, without having done any thing. The Fleet being return'd to *Corfu*, they betook themſelves to relieve *la Parga*, and the charge thereof was given to *Paolo Orſino*, though he was not much for the buſineſſe, conſidering that it was hard to ſecure that Town, which might be play'd upon both by Sea and Land; and that it would be unſeaſonable to weaken the Garriſons of *Corfu* at this time. Yet the deſire of replacing thoſe men in their own Houſes, who were very affectionate to the Venetians, and a very fitting means to make their Neighbours the *Albineſes* riſe, prevailed as then over the reaſons to the contrary; but it did no good, for the Town was not well repaired, when ſoon after it was taken, and once more deſtroy'd by the Turkiſh Fleet.

At this time the aſſociat Fleets, which was appointed to have met altogether in *May*, at *Otranto* (all great actions being alwaies ſlower, and more difficult then is imagined) was neither met, nor likely to meet, when all *June* was over. The Venetians, whilſt it was not known what would become of the League, fearing that they ſhould not be able of themſelves to oppoſe and fight the Enemy, which was ſaid would be ſtronger, and more numerous than that of the preceding year, had reſolved to maintain a body of 60 Gallies, the beſt that were in *Candia*, by which they might convey reliefe

to *Cyprus*; or, as occaſion ſhould ſerve, to any other place, hinder the Enemy from ſayling ſafely on thoſe Seas, fall upon the fag end of any Turkiſh Gallies which ſhould lag behind, and be divided from the reſt, (as falls alwaies out in a numerous Fleet, where all the Gallies cannot be of an equall goodneſſe); and, in fine, to do as they ſhould ſee occaſion. And to this purpoſe, Commiſſary *Canale* was gone with 15 of the beſt Gallies of *Candia*, to leave them, with as many more of the beſt man'd Gallies of that Iſland, under the command of Commiſſary *Quirini*; from whom receiving the reſt that were not ſo good, he was to return with them to find out the Fleet at *Corfu*. But this his return was at firſt hindred by news, that the Turkiſh Fleet was gotten very near thoſe Seas; and afterwards, by new orders from the Generall, who had diſpatcht away Letters ſpeedily to *Candia*, deſiring that not onely *Canale*, but *Quirini* alſo, ſhould come with all poſſible ſpeed to *Corfu*, with 50 Gallies which they had, that they might joyntly proceed againſt the Enemy, when all the Confederates forces ſhould, according to appointment, be met. Which order could not ſo ſuddenly be obey'd, becauſe Commiſſary *Quirini*, when the Enemies Fleet was paſt on further, was gone with ten Gallies to *Cerigo*, that he might better inform himſelfe of what courſe the Enemies ſteered, and of their intent; to the end that with more caution and ſafety, he might carry the Garriſon to *Famagoſta*, which vvas the mean while preparing, in two ſhips that vvere thereunto deſtined: But the Commiſſary-Generall, who vvas come into the Gulph, to gather together ſeverall ſhips that vvere there, and to bring them to *Corfu*, hearing at *Ottranto*, that it would be long e're the Spaniſh Fleet would arrive, made no haſte, leſt he might remove the Gallies too immaturely from doing of ſeverall duties to which they were deſtin'd; ſo as of all the chief Commanders, the General onely remained at *Corfu*, and but with a few Gallies: This was the condition of the Venetian Fleet, nor was there any hopes of the ſpeedy comming of that of *Spain*; for 'twas known, that the Princes of *Bohemia* were not as yet come to *Barcellona*, to embarck therein; and thoſe men which were firſt prepared for the Fleet, not being to be made uſe of, by reaſon of an accident that hapned; *Don Alvaro di Bazzano* went with ſome of the gallies to *Almiria*, to take up ſome other Foot, which were in their ſteed deſtin'd for that ſervice. Nor could all the preſſures of the Pope or Venetians, get the gallies of *Napoli* and *Cicily*, which were in readineſſe, and had nothing to do, come to *Ottranto*; the Spaniards being reſolved, that theſe alſo ſhould expect *Don John's* comming. And *Colonna* being buſied in getting the gallies of *Florence* and *Malta* to joyne with his, was forced to delay his going to joyne with the Venetian Fleet, though he was very deſirous to do ſo. The Turks being advertiſed of the not joyning of the Chriſtian Fleets, when they left *Candia*, proceeded boldly on, having received orders (as hath been ſaid) to finde out and to fight the Chriſtian Fleet, ruinating, in the interim, and deſtroying, all the Venetian Dominions, whereſoever they came. Wherefore Generall *Veniero*, hearing what way the enemies went, and what their intentions were, and knowing

ing that he was not able to keep them from advancing, reſolved to go with his Fleet to *Meſſina*, which was afterwards approved of by the Senate; fearing, that when the enemies Fleet ſhould be come near them, (as it was thought they would do) our Gallies might be expoſed to much danger: and that likewiſe the enemies coming between *Fano* and *Meriere*, might hinder the joyning of the Colleagues Fleets. He therefore would not follow the counſell of ſome, who adviſed him to go to *Brandizzi*, as that which met with the ſame objections: wherefore *Meſſina* was choſen for the rendevouz of the whole Fleet; and they reſolved the rather upon this, for that this conſideration of the uniting of the Fleets, which was the ground of all their hopes, prevailed over all that was urged to the contrary, of not abandoning the Gulph. They were likewiſe perſwaded, that when the Turks ſhould have aſſured newes of the League, and of the joyning together of ſo great forces as were a preparing, they would not enter the gulph, and leave ſo powerfull a Fleet of the enemies behind them.

Whilſt theſe things were a doing abroad, the League was proclaimed in *Venice*, on the 2d. day of *July*, with great ſolemnity and concourſe of people; Maſſe being firſt ſung in St. *Mark's* Church, which *Don Guſman de Silva*, the Catholick King's Embaſſadour, did celebrate, the Doge and Senate intervening, and the Embaſſadour's of Princes, together with many Prelates; who went out afterwards in Proceſſion, with the whole body of the Clergy, into the *Piazza*, which was hung with Tapeſtry, and other rich adornments. And when the Doge was come to the place, where Proclamations are wont to be made, it was proclaimed by a Cryer, who had the words dictated unto him by one of the Secretaries, *That on the* 20th. *of* May, *in the city of* Rome, *through the grace of God, and of the bleſſed Virgin, and by the means of Pope* Pius Quintus, *a perpetuall league and confederacy was made againſt the Turks, the common enemy, between the See of* Rome, *the Catholick King, and the State of* Venice; *leaving room therein for the Emperour, and the moſt Chriſtian King, upon ſuch conditions, as were particularly declared in the writing. That therefore every one was to beſeech the divine Majeſty, to grant proſperous ſucceſſe to the union of theſe Princes, for the exaltation of the Common-wealth, and for the univerſall good of Chriſtendom.* Theſe words were with ſilence heard, and afterwards confirmed by great applauſe of the people, and were accompanied by a great noiſe of Artillery, Bells, Drums, and Trumpets, with much univerſall joy. The League being thus proclaimed, they began to proſecute the buſineſſe more fervently, chiefly in ſoliciting other Princes, that they might joyntly, and with the greater force, make war againſt the common enemy. The Pope, to this end, reſolved to ſend his nephew, the Cardinall *Alleſſandrino*, to *Portugall*, it being thought, that the forces and territories of that King were very fit, to give aid and reputation to the League; he having many armed Veſſells, and confining in his Indian territories, with the Turkiſh Empire. To this purpoſe, the Venetians ſent Commiſſion likewiſe to *Antonio Tiepolo*, their Embaſſadour formerly to the Court of *Spain*, that (when he had diſ-

patch'd his business with that King) he should passe into Portugal, to use the name of the Commonwealth in the businesse, which was to be treated of, in the Pope's name; and this by reason of the ancient friendship, and continuall traffick, which was between the Kings of Portugal and that Nation. That the conclusion of the League, and the hopes that it would be confirmed, and the forces thereof encreased, by the assistance of other Princes, had so enflamed the Venetians with a desire of war, as they had not onely quite given over all treatie of peace, but being constant to the resolution they had taken, would not listen to any agreement. That therefore the King of France had resolved, to send the Bishop of Aix to Constantinople, chiefly to interpose himself in the businesse of agreement; who being come to Venice, shewed how zealous the King was, of the welfare of the Commonwealth: and that he did therefore offer all his endeavours and authority, to put her into her former quiet condition of peace. That notwithstanding, these speeches were not listened unto, but that when the French Embassadour, alledging other respects, would pursue his voyage, the Senate acquainted the other confederates with what had past between him and them, to free them of all jealousie, and to incite them to provide for war, as they themselves did seriously, taking Foot into pay in several parts, augmenting their Garrisons, and with nothing their Commanders at Sea, to have all things in readinesse. So that so soon as the Fleets should be joyned, they might meet, and fight the Turkish Fleet, which was their chief intent and desire.

But in the mean while, Generall *Venier* having received certain intelligence from the Gallies of *Jovanni Lorredano*, and *Collonne Drasio da Cherso*, who were sent towards *Cefalonia* to that purpose, that the Turkish Fleet, having pillaged the Islands of *Zante* and *Cefalonia*, was advanced further; went from *Corfu*, as he intended before; came to *Reggio*, and so to *Messina*, having with him 50 small gallies, 6 great ones, and 3 ships. But the same *Cherso*-gally, and that of *Francesco Trevisano*, staying behinde, to inform themselves more particularly what way the enemy went, as they went out of the Haven of *Siracusa*, they met unfortunately with ten of *Carazgiali*'s gallies, who tarried to lay waite the lesser *Cefalonia*: *Drasio*'s gally making towards land, with much ado, got safe into the channell of *Corfu*; but *Trevisano* putting to sea-ward, was taken by the enemy; who understanding by the prisoners which they took, that our Generall was with no great forces in the Island of *Corfu*, hasted thitherward, and came to *Figaro*, and soon after to *Butintro*, where, after one daies stay, they viewed the Island of *Corfu*, but not doing any thing more then; they went to the shores of *Sopotu*; whither many men were come from land, insomuch as *Lazaro Sciani*, who kept the Castle, being mightily afeard at the approach of the enemy, abandoned it, so it fell into their hands without any dispute. *Sopoto* being taken, and garrisoned, the Turkish Fleet made presently for the Gulph of *Venice*, the Bashaw being moved thereunto, either out of a desire of making more prey, or by pride and barbarous boasting, that he might say, He had sailed so far victoriously, and that none dared to oppose him, he was come near the very city of *Venice*, making the terrour of his Armes be felt every where: but else, as it was afterwards conceived, and as the effects shewed, to

bring safety and reputation by these forces, to their affairs in *Albania*, where the inhabitants were risen in severall parts, who were fierce men, and could not well tolerate the yoke of Turkish slavery. By which risings, whilst our men hoped easily to take *Alessio* and *Scutari*, they hastned the losse of *Antivari* and *Dolcigno*, whereunto many land-forces were already drawn near; for the St. *Jacchi* of *Scopia*, *Durazzo*, and *Dulcigni* were joyned together, so as their Army amounted to above 5000 men, bringing with them ten great guns, and many lesser. The *Montesicchani*, who had rebelled against the Turks, had made themselves masters of some strong passes, which hindered the enemies Army from going to *Antivari*; and on the other side, the garrison of *Dolcigno*, assisted by the country people, had possessed themselves of *Corno*, and St. *Georgio*, places upon the *Boiana*, which being very narrow, and very advantagiously seated, a few might keep a great many out. *Nicolo Suriano* was likewise very seasonably come at this time, who hearing what eminent danger *Dolcigno* was in, had brought with him a good relief of men from *Cataro*, with which the guards were made the stronger, and the passes better secured: And a little while after, entring with two gallies into the River of *Boiana*, they disturbed and damnified the enemy, who were encamped about those shores, by frequent shot; so as for a while, the Turks were doubtfull what to do, and kept aloof off. But hearing that the Turkish Fleet advanced, the two gallies, commanded by *Michiele Barbarigo*, and by *Pietro Bartolazzi*, of *Lara*, went from those shores, to go to finde out the Fleet at *Corfu*, according to orders received from the Generall, though their diligence therein proved unfortunate; for meeting with some Turkish gallies, they were taken by them. The newes of the approach of the enemies Fleet, made those foot be likewise sent for, who (as hath been said) were upon the guard of the passes into *Dolcigno*, it being feared, that to weaken the garrison of that Town, which was but badly walled, especially on the side towards the sea, would make the danger greater. Wherefore the country people who were up, being terrified, and wanting both Arms and Commanders, did likewise abandon the passes, leaving the enemy's Army free entrance; by whose advancing, and by the still continuing newes, that the Turkish Fleet was not far off, those of *Dolcigno* being sorely affraid, and thinking themselves not able to withstand so great a power, by reason of their small numbers, and for that the Town was not strong either by nature nor art, began to think upon their own safety, propounding the last desperate tearms, of taking away the Artillery of the Town, of embarcking themselves, and all they could of theirs, in some small Vessells, and of getting safe to *Cataro*, burning and ruinating the Town themselves, so to keep it from falling into the power of the enemy, & from being serviceable unto them. And whilst being yet rather resolved to fly, then to defend themselves, *Nicolo Suriano*, and *Scarra Martinengo*, returned with fresh succour, who entring the Town, appeased the tumult, and somewhat comforting the mindes of those, who were confused through fear, they made them prepare for defence. The enemie's

Camp

Camp this mean while approached, and beginning to batter the walls with ſix piece of Cannon, they quickly deprived our men of all defence, ſo as a good band of Janiſaries, began already to prepare to give an aſſault. Wherefore *Martinengo* not hoping long to defend the Town, unleſſe he were ſuddenly recruited by a great ſupply, reſolved, that *Suriano* ſhould return to *Cataro* with his gallies, and bring with him a good company of French foot, whom not long before he had conducted into *Cataro*; which was very ſpeedily done, all that could being firſt taken from out his gallies, wherewith the garriſon of the Town was recruited. Theſe helps kept the defendants a while in heart. But the enemies Fleet ſtill advancing, and *Suriano* being forc'd therefore to go from thoſe ſhores, they were all ſeazed on by exceſſive fear; and the more, for that *Martinengo* being then ill-diſpoſed, who ſtanding underneath the walls, had a ſtone which fell upon him, which bereaving him of his ſenſe, made him for a while be thought dead, he could not behave himſelf ſo, as the occaſion required. Wherefore deſpairing to be able to maintain that Fort, which was plaid upon both by ſea and land, where there was no materialls for Rampiers, nor ſufficient ammunition; after having withſtood battery twelve daies, they were forc'd to yield, leaving the Town in the Baſhaw's poſſeſſion, which he received, with promiſe of ſaving all their lives and goods, and of allowing them four ſhips, to carry as many to *Ragugi* as would depart thither, and of treating thoſe well that would tarry there; and with particular permiſſion to the ſouldiers, to march out with their arms and colours: Which conditions were afterwards but badly obſerved, for ſome contention ariſing hereupon, between *Pertaw*, and *Acmat* Baſhaw, were it true or fained, they took occaſion to deal hardly with theſe miſerable people, who had ſubmitted themſelves upon his word, making the ſouldiers and moſt of the townsmen priſoners, and putting many valiant Albaneſian ſouldiers to the ſword. They kept their word onely to the Governour, to *Martinengo*, and to ſome few others of the better ſort, whom they conveyed ſafe to *Ragugi*. *Dolcigno* being taken, the Army marched ſuddenly towards *Antiveri*, where all, by reaſon of their neighbours ſucceſſe, were full of fear, though the Town, being four miles from the ſhoar, was ſafe from any fear of the Fleet; but the Governour, not waiting till the Camp drew nearer, ſent the keys by ſome of the chiefeſt of the town to the Baſhaw, for which he was afterwards ſentenced by the Senate to perpetuall baniſhment. And the *Buduani*, *Agoſtino Paſquillio* their Governour being already gone, forſook their Country, and endeavouring to ſave themſelves in *Cataro*, and other neighbouring places, were moſt of them taken priſoners, and the town was firſt ſack'd, then burnt. All things were now ſo full of terrour, flight, death, and rapine, as thoſe miſerable Inhabitants proceeded not by any counſell, but by diſpair, whereby the ruine of their country became more certain to the enemy. *Uluzzali* being thus gone with fifteen gallies to *Curzola*, after having made much prey in the Iſland, he drew near the Town, from which, (though there were but few inhabitants in it) being at firſt

beaten

beaten back by the Artillery, he forbore attempting it any more; ſo as, by a notable example, 40 men onely, making women put on military apparell, and appear upon the walls, to cauſe the number of the defendants ſeem the more, were ſufficient to ſave that Town from utter ruine, and to keep off the Enemie. Thus *Uluzzali* departed from *Curzola*, and taking with him ſome Gallies of *Caracoſa*, went to plunder the Iſland of *Lieſena*, which was alſo void of Inhabitants.

The Venetians were at this time very much afflicted, to underſtand that the Turks were entred with ſo powerfull a Fleet into their Gulph, and that they did ſtill advance further, leaving ſad marks of miſery whereſoever they went; and to ſee ſo many armed Veſſels of the Enemy, ſail with ſuch out-ragein thoſe Seas, whereof they by ancient priviledge pretended poſſeſſion: it ſeemed a ſtrange ſpectacle to all mens eyes, to ſee what proviſions were made for the ſafety of that City, which being the onely example, which had diſpiſed the power of the enemy, had kept her ſelfe for ſo many ages free from being injured by the Barbarians; It was thought, that not onely her ſcituation, (the miracle of nature) but the ſo many forces which ſhe had then at Sea, were ſufficient to ſecure her from all preſent danger: the Fleet not being able to tarry on thoſe ſhores, which were every where expoſed to the fury of the winds, and it not being likely, that the Turks, having ſo many Forces of the enemy behind them, as were thoſe of the Venetians, and Colleagues, would advance any further, nor buſie themſelves in any the leaſt enterpriſe which might detain them longer; yet ſince not to fear great dangers, though far off, was thought no raſh advice; the Senators, that they might leave nothing to Fortune, thought fit diligently to munite their ſhores, which are as it were the City walls, to the end that ſo inſolent an enemy might know the vanity of his preſumption. *Vicenzo Moreſini*, one of the prime Senators, was made Generall upon the ſhores, and to him were added ſix other Senators, who were to aſſiſt him upon all occaſions; *Daniele Veniero*, *Maro Juſtiniano*, *Girolimo Contarini*, *Franceſco Michiele*, *Lorenzo Soranzo*, and *Andrea Bernardo*. The Waſhes, or Mooriſh grounds, whereon the City of *Venice* is placed, in the midſt of ſalt-water, founded upon, and every where invironed by, an almoſt perpetuall ſhore, which extends it ſelfe for the ſpace of thirty miles from the mouth of the *Adice*, to that of *Piave*, renders that Creek which is therein incloſed, (which is not now above five miles over in the broadeſt parts, though in ancient times it inlarged it ſelf for above thirty miles, even to the roots of the *Euganean* Mountains) ſafe from the violence of the winds. This ſhore, is as it were cut through in ſundry parts by ſhort intervalls, by which the Sea-waters come freely into every part by the Lake, and by which Navigation is alſo open to ſhips. That which is neareſt the City, and by which, as being the moſt commodious, moſt Veſſels enter and go out, is called *Porto St. Nicolo*: over againſt which ſtands a Caſtle of egregious Workmanſhip and art, wherein much Artillery may be placed, which ſhooting continually upon any Veſſels which ſhould indeavour

vour to get in by force, ſuffers them not eaſily to enter. *Luigi Grimani* was made Governour thereof, and had a good many foot and gunners allowed him. And from this Caſtle, to the oppoſite ſhore, was drawn a ſtrong chain, which blockt up the whole channell: Behind which they placed three great Gallies, and ſome bodies of ſmaller Gallies, with great ſtore of Artillery; and the other Ports were eaſily ſecured, by reaſon of the ſhallowneſſe, crookedneſſe, and uncertainty of the channels which lead to the City. Divers *Corps de Guard*, were likewiſe placed in ſeverall requiſite parts of thoſe ſhores, and 200 *Gens d'Armes* were added to a number of foot; all the other Leaders being brought to muſter near the City. There was a large and continued Cawſie drawn upon the ſhores, by which men might commodiouſly paſs in all places; *Julio Savorgnano*, who had the chiefe charge given him of managing all that appertain'd to the Militia upon the ſhores, having deſigned to tarry in the midſt thereof himſelfe with 4000 foot, that he might be ready to turn and winde every where. But to the end that the Souldiers might upon all occaſions have a ſafe and commodious receptacle upon the ſhore; and becauſe the preſervation of Port St. *Nicolo*, did ſecure the whole; It was reſolved to make a Fort there, drawing a line which looked towards *Malamocco*, vvhich beginning from the Waſhes, ended upon the Sea-ſhore: the part vvithin was left open for the conveniency and uſe of the defendants, and that vvithout, was flanckt and ſecured by a well woven *Paleſado*. In the midſt of this Travers, there was an intire perfect Bulwork, and at the ends thereof two halfe Bulworks. Thus vvas all that part of the ſhore ſecured, which extends it ſelfe from the Monaſtery of St. *Nicolo* in an acute form, to the mouth of the Haven, a place very fit to receive upon any occaſion a number of men. Some other Forts were likevviſe made in an octangular form, vvithin the waſh in the *Velma*, whither great Veſſels could not come, vvhereby the Havens of *Malamocco* and *Chioggia* were ſecured; by the Artillery vvhereof, and vvherewith they vvere furniſhed, the entrance by the mouth of thoſe Ports might be eaſily impeded, and the channels, and neighbouring ſhores ſecured.

The Senate having made theſe proviſions, that they might proceed vviſely, and with great circumſpection, in a buſineſſe of ſuch importance; and that they might not by their negligence invite the enemy to do ſome ſhame unto the City: it vvas ſoon knovvn, as it vvas at firſt imagined, that they were needleſſe. For *Uluzzali* vvhen he had ſackt the Iſlands of *Lieſena* and *Curzola*, turn'd ſuddenly back to finde out the Baſhaw, vvho vvas gone vvith the reſt of the Fleet to the mouth of the channel of *Cataro*, vvhere having ſtaid a vvhile, and demanded the Fort, but made no attempt; were it either, that he never had the courage to do any important action, or that he grevv more jelaous of the uniting of the Chriſtian Fleet; haſtened tovvards *Vallona*, vvhere re-inforcing the Fleet with many men, having ſent ſeverall gallies to ſeveral parts, to inform himſelfe more particularly of the confederates Fleet: he vvent towards

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Corfu, and being come to *Paxu*, the first thing he did, vvas to vievv the *Mandracchio*; and vvhen the gallies vvere gone from *Butrinto*, the Commanders went several times about the Island, and having diligently considered the scituation, they did not vvell agree vvithin themselves vvhat to do; but many souldiers being this mean vvhile gone on land from out of lesser boats, to be the first that should pillage; they fell upon an ambush of our light Horse, which vvas laid by Captain *George Mormori*, vvhere they vvere almost all of them either slain, or taken Prisoners, amongst vvhich *Cassan*, named *Basso*, vvas one, a Renegado *Candian*, famous for his experience at Sea, but much more famous for his cruelty. At last, the vvhole Fleet drevv near, and vvere shot at from the Fort, but not much prejudiced, by reason of the Cannoneers want of experience. And being past on about a mile, they landed a great many men at *Potamo*, who came to assault the Suburbs; our men, who had possest themselves of the Passes upon the Mountains, not being able to detain them. *Philippo Roncone*, had the custody of the Suburbs, with 400 foot, part *Grecians*, part *Italians*, who seeing a greater number of the Enemy, were forced to retreat into the plain, where meeting with a succour of more men, which were sent to them from the Fort, they made a stand, making the Turks do the like: But the next day, having landed more foot, together with 600 Horse, which they had taken up at *Butrinto*; they attempted the taking of *Castel St. Angelo*, and finding it a harder businesse then they had thought, they gave it over, but not without some signe of their barbarousnes, for they fired many Houses and Churches, destroying almost all the Suburbs and viney ards about the City, and the third day they quit the Island. But this mean while, the Magistrates of the City, and the Commanders, had taken order, that as long as the Enemy should keep about the Island, the gates of the Fort should alwaies stand open, secured by a good body of men, to keep the Enemy from growing more bold, by the appearing fearfulnesse of those that were within: and they had also forc'd the Enemy by shot from the Fort, to change his station more then once.

The Venetians were the more grieved at these miseries, for that having hoped for aid from the League, they found that they had not only failed in their expected good thereby, but that they had altered their first design, and imploy'd their forces much to their disadvantage; for their having ordered the gallies of *Candia*, to go forthwith to *Messina*, to joyn all their forces with those of the Colleagues, made them fear the successe of *Famagosta*, not having any certain intelligence that it had been as yet relieved, as they might very well have heard; for that there being so many gallies in that Kingdom, and the enemies Fleet being far off from those Seas, our men could not have been kept from succouring *Famagosta*. So also, by expecting the coming of *Don John* with the intire forces, and consequently not to hinder the hopes of better affairs; their Generall stood idly looking on so many injuries and out-rages done by the Enemy, without taking any revenge. So it being very hard what to resolve on, amidst

so many difficulties, they set themselves wholly to solicite *Don Johns* comming, which they chiefly did with the Pope; *shewing him, that by his persuasions chiefly, they had given over all treaty of peace, and that in time of adverse fortune, when more mischiefe was to be doubted, then good hoped for by continuing in Arms, they had imbraced advices which peradventure were more generous then usefull; so to preserve the ancient dignity of the Common-wealth, to be governed by the Authority of that holy See, and not to seem to distrust the Christian Princes; but that whereas they had not failed in their part, nor had retarded the businesse for any expence or danger, they found that the Colleagues had not used like diligence, and that that League which was made for the good of Christendom, would redound to the shame thereof, and to the particular prejudice of their Common-wealth: That it was too apparent, how great a losse of honour, and how great a prejudice to all other proceedings the losse of* Famagosta *would prove, wherein so many important consequences consisted, as to preserve her, questionlesse they were to finde out, and to fight the Enemies Fleet, since they had so great hopes to pass victoriously into* Cyprus, *and free* Famagosta *from being besieged, whence the recovery of that Kingdom would quickly insue, and the distraction of the Enemies Army, which would be wasted by its own wants, and why would be made far greater acquisition.*

The Pope held these things to be very just, and was very solicitous therein. He heard all men willingly, desired them to be mindful of fitting remedies against so many mischiefs; and interposed his means and authority, in every thing which might further the League. He dispatcht expresse Messengers to *Don John*, and earnestly renewed his indeavours to the Spanish Court, whither Cardinal Alessandrino was already come, who carried Letters from the Pope to the King, wherein he told him: *That he never desired any thing more fervently, then prosperity to the League; that nothing had ever been more suitable to the worth and power of that King, or which might purchase him greater, or more readi glory. That he had much desired to come himselfe in person to make this desire unto him, and to acquaint him with the necessities of Christendom, and how he might acquire singular merit; but that, since the imperfections of old age would not suffer him to do so, he had sent his Nephew, Cardinall* Alessandrino *to him, whom he loved as his Son, to the end that he might the more lively represent his person, and perform that office the more effectually.*

The Legate was very honourably received by the King, and met by himselfe and his whole Court, at the utmost precincts of *Madrid*, and was sent back with an answer ful of affectionate expressions, and fair promises; wherein the King laboured to shew the Pope, *That he had been alwaies very ready to be serviceable to Christendom, and particularly now upon occasion of this League; towards the prosperous proceedings whereof, he had resolved that* Don John *should winter with the Spanish Gallies in* Sicily, *that he might be the readier the next spring, to doe what should be resolved of in* Rome; *and that though he had oft-times used his Authority with the Emperour, in exhorting him to enter into this union; yet he would now again send* Don Pietro Fastardo *to him, to the same purpose, to the end that* Cesar *knowing more expressly that this was his desire,*

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and being sure, that his encouragement would oblige him to maintain it, he might the more willingly resolve to do so. But howsoever the slowness of the Fleet's meeting, did much lessen the reputation of the League; made no belief be given to the speeches, whereby the greatness and stability of its forces were amplified, and made the other Princes more cool therein; insomuch as Cardinall *Comendone* being gone into *Germany*, and afterwards into *Poland*, to perform his Embassy, his endeavours were lesse efficacious, and lesse belief was given to his promises: for it was most assured, that these Princes would not meddle in it, unlesse they should see it firmly setled, that the confederacy should be long continued. So as (which redounded much to the prejudice of such a businesse) it was said by many in those Courts, that the Spaniards would serve the League onely in name, and by giving it reputation, but that they would not actually concur therein, with forces answerable to what was needfull. These speeches were the rather credited, by reason of *Peñaranda*'s delay. Wherefore *Cesar* finding himself in the same perplexitie, and having received many Letters and messages from the Bashaw of *Buda*, which exhorted him to preserve peace, and promised him good and reall friendship and neighbourhood; and on the other side, hearing the preparation of the Turkish Fleet, which keeping still then in *Scopia*, made men doubtfull whither it would bend; resolved at last to send the Tribute to *Constantinople*, affirming, that it was no hinderance to the League, nor did it bar him from declaring for it, whensoever there should be a fitting time; but that on the contrary, he might be much inconvenienced, by longer detaining the Tribute, for *Selim* growing jealous of him, would be the first to invade him, when he should not be provided for him, and when his own particular troubles, would encrease the mischief and danger of Christendom.

The Venetians were mightily troubled at these things, knowing, that if the Turks should be sure, not to be troubled by any commotions of the Northern Provinces; it would much prejudice the League, and more endanger the Common-wealth. Wherefore, the Pope and the King of *Spain*'s Agents consenting thereunto, they offered *Cesar* to give him 20000 of the Leagues Foot, and 4000 Horse, thinking, that they might be more serviceable against the enemy on this side; and that the other 30000, which remained by the tie of Articles, would suffice for those enterprises, which were to be attempted by the Fleet, on the maritime parts. The Emperour's Embassadour, resident at *Rome*, had oftentimes profest, that his Master wanted no good-will, but onely forces, to make war upon the Turks; and that if the confederates would promise to assist him, he would doubtlesly declare for the League; and that whole *Germany*, being convinc'd at last by necessity and shame, would joyn in this war; and that by their example, *Poland* and *Muscovia* would easily be brought to do the like. Yet all this would do no good, for *Cesar* affirming, that it was too late for him to make use of this assistance, and that the scarcity of corn, which was that year in that Country, would not suffer him to have an Army, till after the Har-

veſt; continued in his reſolution of ſending the Tribute, making all men firmly believe, that by reaſon of his laſt unfortunate ſucceſſe in the war of *Hungary*, he thought, that peace was the onely way to ſecure his Dominions from the Turkiſh forces. And thus ſtood the affairs of the confederacy.

But the Venetians continued ſtill, to do what they were able, for the ſafety of their State. They reſolved to create twenty five Governours, whereof ten were forthwith to man their gallies, and, with ſome others, to attend the guarding of the Gulph, under the government of *Filippo Bragadino*, who was choſen Commiſſary Generall of the Gulph, and had commiſſion to ceaſe on all ſorts of Veſſells, whatſoever were then in thoſe ſeas, and to attend with all poſſible diligence, in conveying victualls and garriſons into ſuch places, as were needfull, to defend the Iſlands, and to preſerve navigation. Wherein, that he might govern himſelf the better in the Generall's abſence, he had ſupream authority given. But there was much ado at this time to furniſh the Fleet with ſouldiers, for the which there was already 5000 Foot in *Venice*, commanded by *Proſpero Colonna*, *Pompeio da Caſtella*, and *Galleazzo Farneſe*; which being already embarqued in three great Gallies, and in other ſhipping, the paſſage being ſtopt up, by the enemies comming into the Gulph, they could not get thither. Wherefore to finde a ſpeedy remedy for this, *Proſpero Colonna* was in great haſte diſpatch'd away to *Napolis*, to raiſe 1000 Foot in that Kingdom, as he promiſed to do. And Duke *Atri*, and ſome others, that had firſt offered themſelves to do ſo, were written unto, to bring as many men as they could to the Fleet; and the vice-Roy was deſired to give leave, that men might be had from thence upon this occaſion. The Venetian gallies, and thoſe of the Church, of *Florence*, and of *Malta*, were in this interim brought to *Meſſina*; and *Don John*'s comming was expected by all, who being gone with 27 gallies, and 5000 Catalonian Foot, was at laſt come about the end of *July* to *Genua*, where having ſtaied a very little while, and left *Doria* with 12 gallies, to provide for ſeverall things which the Fleet wanted, he went towards *Napolis*, where being received in great pomp, he had the Standard of Generall of the League delivered unto him, which was ſent him from the Pope; and ſoon after, making the ſame haſte, and leaving 30 gallies to accompany the ſhips, he went with the remainder of the Fleet to *Meſſina*, where he knew he was expected by the Pope's, and by the Venetians Generalls; who, in ſigne of honour, and that they might be the readier with all their forces, for greater enterprifes, as alſo to make the enemy the more jealous of this union, ſtayed there without doing any thing, onely waiting for *Don John*'s comming; of whom, mention being often to be made, in the moſt important things which are yet to be related, I have thought it not amiſſe, to ſay ſomewhat of his conditions and cuſtoms.

Don John was illegitimately gotten by the Emperour *Charles* the 5th. upon Madam *di Plombes*, a Flemiſh Lady, and was acknowledged by his father for his true and naturall ſon, and as ſuch recommended

commended to his Brother King *Phillip*, not indowing him notwithſtanding with the Inherirance of any particular State. *Don John* was then about two and twenty years old, of a very noble and gracious aſpect, and who by his words and actions appeared to be greatly deſirous of glory; and excellent hopes were conceived of him, ſo as every one thought that he would zealouſly imbrace this noble occaſion of acquiring glory, which fortune had preſented him with, and which was fit for his ancient Deſcent, and for his generous mind; and ſome ſaid, that the King his Brother had promiſed to make him King of *Tunis*, and to give him whatſoever he ſhould get in the *Levant*. Yet it was obſerved, that the King being willing to honour him with this Title, and to uſe his name and perſon in a buſineſſe of ſuch importance, did notwithſtanding not a little leſſen his Authority, by giving a great part thereof to many of his Counſellours; not without ſome doubt whether he had therein reſpect onely to moderate his youth, or not alſo not to ſuffer him to grow too great. Theſe were *Don Bernardino di Requaſens*, *Commandadore Magiore* of *Caſteille*: *Don Alvaro di Bazzano*, Marquiſs of *S. Croce*; *Don Jovanni di Cardona*; *il Conte di Piego*: *Antonio Doria*; and *Carlo d' Avalos*, to which he afterwards added the Duke of *Seſſa*, and *Ferrante Loffredo*, Marquiſs of *Trevico*; all of them men of great condition, and highly eſteem'd by the King; and by whoſe judgements all important affairs were govern'd. As ſoon as *Don John* was come to *Genua*, he diſpatcht away *Michiel Moncada*, one of the Kings Councell, to *Venice*, to give an account of his voyage, and to thank the Senate for the confidence they had put in him, promiſing that he would carry himſelfe ſo as they ſhould never be deceived in the good opinion they had of him; and ſhewing great readineſſe to act any thing againſt the Enemy, with which welcome news they were all much cheered and incouraged.

But the Turks going from *Corfu* (as hath been ſaid) with their Fleet, returned to *Butintro*, where ſtaying ſome dayes to hear ſome tidings of the Chriſtian Fleet, & expecting new orders from *Conſtantinople*, they paſs'd on to *Peveſa*, where the Baſhaw had certain news of the taking of *Famagoſta*, and particular commiſſion to finde out, and to fight the Chriſtian Fleet. The Fort of *Famagoſta*, after having reſiſted long and valiantly, fell on the 5th of *Auguſt* into the enemies hands; and becauſe it was one of the moſt memorable ſieges which hath hapned in our memory, and peradventure in many former Ages, I have thought fit, to give a particular relation thereof, to the preſent, and to future Ages.

Famagoſta *is ſeated on the head of* Cyprus, *towards the* Levant, *in a flat ſhore upon the Seas, whence it was called of old by the* Grecians, Amatunte, *as much as to ſay, hid in the ſands; It ſtands almoſt in midſt of a ſemicircle, ſhaped out by two Promontories,* Carpaſſio, *and* Pedaglio, *which by the modern are now called, The one* Capo di St. Andrea, *the other* Capo della Greca; *The former thruſting out, for above* 90 *miles, and breaking the circle, puts an end to the Iſland on the North ſide, in a very acute point. This Country was formerly called* Salaminia, *from the* an-

ancient City Salamina, built by Teveri, after the ruine of Troy, which was afterwards called Constantia, of which there are some signs yet to be seen, which (it may be) in remembrance of the ancient noblenesse of their City, is now by those inhabitants called, Old Famagosta. It hath a Haven lying between the East and the North, made up of certain Shelves and Rocks, which being a little divided in severall parts, and withstanding the first waves of the Sea, renders that little creek which is between them and the shore, free from storms; but being but shallow, it is capable of but a few great Vessels. The mouth of the Haven, which is turned towards the North, and shut in by a chain fastned in a butting out, which thrusts it self forth 40 paces beyond the Fort; and a little Castle, built after the ancient form with four Towers, secures the whole Haven. This Fort was reduced into a square, but in an imperfect form; for extending it self on the part towards the Sea, from the East to the North, in crooked lines, and with some great spaces, the sides thereof are in some parts unequall: Of these, two lie towards the shore, and two look towards the Town, in one of which there was a little Tower, or Keep, with six fronts, called il Diamanting, and here was the Gate called Limisso: In the other, there was a large Bulwark, built but of late, with double Flancks, a good Front, and with Orgions, after the modern fashion. The whole Fort was little above two Italian miles in compasse, all walled about with a wall of square soft stones, chiefly on the side towards the Town, where it was 20 foot broad, with a plat-form of twelve paces, upon which there was a Parapet above four foot high; the ditch round about was 12 or 15 paces over, digg'd out for the most part in the soft stones, and where that wanted, there was a counterscarfe made of Stone. About the walls there were many Towers, but for the most part so narrow, as but small peeces of Artillery could be made use of there: and some others, which were greater, and stood between the Gate Limisso, and the Arsenal, which were, for their shapes sake, called half Moors, wanted not likewise for many faults; but they were thought to be the safer, and more commodious for that they were made compass-wise, and because they had places to go out of, on both sides. The parts about the Fort, are all a plain Campagna, having onely some little houses towards the North-west, which stand somewhat higher, like so many little hills, not above a mile from the city, where it was thought the Enemy would have incamped, both for that the Fort was weakest on that side, and for the commodiousnesse of some caverns under ground, from whence the Famagostans dug'd out stones for their buildings, wherein many men might be safe: But the Turks finding that they could not well incamp there, by reason of the condition of the Earth, they brought their whole campe to the opposite plain, which extends it selfe for the space of three miles, from the Fort to the Sea, which was full of fine Gardens, of Orenge trees, and Cedars, and of other sorts of fruit trees, which were before much distroy'd by the Inhabitants, to bereave the Enemy of making use thereof; yet they had the use of many wells of fresh water, which served for use of the Gardens, and which were a great refreshment to the Army, afflicted with excessive heat. The Turks had slackned the siege (as hath been said) by reason of the bitternesse of the season, and withdrawn themselves to winter in more commodious places further off. But as soon as Navigation began to be safe, and that the time fit for action drew

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neer, great ſtore of Men, Ammunition, and Victualls, were brought to the camp by gallies, and other veſſels, which paſt continually to the Iſland, eſpecially from the neighbouring ſhores of Caramania, *and* Soria, *all men flocking ſo faſt thither, as it is ſaid above* 50000 *Turks, came to the Iſland of* Cyprus, *after* Nicoſſia *was taken, many whereof were neither paid nor commanded, but drawn onely out of hopes of booty, which the Baſhaw had cunningly giuen out, ſhould be greater than that of* Nicoſſia, *in ſo much as the Turks boaſting, according to their uſual manner, of their numbers, they in a threatning way ſent word to the beſieged, by ſome that were come from the Town to treat of the ranſomming of priſoners; that the grand Signor had ſent ſo many men to this enterpriſe, as if every one of them ſhould throw but one ſhufle-full of earth in the ditches about the Fort, they would fill them up, and levell the way to mount the walls. The Army being recruited, and ſufficiently furniſht with all things, and ſome great Guns being brought from* Nicoſſia: *the Turks began about the midſt of* April *to make their Trenches, to draw near the Town, and to raiſe Forts to batter it; which Works were really of much labour, and miraculous induſtry: for digging the earth from their winter quarters to the Fort, which was for above three miles; they made ſome wayes ſo large and ſo deep, though in ſome places they met with Stone Mines, where they were fain to labour with Picaxes, and Mattocks; as not onely Foot, but men on Horſeback marched ſo well cover'd, as the tops of their Lances could hardly be ſeen; and being thereby ſafe from the ſhot of the Town, they drew many Trenches athwart, raiſing the earth ſo high above them, as being able to work ſafely by day, they perfected the work. Theſe Trenches were ſo made, as the Pioners throwing the earth they digg'd out very forwards, there remained ſufficient ſpace between the ditch and the bank for the Souldiers to keep in, making uſe of the earth that was thrown out, as of a Parapet, behind which they might with aim ſhoot at the walles. Theſe Ditches, and theſe Rampiers were ſo many, and ſo diſpoſed of, as the whole Army was ſafely lodged therein, though very near the city, being as it were bursted between thoſe Mountains of earth, ſo as from the walls of the city, nothing of the Enemies Camp could be ſeen, but the tops of their Pavillions. In the ſame plain, the Turks made ten Forts, ſtanding at ſeverall diſtances, 50 foot broad in the front, which were ſecured with rafters of Oak woven together ſo artificially, and ſo ſtrong, as the middle being fill'd with earth, with bundles, cinders, ſacks of wool, and ſuch like things thoſe Forts were made defenſible againſt any thing that could prejudice them: and if any of theſe works were at any time thrown downe by ſhot from the city, the number of pioners was ſo great, as they were ſpeedily reſtored to their former condition; ſo as for above halfe a miles ſpace, from the* Arſenall *to the* Limiſon *Gate, the walls were plai'd upon by continuall ſhot. Theſe were the forces, proviſions, and deſigns of the Enemy, by which the defendants being made more induſtrious and vigilant, prompted thereunto by their own gallantry, and by the danger they were in; the ſouldiers and citiſens were not wanting in any thing that might make for the defence of the city. Thus at firſt, (though they were not ſo many as might counterpoiſe the Aſſalliants forces) they ſallyed often out to skirmiſh with the Enemy, and to diſturb their works, thereby to ſhew their generoſity, and to leſſen the Enemies confidence. They were very diligent in*

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ſecuring the Parapets, in making in-works, in making new Cavalliers, and in mending the old ones, and ſparing neither for labour nor ingenuity; there was not any hour wherein they were idle, nor any day wherein they had not new inventions. All the Artillery, (whereof ſome new ones were caſt, and ſo their number ſtill increaſed) were brought to that part of the wall where the battery was expected. Luigi Martiningo, *as Captain-Generall of the Artillery, had the particular care thereof who had ſix underneath him, who commanded all the Cannonieres, ſo as all things were very well ordered. They prepared likewiſe many artificiall fires, to be uſed in ſeverall manners, which being made by excellent Maſters, did very good ſervice; and that they might not fight at once againſt the Enemy, and againſt their own inconveniencies; they put all uſeleſſe people out of the city, to the number of above 8000, which not being any ways injured by the Turks, went to their country houſes, and muſtering the reſt, there were found to be 7000 men fit for action in the city; 3500 Italian foot, and the reſt Grecians, who behaved themſelves with much valour and fidelity in theſe actions. Theſe were ſtill incouraged to defend the city out of hopes of glory, and ample rewards; wherein, as in all things elſe,* Marc Antonio Bragadino, *who was then Captain of* Famagoſta, *and chief Magiſtrate of the city, was very diligent, and won much praiſe: and the danger increaſing by the Enemies nearer approaches,* Bragadino *ſought to incourage the Souldiers;* Telling them the time was now come, wherein they were to ſhew their true valour, which he ſaw them for theſe many laſt months nobly prepared to do. That no greater glory had hapned to any in this our age, then what was now prepared for them, by preſerving a Fort ſo far from all other parts of Chriſtendom, againſt the power of the *Ottaman* Empire; nay by thereby keeping a flouriſhing Kingdom from being inſlaved by Barbarians. Wherefore, ſaid he, are you, moſt valiant Souldiers, (directing his ſpeech to the Italians) com from parts ſo far off, expoſing your ſelves to the certain inconveniencies and great dangers of long Navigation, if not to give good proof of your worth, and by your merits, to purchaſe the prime honours of the Militia? You have now met with that you ſo much deſired; you have a large field wherein to exerciſe your patience, your induſtry, and all military virtues. This City being aſſaulted by powerfull enemies, and the eyes of all the world being ſet upon the event of this ſiege: Nor is my confidence leſſe in you Citiſens, and in all the reſt who have entred into this Militia; who have given ſo good teſtimony, not onely of fidelity and conſtancy, but of true valour; Having performed all military actions as well and readily now, as ever did any ancient Souldiers. Your generoſity is ſuch, as will not ſuffer you to let any other advance you in the defence of your ſelves, country, wives, children, and eſtates; every one of you will with a noble emulation, ſeek to exceed other in pains-taking, and in expoſing your ſelves to danger. Let not the number of the Enemy any whit affright you; for certainly it is leſſe then it is noyſed to be, or then their empty Pavillions cunningly make ſhew of; the moſt and valianteſt of them being waſted, partly by ſufferings, and part of them being gone to their own homes,*

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to enjoy the wealth they got, at the ſacking of *Nicoſſia*, the example whereof ought to make you more vigilant, but not more fearfull. For we are certain, it was not the valour nor induſtry of the enemy, which gave them the victory, but the defendants negligence, who thought, as I believe, that it was bare walls, not bodies of men, that went to the defence of a City. The hopes we have of ſpeedy relief, may make even cowards valiant; which notwithſtanding, none of you ought to conſider, that you may not thereby leſſen your courage, but rather place your hopes in your ſelves, and believe, that you carry your fortune in your right hands. Thus ought all valiant men do, whereunto you are perſwaded by infinite examples, where worth and fortitude of minde, have overcome invincible difficulties. But we have an other greater hope of ſafety and victory, ſince we defend ſo juſt a cauſe, againſt ſo wicked and perfidious enemies, whom peradventure divine providence hath permitted to be proſperous hitherto, that the fortune of war altering, their fall may be the greater. All humane and divine reaſon doth therefore perſwade us, to drive away all fear, and to hope for good and happy ſucceſſe, from our own daring.

Theſe words were accompanied with great acclamations, and expreſſions of joy, every one ſtriving to ſhew confidence, and encouraging others readily, to undergo labour and danger; and the commanders to encourage their ſouldiers, not onely by words, but by example, having already excellently well ordered all the guards, went themſelves to lodge upon the walls, at the foot of the rampier, that they might be preſent at all actions, and partake in labour and danger. By this time, half May *was over, and all things were ready prepared on all ſides, chiefly the ſouldiers mindes, which were miraculouſly diſpoſed, as well in the camp, as in the city, to give, and to ſuſtain the Aſſault. In which condition of affairs, one morning, at the riſing of the Sun, they might diſcover from the walls, all the forts and trenches of the enemy, furniſh'd with great ſtore of colours and launces, and a great ſhout was heard of men, and noiſe of Cymballs, and other ſuch like inſtruments; and ſoon after, the Turks began to diſcharge their muskets and artillery, continuing to ſhoot all the day-long, to encreaſe courage in their own men, and to infuſe the more fear in ours. The enemy intended firſt, to bereave the city of her defences; whereſore they levelled their ſhot againſt the Parapets, which were ſpeedily re-erected by thoſe within, and made better then they were, ſo as they received great ſecurity thereby. But beginning afterwards to ſhoot lower, whereby they much prejudiced the walls; thoſe within were very diligent, in mending by night, what had been thrown down by day, which they were able to do, though not without infinite labour, till ſuch time as the Turks getting into the ditch, diſturbed this their work; for the enemy being already got with their trenches near the counterſcarf, they threw much earth into the ditch, and afterwards hollowing the wall of the counterſcarf, they made their paſſage ſafe into the ditch, even to the wall, without being prejudiced by artillery from the half-moons, which ſhot on their flanks, and were a little*

dammified onely by some shot from the Curvalliers. But the city beginning to want powder, it behoved them to be sparing thereof; so as the cannoneers were forbid to shoot, unlesse by order from their captains, which was not given, but upon great occasion. So as the greatest harm the enemy received at this time, was, by artificiall fires, which were thrown down upon them from the walls, which did disorder and kill many of them. They used some iron-balls full of fine powder, like Granadoes, which breaking into many pieces, did at once give many mortall wounds. So as they began to make many mines, especially on the side of the Arsenall; whereof those within found some, and did very seasonably make use of that powder, for their own preservation, which was intended for their ruine. But the Turks had already placed many Corps de guard *in the ditch, and lay safe there in their tents, being secured from harm by the diligence of the guards, which attended the neerest neighbouring trenches; who did so narrowly observe all the motions of our men, as not any one could appear upon the walls, who was not soon slain by the enemies musquet-shot. Mines were not, notwithstanding, this mean while given over; of which, one proved very prejudiciall, which was made in the midst of the Arsenall's half Moon, which gave a notable example of the souldiers constancy, or rather, of their miserable condition; for seeing the mine made, and the bags of powder put into it, so as the danger of that horrible death was certain, they did, notwithstanding, continue the wonted guard in the suspected place, expecting hourly, that those that were upon it, should be blown up into the aire, and rent into a thousand pieces by the violence of the fire; as soon after happned to a company, which was but just then entred to relieve others, that were upon that guard. The Mine made so horrible a noise, by reason of the wall's solidity, and of great quantity of powder, as the city seemed to be shaken with an earth-quake; and the Turks began almost immediately to enter, through the ruines, made by this mine, and to give an assault, which endured with great fiercenesse, for above five hours space: Our souldiers were so desirous to fight with the Turks neer at hand, and not to suffer themselves to be slain without making triall of their valour, or without taking any revenge; as every one strove to get into places of greatest danger, every one would be present at every important action, at all assaults; insomuch as women vying for valour with men, came continually upon the walls, bringing many things for the souldiers use. In this action, our men lost above an hundred and sixty men, amongst which,* Bernandino da Ugubio, *who had behaved himself gallantly; and* Pietro Conte, Hercole Malatesta, *and other valiant commanders were dangerously wounded. The defendants retired then from this place, which was broke open by the mine, to their inward works, which were made with great art; but by reason of the smalnesse of circuit, were but of little use; for the souldiers being to defend themselves at push of pike, were much inconvenienced. In these works, the industry of* Mormori, *an Ingineer, and of* Marco Crivellatore, *a Venetian Captain of foot, was chiefly commended; for by their inventions, two ranks of hogsheads full of earth, joyned one to the other, and upon them, two ranks likewise of bags of wet earth, well ramm'd in, were placed, behinde which, convenient space was left, for musketeers to stand safely;*

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which proved to be of notable advantage; for the ſhot meeting with no ſolid reſiſtance, took away ſome of thoſe bags, the place whereof was ſuddenly fill'd up with more of the like, ſo as no great hurt was done. By theſe inventions, and by ſingular valour, the enemy were long withſtood, and oft-times repu'ſt, inſomuch as they began to diſpair, of taking the city by this way: Wherefore betaking themſelves to new inventions, they began to build up other Forts neerer hand, from whence they might the more eaſily throw down the inward works, and the cavaliers, thereby to bereave our men of all defence, and themſelves of all impediments. And at the ſame time they ſhot continually into the city, with mortar-pieces, bullets of great weight, which falling upon the houſes, broke down the roofs, and ſlew the inhabitants. They ſhot likewiſe great number of arrowes, ſhooting them up on high, that falling down perpendicularly, they might wound the heads of thoſe, that were upon the walls. They gave many allarums, eſpecially by night, making, as if they would give an aſſault; and, in fine, they left the defendants no houres reſt, ſo to tire them out, and to diſcourage them, with ſo continuall labour, danger, and watching. But at laſt, finding that breuches made by mines, was not ſufficient to make way for their aſſaults, they fell to work with their mathooks and pick-axes, throwing down the walls, and forcing them within to yet ſtraiter in-works: So as things being brought to that paſſe, as that they might get upon the walls in ſeverall places, the Commanders reſolved to do their utmoſt, and to aſſault the defendants at one and the ſame time in ſeverall parts; who being few, and employed in many actions, they thought they would not be able long to withſtand the violence of their aſſault. Muſtafa *made all things fitting for this, to be prepared; he would be preſent every where himſelf, and going about, ſought to encourage the ſouldiers, and calling all the valianteſt and moſt honourable by their names.*

He minded them of their former actions, of their praiſe and merit got by their valour, and encouraged them to hope for greater things. As for the reſt, he ſometimes threatned their cowardice with ſevere puniſhment, promiſed ſometimes great honour and rewards to their valour. He held forth unto them the booty and prey they were to get, which he confirmed, by their companions having enrich'd themſelves at Nicoſſia. *He entreated, he conjured them, not to ſuffer the victorious army incur any ſhame; that they ſhould not fear them, to whom they had ever been a terrour. He bad them remember* Nicoſſia, *ſhewing them, that they might get another noble victory, and put an end to the war, with more eaſe and advantage; for that the enemy were ſtill the ſame, weak, and unexperienced in the true Militia: They therefore ought to be the ſame, and to be mindfull of their invincible forces, whereby they had got the glorious name of conquerours, having hardly ever attempted any thing, wherein they were not ſucceſsfull, teaching the world by their example, that fortune of war obeys true valour.*

The Baſhaw having much encouraged the ſouldiers, with theſe and the like ſpeeches, would be preſent himſelf at the aſſault, to the end that ſeeing what was done, & being ſeen himſelf by others, he might by his advice, provide for all things, & by his preſence encourage his ſouldiers. This aſſault proved terrible & dangerous; the Turks fought valiantly, hoping to get the city that day: but our men keeping together, and reſolute to keep what they had, could not be beaten off; the enemy appeared no ſooner, but they were diſperſt, repulſt, and ſlain; their blowes proved the ſorer to the enemy, for that being made at

a multitude, none of them proved vain. Thus for five hours space, the third assault was valiantly withstood. But those who defended the Ravelin of the gate Limisso, being disordered by fire-works, and not being able to govern themselves well in so little a compasse, laboured still, when the battle was almost ended in all other places, and were much endammaged by the enemy; so as being forc'd to yield at last, they suffered the Turks to mount the Ravelin; and all other helps failing, the Captains, by necessary, but dreadfull advice, resolved immediately to give fire unto a Mine, which they, foreseeing the danger, had prepared in the same place; and the souldiers of the camp, and those of the city, being intermingled on the Ravelin, those pursuing, these retreating, both enemies and friends were blown up, and buried in those ruines. The Ravelin being lost, there was onely the thicknesse of the in-works, made, as hath been said, of bags of earth, between the besiegers and the besieged, so as the souldiers of the camp, and those of the city, spoke often together; and, according to the custom of war, the Turks mockt and laught at our men, for their vain hopes, saying, That the Christian Fleet was fled for fear back towards Venice; and our men reproached the enemy, for that like country people, not like souldiers, they used their spades and mat-hooks, not trusting to the valour of their forces. Amongst which jesting speeches, some serious discourse was sometimes mingled; the Turks made some proposalls of agreement be put, by certain slaves that were in their camp, which they had oft-times formerly endeavoured by severall Letters, written sometimes to the Governours, and sometimes to the common people of the city, which were conveyed in by arrowes. But no answer of comming to a parley was ever assented unto, according as was desired. Wherefore the Turks finding they could not prevail by their craft, betook themselves to another assault, by the Ravelin which they had already got, when the combat was come to, it was egregiously fought on all sides, but chiefly by our men, and to the singular glory of the chief commanders; for stout Baglione encouraged his souldiers more by his example, than by his words; and placing himself amongst the foremost, took, as it is said, the Venetian Standard, which the enemies got at the taking of Nicosia, from the hands of an Ensigne-bearer; and Luigi Martiningo, who had the particular charge of that place committed to him, did discharge the part of a wise and valiant commander in all things, did supply the battle with fresh souldiers often, assisting those that were wearied, entertaining the enemy where they fought most, and repulsing those that gave back. The Turks having received a repulse, betook themselves to molest our men yet further, with new machinations; they filled up all the space which was between the gate and the Ravelin, with wood and faggots, which they set on fire, throwing in severall mixtures, that the combustion might be the greater; whereby they did much torment our men by the heat, and also by the stench of that wood, which growes in that Island, and which is called by those of the country, Tezza, which being set on fire, makes a very horrible stinke. This fire continuing for many daies, the souldiers had much adoe, and were greatly incommodited to defend that place, having in vain tryed all things to quench it. Those valiant men, notwithstanding these so many, and so grievous perplexities, did still defend the city, all of them growing so courageous, and being so resolute to maintain the siege to the utmost, that even old men and women kept continually upon the walls, and together with the souldiers, discharged

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the duties, of the Militia. *But things were now brought to the laſt extremity; the perſiſting in labour, and danger afforded no hopes of ſafety. The Enemies were ſtill recruited with new Forces, and with all things neceſſary; the want of men, ammunition, and victualls, grew dayly greater and greater within the Town: a great many of the valianteſt Souldiers were already ſlain, and many being wounded, were given over for want of Medicaments, and Phyſitians: The few that were yet well, were waſted not onely by continuall pains-taking, but by ſufferings, being forced to feed upon Aſſes, Horſes, Dogs, and other ſuch nauſeous food, and to drink nothing but water, their wine being all ſpent: They were reduced to ſuch weakneſſe, as they ſeemed to live more by vigour of minde, then by ſtrength of body; ſo as finding it was now impoſſible to maintain the city any longer, the citiſens reſolved to beſeech the Governours and Commanders, to provide for their ſafety, and not to wait the utmoſt extremities.* Matteo Golfi *ſpoke in the name of all the reſt.*

Who intreated the Magiſtrates, in the name of the whole city, that conſidering the loyalty and conſtancy of the Inhabitants, the dangers and ſufferings which they had ſo patiently undergone: and that ſince things were now brought to the utmoſt extremity, they would not ſuffer their fidelity to be rewarded by the totall ruine of their country, but rather by the preſervation thereof; ſo as to the double praiſe of thoſe who had ſo long defended her, it might be ſeen that their generous minds, which could be wrought upon by no fear of the Enemy, had been moved by the love of their friends, & by a deſire of giving them, if not the reward which they had deſired, at leaſt what fortune had permitted them to do: He ſaid, that if there were any hope of doing good, the ſame readineſs and courage ſhould be found in them as had been ſeen hitherto; that if they could preſerve their country from the ſore & cruel ſlavery of thoſe barbarous infidels, by the expence of their blood, ſo to maintain it under the juſt and moderate Venetian Government, there was not any one that would be ſparing thereof; for that which had now moved them to make this requeſt, was no fear of death, which they valued not; ſince that being bereft of ſo many kindred, friends, and of whatſoever elſe was held dear by them, they could not delight in life, but rather a doubt of living to ſuffer more heavy calamities, and of ſeeing their Country laid waſte; themſelves, and their children, made priſoners; and the eternal welfare of their ſoules indangered. That therefore he did in all humility deſire, in name of the moſt Loyall City, that they would give way to a parley, which was dayly deſired by the Enemy; and by ſome fair conditions of agreement, indeavour to preſerve thoſe few remainders, which were yet left of ſo great, and of ſo noble a Kingdom.

This the peoples requeſt being heard, the Magiſtrates and chiefe commanders conſulted what was to be done; there was ſeverall opinions therein, ſome were ſtiffe for dying with ſword in hand; and that by ſallying all of them out by night, they might aſſault the Enemy at unawares, and dying, vindicate that death by their blood, which howſoever was to be eſteemed equally certain, but not equally glorious, by reaſon of the no truſt that was to be given to the Enemies word; that there was no reaſon to believe the Turks would keep that agreement, which they ſaw neceſſity, not choice, had brought them to; which though they ſhould doe, it might contaminate, or at leaſt

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ſomewhat leſſen the renown and honour, which through ſo much labour they had gotten.

Others pleaded on the contrary, that it became not them who were deputed to the Government of that city, to ſhew themſelves more cruel thereunto, and to the people thereof, than did the enemy: For it was clear enough, that nothing had moved the Commanders in the Camp to motion and Agreement, ſave onely to preſerve the city from ſacking, and the citizens from being ſlain, fearing that they ſhould not be able to refrain the Souldiers inſolence, if it ſhould be taken by ſtorm. Moreover, as it became men of courage not to do any baſe thing, or to be failing in their duty, for fear of death, ſo to loſe their lives without any advantage, would be rather a ſign of fooliſh oſtentatiouſneſſe, than of true worth: that the things which they had done for the defence of that Fort, were ſuch, and ſo many, as none, unleſſe moved by envy, would dare to detract from their merit; but that how much greater glory is, ſo much more doth Envy ſharpen her goads: yet virtue had that of privileedge, that ſhe could be ſatisfied and appaid in her ſelf; that they had ſufficiently diſcharged their duties in all reſpects, by preſerving that city to the Maſters thereof to the laſt, that now they were able to do them no other ſervice, then by preſerving thoſe Souldiers for other occaſions, who by ſo many ſufferings, and by ſuch experience, were all become fit to be made Commanders. Neither ought they ſo much to diſtruſt the obſervance of Articles in this caſe, having had many examples, as in the taking of Rhodes, *and upon many other occaſions in the actions of* Hungary; *that, though the Turks were* Barbarians, *yet they love and honour warlike worth, even in their enemies.*

These reaſons at laſt prevailing, it was, after a long diſpute, reſolved to ſurrender the city upon fair conditions. Thus on the firſt of Auguſt, *it was concluded, by means of an Italian Enſign, who was priſoner in the camp, that Hoſtages being firſt given to our men, two of the chief of the Camp ſhould enter the city, to treat of the particular Articles of ſurrender, and that in the interim, there ſhould be a ceſſation of Arms on all ſides, and ſeverall white flags being hung out, both within the city, and without, in ſign of Truce, the next day two* Cechaia, *(who are amongſt the Turks as Maſters of the Houſhold) the one of them belonging to* Muſtafa, *the other to the* Aga *of the* Janiſaries, *entred the city, and with them only 6* Janiſaries *on foot, the* Cechaia *being on Horſeback, richly adorn'd. On our ſide,* Hercole Martiningo, *and* Matteo Colti, *a citizen of* Famagoſta, *went out, attended onely by four Souldiers, who as ſoon as they were out of the city, were met by a Son of* Muſtafa's, *and by a great number of foot and horſe, and were by him brought to his Father, who having very civilly received them, and preſented them with two veſtments imbroidered with gold, ſent them to lodge in the* Aga *of the* Janiſaries *Pavillion. Thoſe who were come to treat of the Agreement, eaſily granted all that was propoſed, which in fine was,* That the Souldiers ſhould be ſafely carried in Turkiſh Veſſels to *Candia*, carrying with them all their Arms, and goods, and particularly five pieces of Artillery, and three of the three chief Commanders Horſes: That the ſame liberty ſhould be given to ſuch of the Inhabitants as would depart, to go with their families, and their goods, whither they pleaſed; and that thoſe who would

would tarry, ſhould be preſerved in their lives, goods, and honours, from the inſolency of the Souldier.

Thus in one and the ſame day, the Articles were negotiated, agreed on, and concluded. And ſeeming as if they would ſpeedily and inviolably obſerve them, ſome 40 Veſſels were forthwith ſent into the Haven, in which thoſe that were infirm, began to be imbarked, whilſt thoſe that were well, guarded the inworks, not ſuffering the Turks to make any invaſion. But as ſoon as our men came out of the Trenches, and that they ſaw the Enemies, and were ſeen by them, it cannot be ſaid what wonder roſe in both the Armies, but out of ſeverall reaſons. Our men marvelled at the vaſt number of the Enemy, who for three miles ſpace from about the City, ſtood ſo thick, as their white Turbants, like flakes of ſnow, ſeemed to cover the ſuperficies of the earth. And the Turks on the other ſide, ſeeing how few thoſe that defended the city were, how lean and pale, hardly able to ſtand upon their legs; they admired their valour, who had been ſo long able to make ſo valiant reſiſtance, not without ſome obloquie to themſelves: ſo as being wrought upon by meer naturall charity, they gave them ſeverall refreſhments, and praiſing their conſtancy, incouraged them to hope well. The Grecians, *and* Albanians, *were this mean while imbarking themſelves, and their families; and ſome ſouldiers were already got into other Veſſels; ſo as on the 4th of* Auguſt, *the whole city was left in free poſſeſſion to the Turks: But as ſoon as the Enemy were got within the walls, they began to uſe much violence againſt the citizens, wherewith* Bragadino *acquainted* Muſtafa, *complaining thereof, and intreating him, that in obſervance of the Articles, and of his plighted faith, he would curb the ſouldiers inſolencie, and ſend other ſhips to carry away the reſt of his men; ſaying, that he would come himſelfe, and bring him the keys of the City. This imployment was given to* Neſtore Martiningo, *a ſpright youth, who being come to* Famagoſta *at the very beginning of the War, under the colours of his uncle* Girolimo Martiningo, *had carried himſelfe gallantly in ſeverall offices, and with much praiſe, ſhewing great ingenuity and valour. He comming to the Baſhaw, got ſpeedy orders ſent to the Souldiers who were entred the City, to keep from doing any injurie, and that two Veſſels more ſhould be ſent to the Haven to imbarke the Souldiers; and by commiſſion from* Muſtafa, *brought* Bragadino *word back, that he ſhould be very glad to ſee him, for that he deſired much to know his face, as he had already known his valour, which he would alwaies witneſſe to the world: So as without any longer ſtay, leaving* Tiepoli *in the city, all the chief Commanders marcht out,* Bragadino, Baglione, Martiningo, *and* Antonio Quirino, *a noble Venetian, accompanied by other Captains, and ſome Grecian Gentlemen, all on Horſeback, with forty Muſquetiers on foot.* Bragadino *went before the reſt under a red Umbrella, cludin purple, and in his ordinary habit of Magiſtrate, being followed by all the reſt, who when they were come to the Baſhaws Pavillion, were received with much civility, made to lay down their Arms, and then brought before* Muſtafa; *who entertaining himſelfe a while with them in ſeverall diſcourſes, concealing his inward thoughts, at laſt ſeeking ſome occaſion to ſhew his cruelty, demanded ſecurity for the return of his ſhips which he lent them; to the which* Bragadino *anſwering, that he was not tyed thereto by Articles, nor had he any with him which were ſufficient ſecurity:* Muſtafa,

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pointing to Quirino, *ſaid, he ſhould ſtay behind with him: This Youth's gallantry might be ſeen in the nobleneſſe of his aſpect. But* Bragadino *ſaid, he would never willingly give way unto it; wherefore the Baſhaw, being no longer able to conceal his anger, fell to injurious words, accuſing our men, for that contrary to the cuſtome of War, and to all humane Lawes, they had put his* Muſſelmans *to death, who were their priſoners: and his anger increaſing by multiplying of words, he commanded that they ſhould all be bound, and making them be led out of his Pavilion, diſmiſſing the hoſtages, who were yet with him, he made* Baglione, Martiningo, Quirino, *and all the reſt (a ſad ſpectacle) to be cut in pieces by his Souldiers; a death certainly miſ-becomming ſo gallant valiant men, who ſhould have received rewards from men truly military, though enemies, not puniſhment for their warlike worth. But* Bragadino, *who was reſerved for greater torments, muſt be a ſpectator of this cruelty, being to feel the torments of death ſeverall times before he loſt his life: for making him reach out his neck, they would not as then kill him, but onely cut off his Ears: and thoſe that were formerly imbarked, fared no better then the reſt; for they were put in chains, and condemned to miſerable ſlavery, being to undergo long and heavy calamity. Fortune was more favourable to ſome few, who tarrying laſt in the City, were made Priſoners by ſome particular Souldiers, & paying ſpeedily ſome ranſome, were for fear of loſing it, ſet at liberty by thoſe that took them; for all men were ſtrictly forbidden to keep any particular Priſoners: the Baſhaw being deſirous to make his Triumph the more glorious by the number of ſlaves which he ſhould lead into* Conſtantinople. *Amongſt theſe, onely* Tiepoli *found no favour, whoſe dignity made him the more regardable: He by order from the Baſhaw, underwent the infamous death of being hang'd upon the Maſt of a Gally. But it is a ſad thing to tell, what, and how many cruell Martyrdoms theſe barbarous men made* Bragadino *ſuffer: After many revilings, and ſcorns, he was brought to the* Piazza *of* Famagoſta, *and being tied to the Pillory, he was flead alive;* Muſtafa *ſtanding upon a little hill in the Palace to feed his eyes with this ſtrange and moſt cruel ſpectacle; but the courage of this gallant man ſhew'd amidſt ſo many torments, and for which his memory ought never to be forgotten, is not to be imagined.* Muſtafa, *not having yet ſatisfied his anger, gave order, that* Bragadino's *skin ſhould be ſtuft with ſtraw, and putting it upon a Cow, with the red umbrella, for his greater ſcorn, with which he went into the Camp, made it to be led all about the City, and at laſt made it be hung up upon the main Maſt of a Gally, to the end that this infamous Trophy might be ſeen by all the people on the ſhore as he paſt by.*

It was not well known, what made Muſtafa *thus cruel; ſome ſaid, that having kept the Souldiers from the reward he had promiſed them in ſacking the City; he ſought to give ſome ſatisfaction to his Army, by the death of a few, for the death of ſo many as he had loſt in that great ſiege. Others, that being incenſt at their ſo long and obſtinate ſtanding out, and at the loſſe of ſome that he had extraordinarily loved; he had formerly tane ſome oath, to take ſome ſevere revenge. And others thought, that* Muſtafa, *who was ſo ſubject to choller, as when he was moved he was wont to grow furious, and to be born-mad; being proud of Victory, was mightily ſcandalized, when he ſaw* Bragadino *and the reſt come to his Pavillion with ſo many armed men,*

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and ſo richly apparel'd, as if they had rather been conquerors, then conquered: which being of it ſelfe a ſlight occaſion for ſuch cruelty, was the leſſe likely, in reſpect of the time which paſt between theſe ſevere puniſhments, and the giving ſentence. For moved onely out of his Barbariſm, he was cruell even againſt the dead, and entring into the Cathedrall Church of St. Nicolas, *made all the Tombs be thrown open, and the bones that were within them be ſcattered abroad; he deſtroy'd the Altars and Images of Saints, and committed many other cruell and beſtiall actions, for which he was much blamed even by his own men. The city being thus won, they betook themſelves with diligence to cleanſe the ditches, to levell all the Forts and Trenches that were without, and to repair what was ruinated within; in ſo much, as in a ſhort time, the Fort was reſtored to its former condition; nay, made more defenſible then it was before: the Baſhaw left* il Bei de Rodi, *Governour of the City, and went himſelfe from* Cyprus, *the* 24th *of* September, *returning victorious, and triumphant towards* Conſtantinople; *where he was received with much honour and joy by all, though this victory was dearly bought, the Turks having therein loſt, as it was ſaid, above* 30000 *men, among which many Commanders, and their beſt Warriers.*

But it is time for us, after ſo long and unpleaſing a Narrative, now to return to the Fleets, where we ſhall finde wherewithal to make ſome amends for theſe miſeries. On the 24th of *Aprill*, all the three Generals were joyned together, as hath been ſaid, at *Meſſina*, with the greateſt part of the Forces of the League, wherewith they thought at firſt, to go to *Palermo*, that they might by getting nearer the Enemy, cauſe ſome jealouſie in them: But this reſolution being delay'd, *Jovan Andrea Doria*, and the Marquiſs of S^ta^ *Croce* came thither with ſome other of the King of *Spain's* Gallies; and ſoon after the two Commiſſaries, *Canale* and *Quirini*, with 62 Venetian Gallies man'd in *Candia*, which came ſomewhat late, having met with contrary winds at Sea. When they were altogether, they amounted to the number of 220 gallies, to boot with ſix Galleaſſes, 25 ſhips, and other leſſer Veſſels. Theſe forces being thought able to grapple with the Turkiſh Fleet, a councel was held, wherein the *Commendadore Majore*, *Pompeo Collonna*, and Commiſſary *Barbarigo* met, and ſpoke their opinions, and wherein it was by common conſent agreed upon, to part forthwith from *Meſſina*, and go to *Corfu*, as a fitting place to put on ſuch reſolves as they ſhould ſee occaſion for, and to learn tydings of the Enemy. Having therefore addreſt themſelves by humble Oriſons, ſolemn proceſſions, and other pious and religious actions to God; the whole Fleet put from *Meſſina* on the 17th of *September*, the firſt day, they ſayled with a proſperous wind to *Calabria*, keeping a good order either for making way, or for fighting, that they might take all occaſions they might meet with, of fighting the Enemy. Eight Gallies, commanded by *Giovanni di Cardona*, the *Sicilian* General went before the reſt, as Van-guard to the Fleet, after which, *Giovan Andrea Doria*, went next with 53 gallies, and after him followed the three Generalls, with a greater ſquadron of 61 gallies; and a little after, followed Commiſſary *Barbarigo*, with 50 other gallies; the fourth and laſt

ſquadron, conſiſting of 30 gallies, was commanded by *Don Alvero di Bazzano*, Marquis of S^ta. *Croce*, the Neapolitan Generall: but upon occaſion of battel, the Van-guard was to divide it ſelfe into two wings, and to fall into ſuch places as were appointed them; and the firſt ſquadron, lying to ſea-ward, was to make the right wing, whereof *Doria's* Admirall was to lye outermoſt, and the Admirall of *Sicily*, next to the Battel: the third ſquadron, recommended to *Barbarigo*, plying towards Land, was to make the left wing, wherein were likewiſe placed the two Commiſſaries, *Canale* in the midſt, and *Quirini*, in the outermoſt part inward, as Commiſſary *Barbarigo*, firſt on the out-ſide: The ſecond ſquadron made the Battel, plac'd between the two wings, in the midſt whereof were the three Royall Gallies, with the three Generalls, *Don John*, *Colonna*, and *Veniero*; and next theſe, on one ſide, *la Patrona Reale*, and the Admirall of *Genua*; and on the other ſide, the *Commandadore Majore*, and the Admirall of *Savoy*: and this whole battel was terminated on the right wings ſide, by the Admiral of *Malta*; and on the left, by *Lomelinoes* Admirall: and the fourth ſquadron lay behinde, to be a ſuccour to the reſt. The great Venetian Gallies were before the leſſer Fleet, about half a mile, divided ſo, as *Duodoes* Admirall was to be placed before the battel, and that of *Jacopo Guoro*: Before the right wing, ſtood *Andrea Peſaro*, and *Pietro Piſani*, with their two gallies; and before the left, *Antonio*, and *Ambrogio Bragadini*, with other two. The ſhips were ſent before with the men and munition, to *Corfu*, commanded by *Ceſare Davalos*, and *Nicolo Donato*; but becauſe the foot deſtin'd thereunto, were not yet arrived, being hindred, as hath been ſaid by the Enemies Fleet, wherby the Venetian gallies were not furniſht with as many men as were the Spaniſh; *Don John* gave very readily way, that they ſhould be re-inforced with 1000 of the *Spaniards* Italian foot, and with 4000 *Spaniards*, which were with as much affiance received into the Venetian gallies. Two dayes after, the Fleet being come to the Cape of the *Colonne*, where, by reaſon of contrary winds, and upon occaſion of taking in ſome foot, it ſtaid a while: *Gilandrada* was ſent with his own gally, and with three other Venetian gallies, to *Corfu*, to learn news of the Enemies Fleet, whereof that of *Caterino Malepiero* return'd forthwith, and brought news, that the Enemy was paſt by within ſight of *Zante*, and was entred with their whole Fleet, into the Gulph of *Lepanto*; the mean while, ſeeing the winds would not ſerve them to make for *Corfu*, the Venetian Generall mentioned going towards *Cefalonia*, whither they ſeemed to be invited by proſperous Navigation, and hopes of meeting ſpeedily with the Enemie; but this opinion being laid aſide, and the firſt courſe being purſued, the Fleet came on the 27th of *September* to *Corfu*, and anchor'd at *Caſopo*, where having the ſame newes confirmed by ſeverall advertiſements; and moreover, that *Uluzali* was paſt with fifty ſayle to *Modone*, It was thought, that theſe things being to be believed, it was now time to come to ſome certain reſolution. The three Generalls therefore called a councell; where not onely thoſe did intervene, who

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were usually admitted, but many other Commanders, and prime Personages, who were then in the Fleet. *Some were of opinion, that they were to advance, and fight the enemy. But others being of another minde, propounded other enterprises, seeking to enterpose delaies; yet to shew, that they were likewise for trying the fortune of war, but governed by better reasons, they proposed the expugning of* Naverino; *alledging, that by taking this place, which with so great forces they might easily do,* Modene *would be thereby likewise much endangered; so as the enemy would be forc'd to come out of their strong places, and places of safety, where they were, and to encounter and hinder them; so as by this means, they might come upon more advantage to battle. But it was clearly seen by many arguments, that these things were propounded, not with any minde of putting them in effect, but of opposing such as were forwardest for advancing; for at the same time, it was granted by themselves, that the season of the year was unfit for sea-enterprises, and that this would meet with many dangers; for that so great a Fleet would not meet with any friend's places, or havens able to receive them. That therefore they ought to consider well, before they should take any such resolution, as might make the enemy glory in a victory, gotten without fighting. That those, to whose care the conduct of the Fleet was committed, and whereupon the whole businesse did depend, were to think, as well of comming back, as of advancing, and not to suffer themselves to be carried so far away, with a desire of undoing the enemy, as to forget their own safety. That the voyage of the Western Gallies, to go to where they were to winter, was long and difficult. Besides, great care ought to be had, in assaulting the enemy at their own dores, though they should be the weaker: whereas those that spoke the least, affirmed, that the Turkish Fleet was doubtlesly greater then theirs. That though* Uluzzali *was gone, he was not gone so farre, as that they might hope to finde the Enemy divided. And that certainly it was more likely, that they should lose their labour, in seeking to finde out the Turkish Fleet, which, loaded with prey, after having tane the towns in* Albania, *it being no longer time to make other attempts, would not stay expecting them, but would be already past on towards* Constantinople. *Which reasons prevailing with some, they were for making some enterprise in the Gulph, as that which would be sooner, and with more safety done. And others, mentioned going for* Candia, *fearing, lest the enemy, when they should see our men busied else-where, and being thereunto invited by the weaknesse of the garrisons, and the rising of the country Mountagniers, would turn towards that Island, and endanger it. But Generall* Veniero, *and commissary* Barbarigo, *with some others, who were constant to their opinion of fighting the enemy, gainsaying all other proposalls, considered, that the season was now such, as that alone was enough to make them give over the thought, of expugning any city, or doing any thing else, that required length of time; whereas the Turkish Fleet was so near, as that a battle might soon be had, wherein all the hopes and reputation of the League did now consist. That* Cyprus *was already lost, many Islands in the* Levant, *and all the Rivers of* Albania *and* Dalmatia *were pillaged. That the victorious enemy insulted every where, threatning the Island of* Candia, *wherein, it was already said, they intended to winter, putting themselves, with the greatest part of their Gallies, into the haven of* Suda. *Wherefore (said these) hath there been so great a Fleet prepared, and so*

many ſouldiers raiſed? wherefore hath ſo much monies been expended? Why have the people been grieved with ſo many taxes? Princes ſo much troubled? if without ſo much as ſeeing the face of an enemy, or trying our fortune, We, when we are not well got out to ſea, ſhould return home, with ſo much loſſe, and diſgrace to Chriſtendom? Is it not peradventure ſufficiently known, that no war is made without danger; and that not onely war, but no other action is ſecure and certain? But when the danger is counterpoiſed with as much hope, thoſe who eſteem glory, or what the world will ſay, ought not to ſhun the triall of their fortune. We have a Fleet ſo numerous, ſo well provided of men and artillery, and of all things fitting, (the Lord be praiſed) as we want nothing, unleſſe our Commanders want courage and reſolution, to make uſe of their forces. The Turkiſh Gallies are uſually much worſe then thoſe of Chriſtendom, and at the preſent, they cannot be well provided of ſouldiers, all the beſt being gone with the Army to Cyprus; *the having been long at ſea, their prey, and their preſent ſecurity, are things which make the Fleet the weaker, and the eaſier to be overcome. And ſay, that the Fleet ſhould now be ſuffered to return home ſafe and entire, have we not reaſon to believe, that it will be ſo ſtrongly recruited the next year, as all lands, and all ſeas, muſt lie open to the pleaſure thereof, not meeting with any, that dare any where withſtand it? It is wiſely done, to ſpin out the war in length, when there is hopes, that the enemy may conſume of himſelf, and by his own ſufferings: But our caſe is clean different, ſuch difficulties being, out of many reſpects, rather to be feared on our ſide, then that we ſhould hope to ſee the enemy oppreſt thereby. There is no hope of glory or ſafety therefore for us now in any thing, but in beating the enemies Fleet; after that, we may hope for all good ſucceſſe; without it, all our deſignes are vain, all other enterpriſes are to no purpoſe, or elſe of very little help to the main buſineſſe. Nor are we to diſpair of finding out the enemy, for being by their innate pride inſolent, and by the negligence, wherein the Chriſtians have always proceeded againſt them, they will not haſten their journey for any fear of our Fleet. But ſay we ſhould not find them, we ſhall not be ſaid to have done but little, when we ſhall have won much honour, by ſhewing, we have done what in us lay, to find out, and to fight the Enemy.*

Theſe things were eagerly diſputed on all ſides, ſo as every one ſtanding firm to their own opinion, nothing could poſitively be then agreed on: Yet their judgment beginning to prevail, who adviſed for the beſt, it was reſolved, to go to *Cefalonia*, and there, upon more certain intelligence, reſolve what to do. Thus the Fleet parted from *Corfu* on the 30th. of *September*, paſſing by the head of the Iſland, which lies towards the *Levant*; and, croſſing the Channel with a briſk ſouth-eaſt winde, they went to Anchor at the *Gumenizze*, about ſome twenty miles from *Corfu*, where there is a large haven, where being forc'd to tarry three daies, by reaſon of contrary windes, they began to muſter their men, the care whereof being given to *John Andrea Doria*, he went aboard ſome of the Venetian Gallies, and making the ſouldiers ſtand to their Arms, he ſeemed to be well ſatisfied. But ſo much powder was ſpent in theſe muſters, and in continuall ſalutations, wherein our men, who were but freſh ſouldiers, took much delight, as above 200 barrells of powder was waſted in one day, ſo as fearing leſt they might want it in time of need,

need, the ſouldiers were forbidden to ſhoot without occaſion. There hapned at this time a ſleight accident, which was like to have cauſed very ill blood. A tumult being riſen amongſt the ſouldiers in *Andrea Calergi* his Gally, a Candian, wherein there was a company of Italian foot, who were the Count of S^ta *Fiore*'s men, commanded by *Mutio Tortona*, one of the King of *Spain*'s Captains; The Venetian Generall hearing, that the tumult continued, and that ſeverall of them were ſlain, to prevent further miſchief, ſent firſt his Maſter's Mate thither, and afterwards his Admirall, who both of them received injurious words from *Tortona*, and the Admirall was ſorely hurt by *Tortona*'s ſouldiers. The Venetian Generall thought, that if this ſhould remain unpuniſhed, it might cauſe the greater prejudice to him, and to his authority, for that it was done before his eyes, who was not far from thence in his own Gally: Wherefore he gave command, that Captain *Mutio*, his Antient, and his Sergeant, who were the firſt occaſioners of the ſcandall, ſhould be apprehended; and being apparently found guilty, he made them immediately be hung up upon the Maſt of his own Gally, to the end, that they might be an example to others, to proceed with more reſpect, and to give due obedience to their Commanders. *Don John* was more troubled at this, then became him, as if he and his authority had been therein injured, by whom alone, as ſome of his followers ſought to perſwade him, ſuch juſtice ſhould have been done. But *Colonna*, and others, who were lovers of juſtice, and who were much troubled, that the moſt important buſineſſe ſhould be diſturbed, by ſo ſmall occaſions, did labour to pacifie *Don John*, ſhewing, that there was no cauſe of offence given him; that the place wherein the fault was committed, was ſufficient reaſon for him to puniſh it, who commanded there. That the Venetian Generall might uſe his authority in ſuch particular affairs, wherein the common intereſt was not concerned; and that that time, and that occaſion, did particularly require it, to the end, that Commanders might not be bereft of that obedience, which was alwaies ſo uſefull in War, but moſt neceſſary there, where there were ſouldiers of ſeverall Nations, and under Commanders of ſeverall Dominions. Wherewith, though *Don John*'s anger was in a good part ſatisfied, yet was he not altogether appeaſed; inſomuch as abſolutely denying, to treat of any thing with the Venetian Generall, the moſt important buſineſſes were negotiated by Commiſſary *Barberigo*, who with ſingular dexterity and wiſdom, fought to keep upon good tearms with the Spaniards, which was then more neceſſary then ever; the enemies Fleet was very ſtrong, and very near; the buſineſſe which they had in hand with all the League's forces, was of greateſt importance. So as continuing without more diſpute, in their firſt reſolution, of going to *Cefalonia*, as ſoon as the winde ſhould ſerve, they purſued their voyage; and paſſing on the 4th. of *October* by the Channell of *Piſtardo*, on the 5th. the Fleet went to the vale of *Aleſſandria*, where many ruines of the antient city of *Samos* are yet to be ſeen. Here, by the relation of *Gil' Andrea*, of *Jovan Battiſta Contarini*, and by Letters from *Paolo Contarini*, Com-

Commissary of *Zante*, the same things were confirmed, which they had formerly heard, of the Turkish Fleet; and chiefly of *Uluzzali*'s being gone, though his voyage was diversly spoken of; some saying, that he was gone with fifty Gallies to *Modene*; and others, that he was gone with somewhat a lesser number to *Barbary*. Wherefore all of them being of opinion, that they were fully informed of the enemies forces, and of their condition, and that they might hope to finde them in the Gulph of *Lepanto*, and fight them upon advantagious terms, the Venetians met together, to consult what was to be done: On the one side, they were very desirous to fight, and had great hopes of victory; on the other side, they were very doubtfull what to do, and feared much any good successe, by reason of the Spaniards various and uncertain proceedings, so as they knew not well what resolution to take. By saying nothing, they did not onely give over their hopes of good successe, but suffered their Fleet to be exposed to great danger, by reason of the enemies being so near; and they were debar'd advising thereupon, (according as the importancy of the newes, and the businesse required) by reason of the Commander's simulation. In this ambiguity, they resolved to send *Colonna*, and Commissary *Barbarigo*, upon the occasion of the newes which they had received, to *Don John*; and that without mentioning any fighting, they should endeavour to perswade him; to continue his first resolution of advancing, and to think onely of doing what was already resolved on, without any further consultation. Yet some proposed the enterprise of S^ta *Maura*, and other things; but much difficulty was found in them all. Wherefore the next night, the Fleet went from the Haven of *Alessandria*, and steering towards the Gulph of *Lepanto*, came to the Curzolary Rocks the next morning, by Sun-rising, which was on the seventh of *October*.

At the same time, the enemy hearing by *Caracoza*, that the Christians Fleet came forward, and was badly provided of men; *Ali*, were it either, that he had received such expresse orders from *Selino*, or that aspiring after glory, being thereunto egg'd on by the Trophies, which the other Bashaw had wone by land-enterprises, which made him desirous to do some notable action by sea, prepared to go out of the Gulph of *Lepanto*, and to meet the Colleagues Fleet, with intention to fight them, promising unto himself a glorious victory. And yet being desirous to have the opinions of the chief Commanders therein, he found some doubtfull, and others of a clean contrary sense. *Pertau*, as being of chief authority, and knowing himself out of emulation of glory, to be more subject to suspicion, did neither give his free consent, nor openly contradict it. But *Siloco*, *Sangiacco* of *Alessandria*, an aged man, and of great experience at Sea, disswading from the proposall, laboured to prove, that this advice was full of danger; and that the advisers thereunto might be the more subject to blame, for that such a resolution would not onely be taken without necessity, but unseasonably, and without reason.

Our arms (said he) *have hitherto been victorious, we have ruined ma-*

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ny of the Enemies Islands, taken so much booty, brought away so many slaves, and taken two Towns in Albania, *opportunely seated, whereby we have much increased the* Ottaman *Empire; nor was it to be esteemed lesse boldly done to have advanced so far, and approached with their Gallies so near the very city of* Venice, *and scorning the so great preparations of the Enemies Fleet, to have withdrawn their forces to the defence of their own shores, and made the memory of that expedition perpetually glorious. What greater prosperity, what greater renown could be now expected? That some bounds were to be put to the desire of glory, and Empire; and that they ought not so often, and at th time tempt, may tire fortune, which never smiles long upon any body, especially in affairs of war: that they had made war with the Venetians for the getting of* Cyprus, *which was successfully by force of Arms now reduced under the* Ottaman *Empire, so as the cause of that war was now decided. What should now make them hazard the dubious event of battel? and not onely afford those Enemies a means, but even force them to fight, whom if they, the Turks, knew how to make use of the present occasions, they might without unsheathing a sword, force to return with shame home to their own Havens, for want of bread, leaving them the effect of victory, gotten without any hazard: so as being confounded and amazed by so many bad successes, they would not hereafter dare to agree in joyning so many forces together as now they had done: wherein that they had done their utmost, might be witnessed by their so long delay of putting out together to Sea, and by their unwonted boldnesse of advancing so far, knowing that they had so great a Fleet as might counterpoise their Enemies: therefore it would be much more wisely done, to keep within that Haven, where they were defended by two Forts, and had good store of Victualls, and all other conveniencies, and where the enemy durst not approach them: that those things were truly advantagious, which wrought our intents with real glory, by the vain appearance whereof none ought to suffer themselves to be led against all reason of war, and whereby they might incur great blame, committing their reputation, and perchance all that they had got, to the uncertainty of fortune.*

But these reasons, though in themselves of great weight and consideration, were not able to remove *Ali* from his first firmly taken resolution, building upon so assured a victory, as that when our men should be assaulted by them, they should onely think of saving themselves by flight; by which falling into disorder, they would the more easily become their prey. Former examples, and the late successes represented all things so prosperous unto him, and did so inflame him with pride and audacity, as thinking his men invincible, he could not be perswaded that his fortune could alter. *He therefore cheered up the Captains and Souldiers with promise of Victory; he minded them that they went against the same enemies, which had been so often beaten by them, and rob'd of all their military glory; a weak people, accustomed to pleasures, not to pain, who relyed upon the Arms wherewith they were covered, not upon their valour.*

Thus all things being ordered to this purpose, and the gallies being well recruited with Souldiers, by taking 6000 Spachi from the neighbouring St. *Jacchi's*, he parted with his whole Fleet from *Lepanto*, on the 6th of *October*, which according to the truest relation, consisted of 250 sayl, whereof above 200 were gallies, the rest

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Fly-boats, and Gallieasses: and in this number there were about 40 Lanthorns. *Ali* disposing of the Fleet, as if he had been presently to give battel, committed the right wing to *Mehemet Siloco*, an *Alessandrian* Captain; he gave the care of the left wing to *Uluzzali*, King of *Algiers*; he placed himselfe together with Bashaw *Pertau*, in the midst, the body of the battel consisting of 100 gallies, 50 on a side. The two Captains of the wings were placed, the one before, the other behinde all the squadrons; and certain fly-boats were kept for a reserve, under several Captains. The Turkish Fleet parting in this order from *Lepanto*, sayled the first day to *Galata*, where staying but one night, it steered the next morning before day towards *Cefalonia*, where the Turks thought to finde our Fleet, and to fight it within the Haven, having the same design upon our men, as we had upon them; for a little before the Turkish Fleet hoysted sayl, the Christian Fleet was likewise gone from their Havens, to go meet the Enemy.

Thus it fell out, that the two Fleets were gotten very neer one another, before either of them knew what way the other took: they both desired battel, but yet they met without knowing it, each thinking that the other would not fight uninforced. But when the Turkish Fleet discovered ours, and was at the same time discovered by ours, the wonder was great on both sides, and the joy as much, each of them undervaluing the others forces. The Turkish gallies sayled in the order aforesaid, with their Trinchet-sayl onely, very close together, in form of a halfe Moon; but our Fleet, as it past through the channel, which the *Curzolari* Rocks make there, was forced somewhat to alter their order; for the Van-guard being only advanced, and the first gallies of the right-wing beginning to go out, the rest remained behinde those Rocks. But that all things may be the more clearly represented, the Narration requires that this seituation be particularly described. A Creek is made as it were by two Arches in the Jonick Sea, which incompasseth about 200 miles; for parting from the Gulph of *Arta*, and pursuing the Rivers of *Albania*, even to the gulph of *Lepanto*, for the space of 70 miles: the Land bends backwards, and advancing as far on the coast of *Morea*, from the gulph of *Lepanto*, to the Castle *Tornese*, it makes as it were a half Moon. Opposite to the *Ferme* Land, lies the Islands of S^ta *Maura*, *Cefalonia*, and *Zante*, which being seated in a triangular form, shape an opposite Semicircle; so as this part of the Sea is, though with a large intervall, almost incloled. In this, there are three small Rocks, not above a mile from the Rivers of *Albania*, standing but a little divided; on the East, they look upon *Lepanto*; on the West, upon S^ta *Maura*, from which places they are almost equally distant between 35 and 40 miles: on the South, lies the Islands of *Zante*, above twice as far off: and on the North, the *Albanian* coast. These Islands were by the Ancients, called *Echinadi*, whereof the Poets, fabling, said, they were Nymphs, drowned there in the Sea, and turned into Rocks: for having despised the Deity of the neighbouring River *Achiloo*. These are barren Rocky places, without any humane habitation, and otherwise of no note;

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but now made famous through all Ages, for the memorable Naval fight which insued there abouts. Hither came our Fleet, as you have heard the 7th of *October*, a day celebrated amongst Christians, in memory of the Virgin Martyr *Justina*, a little after sun-rising; which having disperst the clouds, and allay'd the winds, brought with it a Calm. *Giovanni di Cardona* past by the *Curzolari* Rocks, who guided the Van with 8 Gallies, and went to *Petala*, and was followed by the whole Fleet, to tarry there, by reason of the conveniency of the Haven, and of the River *Achiloo*, with intention, now that they were come within 8 miles of the Castle that lies in the mouth of the gulph of *Lepanto*, to send some Commander to view it. Thus all of them following the same way, as they came from out the Cursolary Rocks, upon the point of the *Pescharie*, called by the Grecians, *Mesologni*: the Enemies Fleet was kend by *Don Johns* Admiral Royall, about 12 miles off. Then the Generalls, surprised by an unexpected necessity of fighting, not being at all moved, sent with all possible speed and diligence to all the gallies, that they should stand to their Arms, and hastening their voyage, take the places as was particularly prescribed them before. It is said, that *Don John* was then wisht by those who were formerly against advancing, not to hazard himselfe upon a battel, without new and mature advice; to which he wisely and generously reply'd, the present condition of affairs was such as required courage, not counsell. And thus immediately, without listning to any thing that might dissuade from fighting, he caused the Standard to be hoysted up in his Gally, with the Arms of the Princes of the League, and made the signe of Battel be given, at sight whereof all cry'd out with great joy, Victory, victory; and arming himselfe, and without any delay, getting into a long boat, *He went round about, and solicited every one presently to make forward, and to overcome the malignity of the place; he ordered the Gallies, incouraged them all to fight; he acquainted them with the occasion of battel, with the danger, necessity, glory, and with the rich booty of the Victory.*

The Venetian Generall was no lesse diligent, in ordering his forces, and in incouraging his men to fight. When any noble Venetian, Governour of any Gally, came before him; he desired him to remember, *That a publick, pious, and important cause, was to be disposed in that days work. That the totall affairs, and the honour and safety of their Country, lay in their valour; that the necessity of fighting was unavoydable, which was wont to make even cowards valiant; but that selfe worth, and desire of praise, did awaken fortitude in noble and generous hearts.* This mean while the Gallies came still out, and leaving the Rocks on the left hand, the whole Fleet came into full Sea, and put it selfe in order, one gally keeping in a direct line by the others, with sufficient space for a gally to go between them: The Venetian and Spanish gallies being every where mingled, the whole Fleet taking up about 4 miles space. *Andrea Doria*, who led on the right wing, kept towards the Sea on the South-East side. Commissary *Barbarigo*, kept with the left wing to landward, the three Generalls keeping in the midst with the Battel, about which there were 4 gallies with Lant-

horns; two on the side, the two Admiralls of *Savoy* and *Genua*, upon one whereof was the Prince of *Parma*, and the Prince of *Mycon* upon the other, and two on the Poop, *La Patrona Reale*, and the Commandadore of *Castelles* Admirall. *Lomelini's* Gally, and Commissary *Quirini's* Admirall, closing up the battel on one side, joyn'd it to the left wing; the Admirall of *Malta*, and Admirall of *Sicily*, joyn'd it with the right wing; and the Admiralls of the wings were the formost of their squadrons, on the out-side. The 6 Galliasses were placed on the Front of the Battel, about halfe a mile from it, divided in the same manner: In the midst before the Battel, stood *Duodo's* Admirall, and *Jacomo Guoro's* Gally, with two others, for every wing, which were all very well furnished with Artillery and Souldiers.

The Fleet being thus ordered, stood firm, with their Prows turn'd towards the Enemy, expecting that they should come on. *Ali*, not seeing our left wing appear yet, which was not come from forth the Rocks, thought the Christian Fleet to be lesser then it was; and seeing *Duodo*, bend towards the Sea, which he did to make way for the other gallies which followed, he imagined they began to fly; whereupon the Trumpet, Drums, and Cymballs, sounding, and making great signs of joy, the Turks advanced, as to an assured prey; but when they had advanced a little, and saw all our Gallies in order, they grew doubtful; so as, striking their main Yards, (for the winde began to grow lesse) they slackned their course; but not having time to put on new resolutions, they came slowly on, that they might keep the better order. *Ali* exhorted his Souldiers, not to forgo their former courage; if he found fear in any one of them, he stir'd them up, either by promises, or threats, bidding them remember the worth of many *Mussulmans*, who would not give over the Battel till either dead, or Conquerors. As soon as the Enemies Fleet came near the greater gallies, they were play'd upon by a great shower of shot; for those Vessels were well provided (as hath been said) with both great Guns and lesser, and suddenly made many shot at them, every where, on Prow, Flank, and Poop, whereby they prejudiced them much. Those of the first squadrons made resistance, and made many shots at *Duodo's* Admirall; but soon perceiving that they did us but little harm, and received much themselves, they began to fall off with all possible speed from the greater Vessels, so as every gally seeking to give way, and to free themselves as soon as might be from danger, and not being all of equall goodnesse, nor able to keepe the same course, they fell of themselves into disorder; and to get out of the reach of the Guns, kept their ranks sometimes closer, sometimes wider, not according to convenience, or reason, but as they were advised by Necessity. Hereupon it happned, that the enemies Fleet fought in great disorder, for the winde failed them; so as after they had past the Galliasses, they could not re-order themselves, before they were come very near our smaller Gallies, which making use of the fair winde, were advanced, and had by shot defyed the enemy, and begun the fight.

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This diſorder of the enemies appeared moſt in the right Wing, for many of them falling willingly towards land, they had ſtraitned their Squadrons too much on that part. Then *Ali*, thinking *Doria*'s Squadron the greater, becauſe it made the greater ſhow, being out at high Sea; and beginning to doubt, that his taking ſo great a compaſſe, was done with intention, of incloſing him in the midſt, and by tacking about, to aſſault him both on the Flanck and Poop, to his great inconvenience; he commanded *Uluzzali*, that he ſhould augment his left wing, and making towards the enemy, ſhould face or fight their right Wing. But *Doria* ſteered his courſe towards the enemy's Admirall, which was oppoſite to him, ſo as the conflict began ſomewhat later on that ſide, then it had on the left Wing, which being near land, and having but little way to make, encountered the enemy quickly. But *Siloco*, who was oppoſite to this our Wing, ſeeing ſome ſpace by ſea, between the laſt Gallies thereof, and the land, his Gallies being (as hath been ſaid) cloſe together, fell with them preſently beyond ours, to the end, that turning back, he might aſſault our left Wing on the reer, and that upon any ill fortune, he might be the neerer land, and ſo might provide the better for his ſafety. And though Commiſſary *Barbarigo* were aware of this his deſigne, yet could he not hinder him time enough; ſo as the Gallies of the ſecond Squadron paſt ſafely beyond ours. At the ſame time, *Ali* keeping his courſe ſtreight on, and re-enforcing the Rowers, that he might be the ſooner out of danger of the ſhot, met with *Don John*'s Gally, who ſeeing him come, knew the Emperiall Gally by its Enſignes; and not tarrying to expect being aſſaulted, advanced immediately, together with the Venetian Generall, and both of them gave him a fierce aſſault. *Colonna* did the like to Baſhaw *Pertaw*'s Gally, betwixt whom the fight grew the fiercer, for that theſe the chief Commander's Gallies, had other Gallies neer them, which aſſiſted them to ſuſtain, and to refreſh the fight. But other Squadrons of the ſame order, which kept firſt cloſe together, ſevering themſelves a little, entred the Battle in ſeverall places, and in ſeverall manners; ſome were to reſiſt many of the enemies Gallies, and ſome other unfought withall, wound about whither they liſted, to ſuccour their companions that were in danger. Thus they fought in ſeverall places with great ſlaughter, and dubious event, ſo as it ſeemed not to be one, but many Navall Battles. The ſouldiers being on all ſides enflamed, not onely with the deſire of glory, but with hatred to their enemies, boarding the enemies Gallies, or beating back thoſe, that ſought to get into theirs, expoſed themſelves readily to all dangers, and were more intent in wounding the enemy, then in defending themſelves. There were but few that ſtood idly looking on, nor were theſe the more ſecure by their cowardice. The greateſt cowards, and the moſt valiant, ran often the ſame fortune, but purchas'd not the ſame praiſe. The mix'd noiſe of joy and lamentation, made by the conquerours and conquered; the ſound of Muskets and Cannon, and many other warlick Inſtruments; the cloud of ſmoak which obſcured the Sun, took away the uſe of ears and eyes, and made the Fight the ſharper,

and the more confuſed. They fought with more vigour there where the Generalls were, and with greateſt ſlaughter on all ſides; the ſouldiers being become almoſt invincible by their preſence, words, and example. So as for two hours ſpace, the buſineſſe was hotly diſputed between them, with various fortune, and dubious event. Our ſouldiers having entred *Ali*'s Gally more then once, even to the main-maſt, were as often valiantly repulſt by the Turks. The enemy encreaſed their forces here, other Gallies comming in to aſſiſt the Baſhaw, to boot with *Caracozzo*, Captain of *Vallona*, and *Mamut Saiderbei*, Governour of *Matelina*, who were already entred into the Battle with *Ali* and *Pertaw*: four other Gallies bearing lant-horns, came in unto them, which did much augment the Squadron; and others giving over other employments, came continually in, to where the chief Commanders were fighting: inſomuch as the Marquis of *Sta Croce*, who was in the reer, being aware of the danger that our Generalls were in, came in ſpeedily to their aſſiſtance with his Squadron; and *Jovan Batti ſta Contarini* making forward at the ſame time, let fly at one of the enemie's Gallies, which was about to aſſault the Venetian Generall, and ſunk it. Other Gallies of the Reſerve followed their example, of which, *Jovanni Loredeno*, and *Malapiero*, Commanders of two Venetian Gallies, put themſelves boldly in the midſt of the enemies, and after having long ſuſtained their violence, were ſlain, and their Gallies were ſhreudly torn, having, notwithſtandlng, by keeping the enemies Gallies play, been very ſervicable, to the taking of *Ali*'s Gally, which was thereby bereft of the aſſiſtance he expected from others; and *Ali*'s ſelf was ſlain by a Musket-ſhot, which he received in the head: his Gally being at laſt taken by thoſe of *Don John*'s ſouldiers, which were neereſt it, had the Standard with the half-Moons preſently taken down, and an other with the Enſign of the Croſſe was immediately ſet up in the place thereof, and the Baſhaw's head put upon the head of a launce, to the end that it might be ſeen by the whole Fleet. At the ſame time *Pertaw*'s Gally, and that of *Caracozo*, were taken; but *Pertaw* getting into a Cock-boat, ſaved his life, and *Caracozza* died in the conflict. The enemies *Bataglia* being routed, thirty of their Gallies, which were in beſt condition, got cloſe together, and wheeling about, fled towards land, to ſave themſelves, being purſued by *Quirini*, who forc'd the enemies to quit their gallies, and to throw themſelves into the water, when they were got into the neighbouring Rivers, ſo to provide for their ſafety. They fought with like valour in both the Wings, but with ſome differing fortune; for the conflict was very long and bloody on the ſide towards the ſea, but on the ſide towards the land, the day began quickly to appear favourable to the Chriſtians; ſo as the ſhout of Victory which was made from the main Battle, was anſwered as it were by way of Eccho, from the left Wing, with the ſame word, Victory. Some Turkiſh Gallies were paſt (as hath been ſaid) beyond our left Wing, and aſſaulting our men on the Poop, did much endanger them. *Barbarigo*'s Admirall, which was the firſt on that part, being encompaſſed and fought with, by ſix of the enemies

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Gallies, had much ado to defend her self from them all. The Commissary, in whom (though they seldom are seen to meet) better counsell, and greater courage, was never known, nor being at all dismaid amidst so great danger, commanded, ordered, and provided all things necessary; but the misfortune was, that as he stood on the Poop, with his face towards one of the enemies Gallies, which came to assault him, he was shot with an Arrow in the left eye, whereby losing almost all his senses, he was presently carried downe: and not being able to say any thing, he dyed of that wound three daies after, being therein the more unfortunate, for that he could not receive his part of joy of the victory. *Frederico Nani*, a valiant person, and well experienced in maritime affairs, succeeded him in his charge, whom *Barbarigo*'s self, as if he had foreseen his misfortune, appointed thereunto: And he, accompanied therein by the valiant Count *Silvio da Porcia*, and the souldiers and marriners reassuming new courage, they did not onely save their own Gally, but took one of the enemies Gallies, wherein *Cauali* was a commander, of great reputation, whom they took prisoner. But *Marino Contarini*'s gally, which, at the very beginning of the conflict, came in to the relief of *Barbarigo*'s Admirall, was exposed to greater danger; for *Contarini* having run the same fortune as the Commissary, who was his uncle, had done, after his death; his Gally was long fought with, and was excellently well defended; for having lost most of her men in the long fight, she was in great danger of being lost: But Commissary *Canali* coming in, in the interim, he did so adoperate both his body and his wit, discharging at once the office, both of a captain, marriner, and souldier, as the Turks began apparently to yield, especially when they saw *Siloco*'s Admirall sunk by *Canale*'s Cannon, and *Siloco*'s self taken in the water, who was brought to *Contarini*'s gally, who had behaved himself gallantly in this action. But *Siloco* being almost dead of his wounds, *Contarini*, seeing he could not add to his glory, by the longer life of so honourable a Prisoner, made his head be cut off. At the same time, Commissary *Qurini* came in, who having driven away one of the enemies Squadrons, (as hath been said) turned upon the rest, who yet maintained the Battle in this part; and putting them to flight, pursued the victory. So as the Turks being disordered every where, many of their gallies being shattered, and having no hopes of victory, and lesse of safety, being dispersed abroad every where, made for the neighbouring shores; and leaving their Vessells in prey to our men, exposed their lives to the danger of the waters, where many were drown, others slain by our forces, and but few of them escaped into places of safety. Thus past affairs in the Christian Fleet, which in the Battle, and on the left Wing, were undoubtedly victors: But the fight continued still very bloody in the right Wing, for *Uluzzali*, seeing that he could not beat the hindermost part of our right Wing, by encompassing it, as it was thought he would have done, betook himself to a new resolution; tacking about, he bent his course inwards, and turned thither, where he saw some of our gallies divided from the body of the Battle, and from the right

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wing, ſo as he had Sea-room enough to get beyond our Fleet, unprejudiced: 15 Gallies, whereof ſome were Venetians, ſome Spaniſh, being then furiouſly aſſaulted by a great ſquadron of the Enemies left wing, they were all of them reduced to diſpair of ſafety; and amongſt theſe, the Admirall of *Malta* was taken by the Enemy, but was reſcued by two other gallies of the reſerve, and through the valour of many Knights of *Malta* that were in them: But *Benetto Soranzo's* gallie took fire, and was miſerably loſt, with all that were in her. *Uluzzali* had with him the bigger gallies of *Algiers*, excellently well armed, and provided for any Action; with which, and with ſome other gallies which yet remained intire, of his wing; (for having fallen much Roome-ward at the beginning of the fight, as you have heard, they kept aloof from the great gallies); he yet maintained the fight, and prepared to aſſault our battel on the flanck. But when he ſaw his companions diſordered in all other places, and that there was no hopes of victory, and ſaw *John Andrea Doria* make towards him on one ſide, with a great ſquadron, and many other gallies of our battel, come to aſſault him on the other ſide; he reſolved to free himſelfe from danger as faſt as he could. So as having the Sea open before him, he ſteered directly towards the *Curzolary*, and paſt through the midſt of our Fleet with ſome 30 gallies, undamnified; but his other ſquadrons which followed him, not being able to ſayle ſo faſt after him, being invironed by our gallies of the right wing, and by thoſe of the Battel, who came too late to hinder the formers paſſage, were taken by our men without much ado; and moſt of thoſe that were fled away vvith *Uluzzali*, being followed by our men, gave againſt the ground on the *Curzolari* ſhores. *Uluzzali*, vvith ſome fevv others, ſayling with full ſayl towards S^ta *Maura*, eſcaped ſafe away: and the Enemies gallies, which were in the reſerve, when they ſaw their Battel broken, and their wings far off, being in a place fit for flight, were firſt retreated into the gulph of *Lepanto*, where they preſerved themſelves ſafe. After *Uluzzali's* flight, our men purſuing the Victory, fell to take, and plunder the Enemies gallies whereſoever they found them, and to take priſoners, the battel having laſted for the ſpace of five hours. It was a horrid ſight, to ſee the Sea covered with dead men, and with men halfe dead, who wraſtling yet with death, did by ſeverall means keep themſelves above water: Sails, Oars, Maſts, Rudders, Arms of all ſorts, floted upon the Sea, which was becom red with blood. The number of the dead was diverſly reported, as it is alwaies ſeen to be in ſuch caſes: The moſt agree, that we loſt above 5000 men, and had more then as many more wounded; but thoſe who ſpeak leaſt of the Turks loſſe, ſay that they had 30000 ſlain, amongſt which, Baſhaw *Ali*, their Commander in chief at Sea, and the greateſt part of their prime Captains, and men of chiefeſt authority. The principall perſonages that periſhed in the Chriſtian Fleet, were *Agoſtino Barbarigo*, Commiſſary-Generall, *Benetto Soranzo*, *Marino*, and *Jerolimo Contarini*, *Mark-Antonio Luado*, *Franceſco Buovo*, *Jacopo di Mezzo*, *Katerino Malepiero*, *Jovanni Loredanio*, *Vicenzo Quirini*, *Andrea*, and *Georgio*

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Barbarigo; and besides these noble Venetians, of other Masters of gallies, of good condition, *Jerolimo Bessanto*, *Jacomo Trevisano*, *Jerolimo Baptista*, *Benetto di Cypro*, *Jacopo di Mosto*, and *Andrea Calergi*, of Candia: and likewise some Chieftains of Authority, as *il Baily d'Negroponte*, Knight of *Malta*, *Pietro Giovanni*, and *Fergineo Orsino*, *Jovanni*, and *Bernardino de Cardine*, *Spaniards*; *Bernardino Bisbali Conte di Bantrito*, a Neopolitan; all whose names I have thought fit to mention particularly, to the end that since it was not their fortune, to get any other advantage, or to receive any other reward by this victory, their memory may live glorious amongst men, who by their death have secured our lives, and augmented our Glory.

The greatest slaughter and inconvenience the Christian Fleet suffered, was in the hindermost part of the right wing, which is doubtfully disputed, whether it happned by chance, (as often times bad effects follow good advice) or whether out of cunning and ill will: For *John Andrea Doria*, falling Northward, at the very beginning of the Conflict, as you have heard, were so far out to Sea, as some gallies of his squadron, either not being able to keep course along with him, or it may be, suspecting this his way of proceeding, wherefore they would no longer follow him, nor to separate themselves further from the fight, were divided on all sides. *Doria* alleadged, that the reason of War advised him so to do, for, to keep from being incompassed by the Enemy, he was to take so large a compasse, as keeping upon advantage, he might be in a condition rather of assaulting them on the Flanks, then of being assaulted by them: yet many did not approve of this justification, thinking that he had gone further from the rest than he needed; and that keeping out of danger, he would place himselfe so as that he might accommodate himselfe to whatsoever event the conflict might have. 'Tis hard to say what his intention herein was, the effect appeared plainly to all men, that after having taken a large compasse, & not being yet fully resolved what to do, it was very late ere he runned upon the Enemy, and came not in to succour his companions, till they were in great distress.

The carriage of this businesse being related to the Pope, the Pope said, that *Doria* had behaved himselfe more like a Pyrate, than a Captain Generall. There were notwithanding some, who in his excuse, laid part of this fault upon others; affirming, that *Don Jovanni di Cordova*, Captain of the Van-guard, whose place was appointed to him, between the main battel and the right wing, in case they should joyn battel, being past on, and entred into the Haven of *Petala*, not discovering the Enemy, came in so late, as that he could not time enough with his gallies, which were part of the same wing, possess himselfe time enough of that place, which was of purpose left open for him, whereby the gallies that were nearest thereunto, were exposed to the assault of the Enemy. Others said, that the Marquis of *Santa Cruce*, who commanded the reserve, minding onely how to succour the main body of the battel, either for that *Don John* was there himselfe in person, or that he thought the victory did chiefly consist in the good or bad successe

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of that part, did not care for assisting the right wing, though much playd by the Enemy, and others, (so much do men differ in their judgements and affections in the very same thing) commended *Doria* for what he had done; for that as a very expert and well-experienced person in maritime affairs, he had done so, to take the advantage of the Sun, and to have the opportunity of assaulting the Enemy upon the Flank. But it is most certain, that by this, either not very sincere, or unfortunate advice, the victory proved the more bloody, and the booty, and glory, somewhat the lesser, though they were both very great: For we took 117 of the Enemies Gallies, many were sunk, and very few of them escaped free away. There were above 5000 prisoners taken, of which 25 of good quality, and degree; a great many Christians were also set at liberty, who were detained in miserable slavery in the Turkish Gallies. There were many reasons given for this so good successe, and it may be all of them true; the goodnesse of our Vessels, which were strong, and sound at Sea, and wherein our Souldiers being sheltred, by our waste cloathes, fought the more boldly, and more secure: our store of Artillery, wherewith our Fleet was better furnisht then that of the Enemy, and made better use of them; as well by reason of their skil who managed them, as also that the Prows of our Gallies being low and eeven, not raised up, as those of the Turks, the shot being almost level with the superficies of the water, hit the Enemies Gallies more justly: moreover, the conditions of the Weapons was of no smal consideration: our men fought armed, against unarmed Enemies; and whereas the Turks did use their Bows and Arrows most, wherewith our men, though wounded, were yet able to fight, all our Musket shot was mortall; nor were our men weakned by frequent shooting, as were the Turks, their Bows growing slacker, and their hands weaker by often drawing. Our greater Gallies were likewise of great use, by whose shot the squadrons of the Enemies Gallies being divided, and disordered, they began to lose their courage and force: But really, the worth and valour of the Souldiers was of most avail; as might be known when they came to grappling, wherein many of our Gallies boorded by the Enemy, though upon disadvantage, being to resist a greater number; they did notwithstanding bear away the Victory, by the defendants valour, in whose Arms all their hopes did then consist. The Italian foot won much commendations, nor did the Spaniards merit lesse praise; but of all the rest, the *Grecians*, shewing both courage and discipline; as those who were most accustomed to that kind of Militia, and knew all advantages in wounding, and in escaping being wounded, behaved themselves with great praise and profit. It was likewise considerable, that the fighting near the Enemies Country, as it made our men the more valiant; being necessitated to fight, knowing that their sole hope of safety lay in their forces; so the Turks having opportunity of getting into their own Country, was the reason of their speedier flight. This so great Victory was of rare example in all ages, but rather to be desired then hoped for in ours, by reason of the Turks mighty power, and of the discords between our Princes;

ces; ſo as it was deſervedly acknowledged by the Chriſtians, as the work of Gods all-powerfull hand, whereof manifeſt ſignes were ſeen; for on a ſuddain, the troubled skies became clear, and the winde, which at firſt ſtood fair for the enemy, altered to our advantage. Beſides, it was confeſs'd by all ſides, that being moved thereunto by divine inſpiration, all the Commanders agreed in going near the Enemy, when it was leaſt hoped they ſhould do ſo. The Victory being thus got, the Chriſtian Fleet ſailing very ſlowly, as well by reaſon of towing the gallies which they had taken, as that the ſea was covered over with dead carkaſes, with ſhrouds of ſhips, and other impediments, retired to *Petala*, a neighbouring place in the Rivers, oppoſite to the Curzolari Rocks. But the next day, the Venetian Generall paſt with his gallies, for his better accommodation, to the *Dragomiſte*; where the firſt care was, to cure the wounded, and to view all their men, to ſee who were wanting, that they might proceed to ſome further enterpriſe, anſwerable to their forces. But finding, that they were not able to land above 5000 Foot, they thought them not ſufficient, for the expugning of *Lepanto*, which was propoſed; wherefore they reſolved to forbear falling thereupon, leſt they might haſard the reputation they had won in their victory. Whilſt the Commanders were intent about theſe buſineſſes, the ſouldiers and marriners went from one gally to another, to enquire after their friends and acquaintances; they rejoyced with thoſe that they found alive, talk'd of all that they had done, and reflecting back upon the danger paſt, they thought it to be greater, then what at firſt they had imagined, and were the more encouraged by their good fortune, conceiving the better of themſelves. All men throughout the whole Fleet were joyed, with the glory they had won, and gladded of the rich ſpoiles of the enemies which they had got. The mean while, Generall *Veniero* knowing, that nothing could be more welcome to his Country, then the newes of ſo great a victory; diſpatcht away *Omfredo Juſtiniano* ſpeedily, in his gally, who making very great haſte, came in ten daies to *Venice*, where it is impoſſible to ſay, how all men, of all conditions, were raviſhed with joy for this ſucceſſe. This Gally appeared on the 17th. of *October*, in the morning, entring by the Haven between the two Caſtles, within ſight of *la Piazza di ſan Marco*, which was then full of people; and having many ſouldiers in the Poop, clad in Turkiſh habits, which they had taken from the enemy, people knew not at firſt what to think, by reaſon of the novelties: but when they ſaw ſome Banners dragg'd along in the water, and that after ſome ſhot being made, thoſe within the gally cryed with a loud voice, Victory; victory was joyfully eccnoed from the *Piazza*: And the newes being forthwith ſpread throughout the whole City, people flock'd from all parts to St. *Marks Piazza*, every one embracing other for joy; inſomuch as when the Doge came from his Palace with the Senate, to St. *Marks* Church, he could hardly get thither for the croude of people. *Te Deum* was preſently ſung, and a Maſſe celebrated, as the time required, with all humble and devout thanks to God, for ſo great a mercy. Four

daies ſolemn proceſſion was ordered, to be obſerved in the city of *Venice*, and throughout all the other Towns in that State, in *Terra ferma*; and the memory of that happy day was celebrated, with other demonſtrations of joy, as ringing of bells, and bonefires. And it was ordain'd by decree of Senate, that that day ſhould for ever after be kept holy, with much ſolemnity; and particularly, that the Doge and Senators ſhould every year, viſit the Temple of the bleſſed *Juſtina*, in remembrance of the ſingular favour which they had received from God, under her protection. Their obſequies which were ſlain in the fight, were afterwards celebrated with much ſolemnity, and honoured with Verſes and funerall Orations. And *Juſtiniano*, who brought the happy newes, had the honour of Knighthood conferred upon him. Not long after, *John Baptiſta Contarini*'s gally came to *Venice*, being ſent from the Fleet, to give a more particular account to the Senate, of ſeverall particulars; and to conduct four Gentlemen, who were ſent by *Don John* to divers Princes, upon occaſion of the victory: *Don Lopes di Figeroa*, to the Catholick King, *Don Ernando Mendoſa* to the Emperour, the Count *di Piego* to the Pope, and *Don Pietro Zapata* to *Venice*, who landed all of them at *Otranto*. *Zapata* brought Letters to the Doge, and to the Senate, *wherein* Don John *gave an account of the fight, & how ready he was to ſerve in this ſo difficult and dangerous buſineſſe; ſaying, That he had expoſed himſelf to ſo much labour and danger, no leſſe out of a deſire of the Grandeza and ſafety of the Common-wealth, then for the ſervice of the King his Maſter, or for his own glory. And that rejoycing with them at the happy ſucceſſe, he would be ready to ſerve them hereafter with the ſame willingneſſe, and hoped to do yet greater things.* All the Princes of *Italy* ſent likewiſe their Embaſſadours to *Venice*, to congratulate this their ſo great proſperity. And ſuch rejoycings were had in the Courts of Princes, that were further off, as might ſhew the importancy of the buſineſſe, and in how great eſteem they held the Common-wealth.

Theſe things did not, notwithſtanding, make them forbear providing for war, but did rather much quicken their deſire of proſecuting the victory, and their hopes of reaping more advantage thereby. *Jacopo Zorauzo* was ſuddainly choſen in the ſtead of *Agoſtino Barbarigo*, to be Commiſſary Generall of the Fleet, whither fifteen Gentlemen were likewiſe ſent, to be governours of ſuch gallies, as were deſtitute thereof. *The Senate writ to Generall* Veniero, *praiſing his valour much, and willing him to give particular thanks to all the principall Perſonages, in name of the publick, for their ſervice ſo readily performed, in ſo important a buſineſſe. And them to rejoyce with them, for having won ſo much glory and merit, throughout all Chriſtendom. But they chiefly deſired the Generall, to make good uſe of the victory, and to uſe all diligence in bereaving the Enemie, of the remainder of his Fleet, Tackling, Men, and of all things elſe, whereby he might recruit his Fleet; ſaying, That this was the chief ground-work of all other hopes; for if the enemy were bereft of all Navall preparations, an eaſie way would be opened for other atchievements.* The Generalls ſeemed very deſirous, to proſecute their good fortune; therefore being all reconciled after the conflict, they had often met to conſult, upon what they ſhould do next; and at

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laſt it was by common conſent reſolved, to equipage 150 gallies, whereof 30 ſhould tarry to guard the gallies which they had taken; and that the other 120 ſhould ſcoure the Rivers of *Morea*, and incite the inhabitants to rebell againſt the beaten Turks, whoſe forces and courage were loſt, by that daies misfortune. Wherein much hopes being put at the firſt, all things were prepared, for paſſing into the neighbouring ſhores of *Romania*, that they might firſt get footing there, and make themſelves Maſters of ſome fit place, to furniſh the Fleet with victualls, whereby they might the better tarry in thoſe parts, and fall upon greater affairs. But when theſe gallies were to ſteer this courſe, many difficulties being objected to *Don John*; that purpoſe was ſuddainly altered, and he would go with the whole Fleet to the Haven of *Calogero*, where the taking of S^ta *Maura* being propounded, *Gabriele Cerbalona*, and *Aſtanio della Cornia*, were ſent to view the Fort, that they might put on the better reſolution: From whom, when they heard, that the enterpriſe would be long and difficult, they quitted their former intention, and concluded, that it was not good to employ the Fleet in ſuch actions, as might keep them from re-ordering, and re-inforcing it, and from doing greater affairs the next year. So as many daies being ſpent in theſe conſultations, and the winter comming on, they bethought themſelves rather where to winter their Fleet, then to make any new attempts. All the Generalls came therefore to *Corfu*, where *Don John* making no abode, went with his gallies to *Meſſina*, and *Colonna* went with the Pope's gallies to *Napols*, and from thence to *Rome*. This courſe not anſwering to the conceived hopes, cauſed much wonder, and no little diſlike, ſince having overcome, they had not with the ſame vigour purſued the victory, then, when the bare reputation of ſuch ſucceſſe, was ſufficient to make way, to further noble proceedings againſt the enemy. But as it is commonly ſeen, men are more diligent, and agree better, in keeping off common dangers, being by neceſſity inſtructed ſo to do, than in purſuing glory, and greater power, either out of envy to one anothers power, or elſe through the delight of preſent victory, neglecting ſuch things as are uncertain and far diſtant, though very beneficiall. Wherefore ſome pleaded the example of the memorable Battle of *Salamina*, wherein, though the Grecians did with incredible valour, overcome the mighty Prince *Xerxes* his Fleet, they did not yet reap any more ſignall advantage thereby, then of having delivered *Greece* for that time from the eminent danger of being enſlaved by Barbarians.

The Venetians ſtaid, as you have heard, with their Fleet at *Corfu*, and finding their forces encreaſed by *Phillippo Bragadino*'s comming, with 6 galliaſſeſſes, and 10 gallies, which were not in the Battle, ſeverall enterpriſes were propounded, all of them acknowledging, that to lie idle, muſt needs diminiſh ſomewhat from the reputation which they had wone. But the ſharpneſſe of the ſeaſon did very much croſſe all attempts, which not ſuffering them to employ themſelves in far-diſtant and important actions, the Commanders reſolved, to attempt the taking of *Malgarithi*, whither 30

gallies were ſent, under the conduct of *Marco Quirini*, with 6000 foot; with whom there went *Franceſco Cornaro*, Commiſſary of *Corfu*, *Proſpero Colonna*, *Paulo Orſino*, and other Commanders: To whom the enemy immediately yielded, not more in reſpect of their forces, then for their recent victory. So as without much ado, they took the Fort, which thinking they ſhould not be able to keep, without much inconvenience and expence, it was by common conſent ſleighted. By which being encouraged to greater hopes, Generall *Veniero* propounded, the taking of S^ta^ *Maura*, thinking it to be a buſineſſe eaſily to be effected, by the relation which was made by ſome, that the Fort was weak, guarded then but by onely 300 men, and that the Paſſes to be poſſeſt were but few and narrow; that it was very eaſie to cut the Bridge, which joyned the Fort to the *Terra ferma*, whereby the enemy ſhould be kept from all reliefe. But Commiſſary Generall *Soranzo* diſſented from this propoſition, ſaying, *That the information was not ſo certain, as that they might build thereupon, with hopes of getting honor, or rather without much hazzarding their reputation. Moreover, that they had too few men for an enterpriſe, which was alwaies held to be difficult. That they wanted Commanders of authority*, Proſpero Colonna, *and* Paolo Orſino *being preſently gone, after their return from* Malgarithi. *That it was likewiſe to be conſidered, if the buſineſſe ſhould prove longer then was imagined, (as it uſually falls out in ſuch caſes) they ſhould loſe honour in giving it over, and might incur great prejudice by continuing it, ſince all the Leagues Fleets were to meet in good order in the beginning of* March. *He therefore propoſed, as a thing better befitting the preſent time, and occaſion, an attempt upon the* Dardanelli, *or that they might go ſomewhere elſe, where by depriving the enemy of their Rowers, and of other things, wherewith they were to recruit their Fleet, their deſignes might be diſturbed and hindered.* Yet *Veniero* continuing in his opinion, went in the beginning of *February* with the whole Venetian Fleet, to the Iſland or Promontory of *Albania*, formerly called *Leucade*, but now S^ta^ *Maura*, which being but a little diſtant from the firm land, is now by the *Corinthi*, the antient inhabitants of that country, joyned by a Bridge to the land. Our mens firſt care was, to keep the Fort from being ſuccoured; hoping, that being unexpectedly aſſaulted by ſea and land, and having but a ſmall garriſon, it would ſoon become theirs. Commiſſary *Canale* was therefore ordered, to advance with 13 gallies, and to break the Bridge; about which many armed Barks were placed, to keep horſes from wading into the Iſland, ſo as the enemy might be bereſt of all ſuccour. Theſe things being thus ordered, and many Foot and Horſe being already landed, Generall *Veniero*, and Colonell *Rancone*, who had the chief command of the land-forces in this enterpriſe, went to view the ſcituation; but finding many of the enemies Horſe, with whom it became them to skirmiſh, and wherein they loſt ſome of their men, they were forc'd to retreat, not being able to take ſo good obſervations as was needfull. And finding by what they conceived at the firſt ſight, that the ſituation was ſtronger then it was given out to be, and that therefore the enterpriſe would prove the more difficult; which difficulty was made the greater, by

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their failing in their first designe: For the Barks which were to keep the Fort from being relieved, not being able to advance so far as they should have done, by reason of the shelfs and shallowness of the water, could not keep the enemies Foot and Horse from wading over, and encreasing the Garrison. They dispairing of doing any good, without more ado, embarkt their men, and went away with the whole Fleet, whereof 25 gallies, commanded by Commissary Generall *Soranzo*, went to *Candia*, and Generall *Vgucero* returned with the rest to *Corfu*.

This mean while, *Colonna* was come from *Naples* to *Rome*, where he was received with great pomp, and extraordinary honour, the houses and streets being adorned, divers Arches erected, and the antient Arches of *Vespasian* and *Constantine*, by which he was to pass, inrich'd with new and proper motions. At his entrance into the City, he was met by a numerous company of people, and by the chief Magistrates of *Rome*, before he came to the Porte *Capena*, now called St. *Sebastian's* Gate; through which he made his publick entry, accompanied by 5000 Foot, and many Nobles, with attendance in rich Liveries; the pomp being made the more conspicuous and glorious, by 170 Turkish Slaves, who, clad all in silk, were led as it were in triumph amidst the files of souldiers. Thus did *Colonna* passe by the way of the *Campidoglio*, to the Palace, where the Pope, accompanied by the Colledge of Cardinals, stood expecting him, in *Constantine's* Hall, whose foot when he had kiss'd, he presented the prisoners to him, amongst which were the sons of Bashaw *Ali*, in token of his victory. At which, *Rome* was overjoyed, seeing the memory of her glorious triumphs, and of her pristine greatnesse, as it were, renued, after so many ages, in one of her famous Citizens.

THE

THE VVARS OF CYPRUS.

Book III.

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The

THe Victory gotten by the Princes of the League, against those Enemies, who being till now almost invincible, were by reason of their so many prosperous successes in Battel, become formidable to all other Nations, had awakened great hopes in all men, thinking it was now an opportune time to take revenge for past offences; and that the *Ottaman* Empire being once abandoned by fortune, might be overborn by the true worth and valour of Christian Princes, and Souldiers: and, as it usually falls out, especially when being at the height of prosperity, men fancy all things feasible which they doe very much desire: no enterprise, no acquisition was so great, as could satisfie their conceived hopes, or which was thought a sufficient recompence for such a Victory. Not did onely such, to whom it appertain'd, either by peculiar imployment, or by experience in War, to talke thereof; but all men, being every where become Souldiers, did popularly, and oft-times very vainly discourse, how, making use of so happy an occasion, the Colleagues forces should be imploy'd. Severall Enterprises were motioned against the Turkish Dominions, and especially in *Greece*: *All men held for certain, that the very fame of the approach of the Christian Fleet, was sufficient to make way for noble acquisitions: For that the Inhabitants of those Provinces, who were held in cruell slavery by the Turks, mortally hating their religion, customes, and Empire, would instantly rise up in behalfe of the Christians; and the Souldiers of their Garrisons, being possest with fear, would retreat to the most remote and secure places, leaving their Towns to be freely possest by our men, if they would but appear before them; so as the whole Turkish Dominions would in a short time be in disorder, and one acquisition would make way for another; and this first victory would beget more. Others, not content with such things as these, but flying at all, were of opinion, that as soon as the season should permit, the Christian Fleet should advance, and entring the* Dardanelli, *should with great, and unexpected forces, fall upon the city of* Constantinople, *against which they might use their maritime forces the better; for that it was said, the Garrison there were but weak, and the Inhabitants full of fear: That such an Enterprise would be undertaken with greater preparations, and more readinesse by all the Colleagues, because all of them would share in the gain; that this was to be esteemed the onely sufficient reward of the Victory; that other lesser acquisitions would but increase expence and difficulties; that nothing would be wanting to so glorious an action, if mens forwardnesse would equall the importancy of the occasion, which was now offer'd them of chasing these new, insolent, and ravenous Inhabitants, out of the most noble Countries of Greece, into the farthest confines of Asia; and of regaining together with that Empire, glory to Christendom. But the wiser and more temperate men, suffer'd not themselves to be born away by their desires to so immoderate thoughts; nor nourishing vain hopes, but measuring the event of things by reason, not by affections; knew, that as long as the Turks Land-forces should remain intire, which is the true foundation of their Empire, no attempt which could be made against them would prove so easie; neither did they think it a good foun-*

oundation to ground their hopes upon the peoples rising, which often producing other effects, then what was at first conceived, might prove the more uncertain, and fallacious in the Ottoman *Empire; for that the Inhabitants who are thereunto subject, being poor and base, wanting Commanders and followers, weapons and wealth, cannot by their rising do any great prejudice to the Turks, nor be of much advantage to any others: and the Grecians, being long accustomed to slavery, have much lost their ancient generosity. But grant that such commotions were to be expected from the late Victory, they had let slip the occasion, and lost all such hopes, by not pursuing the blow; for the Enemies fears being by time lessened, and their Forces increased, they might either appease, or hinder such Tumults, and secure their own affairs.* So as that being every day confirmed by new advertisements, which was at first thought almost impossible, that the Turks would have a numerous Fleet out that Summer, it was judged by such as did more seriously, and more judiciously ballance the present condition of affairs, that nothing could be more advantagious for the League, then to bend all their indeavours and forces, to destroy this new Fleet, whereby they might so weaken the Enemy, as they might either have more assured hopes of doing some good upon their Dominions, by continuing the War; or that, if Peace should ensue, they might secure their own Territories for some time from the Turkish Fleets, and make use of the happy successe of this battel, rather as of a certain foundation, and commencement of overcoming the Enemy more easily hereafter, then as a perfect and compleat Victory. Out of these considerations, the Venetians gave themselves with all their might, to make new preparations for War. They increased the number of their Gallies, they recruited their Fleet with men, and provided for all things necessary, that as soon as the season would permit, their Fleet might go into the *Levant* to incounter and fight the Enemy.

Thus did men think, and thus they did discourse; but the Christian Princes, being blind-folded by their own affections, knew not the opportunity which was offered them of abasing the power of a common Enemy, who was become so formidable; but envying so much good unto themselves, and so much glory to this their age, neglected the War, as if they had not been therein concern'd; though their common interests lay therein, and refused the greater prosperity, promised them by their first happy successe. For the Emperour being again earnestly solicited, and many promises being made unto him, by the Pope and the Venetians, to come into the League, since he was thereunto invited by prosperous, and all desirable successe; so as he might (as he himself had said) safely do so; and being likewise exhorted thereunto by the King of *Spain*, who had sent *Don Piedro Fassardo* to him, to that purpose; continued notwithanding in his delayes and irresolutions: nay, he propounded new and greater difficulties; for being averse thereunto, he strove to have place for excuse, and protraction still left unto him. He desired that the greatest part of contribution for the foot, should be assigned to him in Monies; and that it might be ascertained out of some of the Hauns-Towns in *Germany*. He further desired

fired to be ſecured, that theſe aſſiſtances ſhould continue for ſome time, and that therefore ſome more ſtricter capitulations ſhould be inſerted into the League; which deſires were ſeen to be made, out of perſwaſion, that they would not be granted; for it was known, that the Tribute being already prepared, he had made choice of one to carry it to *Conſtantinople*. And the King of *France*, whom the Pope did again ſolicite by his Nuntio, not to be wanting upon ſo weighty an occaſion, to the good of Chriſtendom, ſaid, He muſt firſt know *Ceſar*'s reſolution, who, if he ſhould move therein, he would readily afford his helping hand, and would joyne his land-forces with thoſe of *Germany*, under the command of Monſieur his brother; but that he neither could, nor would permit, that his ſea-forces, which would be much inferiour to thoſe of the King of *Spain*, ſhould joyne with his Fleet. At the ſame time, Cardinall *Alleſſandrino*, having diſpatch'd his Embaſſy in *Spain*, was already gone by order from the Pope to *Portugall*, who, by *Torres* his information, (who was ſent thither the year before, to the ſame purpoſe) was told, that above 30 veſſells might be man'd out of that Kingdom, for the ſervice of the Chriſtian Fleet; and that the King ſeemed very willing to employ all his forces in this common ſervice: wherefore his Holineſſe hoped, he might get good aſſiſtance there for the League. But though the Cardinall was very honourably and lovingly received, he could get nothing from the King but generall promiſes, whereby it was diſcovered, that that Prince being wholly intent upon the buſineſſe of *Barbary*, did not much minde things at a farther diſtance. And not long after, *Antonio Tiepolo* went thither likewiſe, with an Embaſſie from *Spain*, it being hoped, that the newes he brought of the victory, might perſwade that pious Prince, to enter into the League, wherein an honourable place was preſerved for him; he being invited by the Colleagues ſo proſperous ſucceſſe, and by his own intereſts, to quell the Turks inſolent forces, both in regard of his Dominions in the *Indies*, to the which, he might know, the ſo great power of the *Ottomans* muſt needs be prejudiciall, by what *Soliman* had attempted againſt the City *del Dieu*, in the mouth of *Indus*, and by the Fleets which were aſſembled together in the Arabick Creek. Yet was not that King much moved at all this, nor could he be brought to promiſe any thing, ſave that he would furniſh out 4000 Foot for the ſervice of the League, the next year, and add ſome of his ſhips to the confederate's Fleet; which, he ſaid, he was not able to do at the preſent, by reaſon of the French Hugenotes of *Rochells* incurſions; againſt whom, he was forc'd to keep many armed veſſells, to ſecure his Rivers, and the navigation of thoſe ſeas: As alſo by reaſon of the *Moors* inſurrection, in the Kingdom of *Fez*, which he was firſt to ſuppreſſe. And hereof he gave an account by his Letters to the Senate, witneſſing the affection and great eſteem he had, for the Common-wealth. But *Tiepolo*, that he might do ſome good by his endeavours, ſhewed him, That he might aſſiſt the cauſe of Chriſtendom againſt the Infidells ſome other way, without inconveniencing himſelf; to wit, by making his Officers in the *Indies* hold ſome in-

telligence with the Persians, who are naturally enemies to the Turks, by informing them particularly, of the union and forces of the Christian Princes, of the victory which they had gotten, and with their designes: And then by furnishing them with some Portugesse Harchebugiers, who getting into the Turkish Empire by the Red-sea, might raise some commotion, whereby the Turkish forces might be kept employ'd in severall parts, or whereby they might at least be made jealous. Which the King readily promised he would do; adding, that he would hinder the Turks commerce at *Ormus* and *Bazzana*; and keep them from bringing the great store of Mettle, which they were furnish'd with from *China*, through the Persian sea. The King likewise assisted the Legat *Alessandrino*, in sending certain Briefs from the Pope to the King of *Persia*, to *Prester-John*, and to some Arabick Kings; exhorting them to take up Arms against the Turks; of which, there never came any answer, nor did there any good come thereof.

But these uncertain and far remote things, were not much considered, as being able to do but little good at the present, to the conceived hopes. The Pope did likewise renue his desires to the King of *Poland*, with whom Cardinall *Commendone* was at the present, hoping to make him take up Arms, not onely in respect of the Victory, but for that other accidents had also occur'd, which was thought might work upon the King, and the Barons of that Kingdom. For the Turks being jealous, that the *Polanders* had favoured the *Wallachians*, in prejudice of the *Ottaman* Empire, that he might revenge the injury, entered at unawares into the Country that was subject to that Crown; and having made severall incursions into *Prussia*, *Podolia*, and *Russia*, threatned greater mischief. But the King was unseasonably faln dangerously sick, when he should have been treated with, touching this businesse: So as the affair being to be negotiated in the Kings absence, with other Lords of the Kingdom, not well inclined to this war; that they might not, contrary to their customes, contribute to any expence of war, out of their Kingdom; and they having had advertisment at the same time, that a Chiaus was upon his way from *Constantinople*, sent thither to accommodate the differences; the Popes authority nor endeavours could not work such effects, as were hoped for. Thus went affairs in the Courts of Christian Princes, and the first so-exalted-hopes began to grow lesse: For sea-forces were not sufficient to suppresse the power of the Turks, powerfull land-Armies being likewise thereunto requisite, which the Christian Princes might at this time have made good use of, taking advantage of the Turks maritime forces being divided; whereby, and by their losse of reputation in the Battle at *Lepanto*, they were become weaker then formerly, and easier to be overcome. But to this it was primarily necessary, that *Cesar* should declare for the League, it being the common opinion, that *Poland*, *Muscovy*, and the other Northern Countries, which were apt to take up Arms against the Turks, would follow the example of the Empire: Which being very well known unto the Turks, they sought by all possible means,

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to preſerve friendſhip with the Emperour *Maximilian* at this time, thinking their danger very great, if the German forces had moved againſt them. *Wherefore Baſhaw* Mehemet *had writ to* Ceſar, *and given him an account of the ſucceſſe of the Battle, leſſening very much the loſſe which they had received, exalting the power of the* Ottaman *Empire, and exhorting him not to break the Truce, for any vain deſignes of others; but to keep inviolably his friendſhip with* Selino, *wherein if his faith ſhould now be ſeen, it ſhould for ever be perpetuated.*

The Turks were ſo jealous and apprehenſive of the commotions, which *Germany* might be able to make, as that, when it was after known, that the Emperour would ſend the Tribute to *Conſtantinople*, that ſouldiers reward was encreaſed, who was the firſt bringer of ſo welcome newes. But that which did moſt trouble the Pope, and the Venetians, and which made all men not well know, what to hope or fear, was, a doubt which was begun to be conceived, that the Spaniards were not ſo forward to purſue the victory, as the preſent occaſion required, whereby the enemy might have means afforded him, of becomming more powerfull than ever; for it was given out, that *Don John* was blamed by ſeverall chief perſonages of the Catholick Court, for haſarding the Kings forces to ſuch danger of Battle, wherein the Kings intereſt, and that of the Venetians, were not alike; and that therefore that buſineſſe ought to have been otherwiſe handled by him, and by counſells apart. And afterwards it was known, that the Duke of *Leſſe*, a man of much maturity and eſteem, and who had been verſt in very important employments, was ſent to the Fleet, in the place of the Commendadore Generall, who was gone to be Governour of *Millan*. From whence it was infer'd, that the King's pleaſure was, that *Don John* being very well informed by the Duke of *Leſſe*, and by his Councill, in all things, ſhould not ſuffer himſelf to be ſo far carried on in point of glory with any thing, as might in the leaſt part exceed his directions. But the greateſt impediment which was thought would befall the fervent proſecution of the war, in the *Levant*, was, the bad ſucceſſe of the affairs in *Flaunders*, which grew every day worſe and worſe; it being ſomewhat ſuſpected, that the Proteſtants of *Germany*, *England*, and *France*, did favour that inſurrection, and aſſiſt thoſe that rebelled againſt the King. Which being added to a certain naturall ſlowneſſe in the Spaniards, and to other more cautious circumſpections, it was feared, that it would either altogether hinder the proceedings of the League, or occaſion ſome important delay at this time, to the buſineſſe of the *Levant*, whereof many apparent ſignes were ſeen: For the proper time for actions at ſea appearing, and wherein the Fleet were of right to joyne, there was but little care taken to put the Fleet in order. And though the Venetians did mightily mediate it, by the means of their Embaſſadour *Lunardo Contarini*, who was ſent to *Don John*; firſt, upon the occaſion of the victory, and who tarried afterwards with him; yet no reſolution was taken, nor were ſuch actions ſeen, as the buſineſſe required. Onely the Venetians letting no time ſlip, nor ſparing either for coſt or labour, endeavoured to make uſe of the victory, were diligent in re-

pairing their gallies, added to their numbers, and raiſed new men to recruit the Fleet; that they might both return with a powerfull Fleet into the *Levant*, and at the ſame time minde ſuch occaſions as preſented themſelves, of doing ſome remarkable thing in the Gulph. And finding thoſe who were ſubjects to the Turkiſh Empire up in ſeverall parts, and ready to rebell, they thought it became them, according to the cuſtom obſerved by the Common-wealth, upon like occurrences, to chuſe another Generall; to which end, they choſe *Jacopo Foſcarini*, who was then Commiſſary Generall in *Dalmatia*, who having had the miraculous happineſſe, to paſſe ſome few years before from private affairs, to the managing of publick buſineſſe, had ſhewed ſuch ſingular judgment and wiſdom therein, and wrought himſelf into ſo good an opinion with all men, as they thought, they might ſafely place the hopes of the Common-wealth upon him. And to obviate any occaſion of new diſlikes, finding that *Don John*, and generally all the Spaniards, not well affected to Generall *Veniero*, for what hath been ſaid before, the Senate was pleaſed, that *Veniero* ſhould come with ſome gallies into the Gulph, and that *Foſcarini* ſhould go with the forces of the League into the *Levant*: Who hearing of his election, and having already received the Standard from *Luigi Grimani*, who ſucceeded him in the place of Commiſſary in *Dalmatia*, he went away from *Zara* with 9 gallies, and came in the beginning of *April* to *Corfu*, where he took upon him the charge of the Fleet, which conſiſted then of 40 Gallies, and fell diligently to view thoſe that were in them, to cauſe Foot be brought from *Brandizzi*, great ſtore whereof were already there, under ſeverall Commanders; to provide for Victualls, Arms, and Ammunition, and to diſpoſe of all things excellently well. And Generall *Veniero* came with ſome gallies into the Gulph, to act as occaſion ſhould ſerve, keeping the ſame ſuperiority of command over all the Captains at Sea, whenſoever they met. And theſe were the proceedings of the Chriſtian Princes.

As for the Turks, they were the more afflicted for the rout given to their Fleet, becauſe being long accuſtomed to good ſucceſſe in war, they believed, their fortune was unalterable; and totally deſpiſing the Chriſtian Militia, thought, that to war with them, was onely for aſſured prey and glory. But after having received this unexpected blow, they grew capable of fear, and doubting the worſt of evills, that ſome tumults might ariſe even in *Conſtantinople*; *Selino*, who was then at *Andrianopoli*, came to *Conſtantinople*, and ſhewed himſelf to the people, concealing his grief and fear as much as he could: but the Baſhawes were not the leſſe carefull, in providing neceſſaries for the Fleet; but building upon our mens ſlowneſſe, and negligence, in purſuing their victory, they were the more diligent in all things, for that their labours were accompanied by hopes, that they might make amends for the loſſe they had ſuffered in their Fleet, and recover their loſt honour. They rig'd up their old gallies, and all thoſe alſo which had been given over, as unſerviceable in the *Mare majore*, and elſe-where. They built many new ones, muſtered marriners, ſent out commands to their ſouldiers in other Pro-

vinces,

vinces, to come to *Conſtantinople*. And uſing great ſpeed and induſtry in all things, not without much wonder, and miſchief to the Chriſtians, *Carazzali* went out very betimes, out of the ſtraits of *Gallipoli*, with 60 gallies, wherewith he began to ſcoure the ſeas, and to lay waſte the Iſlands of *Tyre* and *Cerigo*; whilſt *Aluzzali* ſtayed, to gather together as many armed Veſſells as he could, deſigning, as it was ſaid, to advance, and pillage the Iſland of *Candia*, when they ſhould be joyned; or elſe to face our Fleet, hindring the deſignes of our Commanders, and ſecuring the *Ottaman* ſhores. By which proviſions of theirs, and by the ſlowneſſe and irreſolution of the Chriſtian Colleagues, the Turks re-aſſumed courage, though at firſt they had begun ſeverall diſcourſes of peace with the *Baylo*, and appeared very deſirous thereof; yet they put off the more certain reſolution, till Monſieur *d' Aix*, the King of *France* his Embaſſadour, ſhould be come to *Conſtantinople*, who they heard was parted from *Venice*, and came upon important occaſions to that Court, and who, as they believed, brought with him ſome particular Commiſſion about that buſineſſe; ſo as by his means, and by his Kings authority, the agreement might be the more eaſily made, and the more firmly eſtabliſhed. So as afterwards, the face of affairs altering, when they came to a more particular treaty, they propounded very unjuſt and unreaſonable demands, and would make peace rather as conquerours, then conquered. So as the buſineſſe was as then laid aſleep, and the war proſecuted with much fervency; which though the Venetians did willingly continue, yet were they much troubled, finding, that their Iſlands were burnt, and pillaged, and that the vanquiſh'd enemy did inſult as victorious, threatning every day more miſchief and ignominy. And that on the other ſide, their friends and confederates not being moved at theſe miſchiefs, nor apprehending greater dangers, did proceed ſo ſlowly in all things, as if the enemy had been utterly overthrown, and that they needed not to fight any more, but onely peaceably to enjoy the fruits of victory. Many reaſons were alledged for theſe delaies, and much diſcourſe was had upon it, all men wondring very much, at this manner of the Spaniards proceeding. It was much noiſed, that the French aſſiſting the Flemiſh now no longer ſecretly, as it was thought they had done formerly; but that they were openly, and by publick advice, to aſſault the King of *Spain*'s Dominions; that the preparation of 50 armed ſhips, which was made at *Rochel*, which *Philip Strozzi* was deſigned to command, aimed at this. That the aſſembling of men, and noiſe of arms, which was ſaid to be made in the Kingdom of *Navar*, reflected upon this. That therefore it became the Spaniards to be carefull, and to provide againſt theſe important and dangerous commotions, and not to employ their ſea-forces, wherein their greateſt ſtrength now lay, in remote enterpriſes, where they could not be ready upon occaſion to defend their own territories. Others reaſoning otherwiſe, ſaid, That theſe French commotions being in themſelves of no moment, were made to appear greater by the Spaniards, thereby to cloak their truer and more ſecret counſells, which were ſeen very cunningly

ningly to aime, at the keeping of the Turks forces and power, and the like of the Venetians, ſo equally ballanced, as neither of them ſhould exceed their preſent condition. That therefore thinking, they had done enough for the Venetians ſecurity, by defeating the Turkiſh Fleet, and by hindring the Turks further progreſſe, they were very reſerved, in falling upon any other undertakings, leſt if they ſhould prove proſperous, the Venetians power and reputation might grow too immoderate, whereby the Spaniſh Fleet might meet with another weighty counterpoiſe, and greater, then peradventure might be thought convenient, for the ſafety of the territories, which the King of *Spain* was Maſter of in *Italy*. Nor wanted there thoſe that ſaid, the Grandees of *Spain* did envy *Don John*'s glory, and that therefore they had held forth his too great Grandezza to the King of *Spain*, as a thing that might cauſe trouble and danger to his Dominions. But what the true cauſe of theſe proceedings was, is unknown; for the Spaniards were ſo cloſe in concealing their counſells, as without appearing alienated from having the Fleets meet, or from the enterpriſes of the *Levant*, for fear of the French, or out of any other reſpect, they ſtill affirmed the contrary, giving daily hopes, that they would go to *Corfu*, which they were very crafty in doing: for they knew very well, that if the Venetians ſhould have any the leaſt ſuſpition, of being abandoned by the Colleagues, they would be forced to come to ſome agreement with the Turks, which, for ſome other reſpects, would be inconvenient for the Spaniards; for then they muſt of themſelves alone withſtand the forces of ſo great a Potentate, againſt whom they had alwaies profeſt enmity. Thus, and for theſe reaſons, did not the Spaniards diſcover their intrinſicall thoughts, but finding ſometimes one cauſe of delay, ſometimes another, ſpun on time, without doing any thing.

At this time did Pope *Pius Quintus* die, which cauſed a generall grief, being taken away very unſeaſonably, when Chriſtendom was was in ſo great need; for he, being a ſanctified man, and very zealous of the common good, and conſequently of great authority and reverence with all Chriſtian Princes, was held by all to be an excellent means, of keeping up the League, and of encreaſing the power and reputation thereof: giving alſo great hopes, of making way for ſome notable acquiſition by the Chriſtians, and for the ſuppreſſing of the barbarous Infidells. As ſoon as his death was heard of, the Venetian Senate wrote ſuddenly to the Colledge of Cardinalls, praying them, that they would not ſuffer the affairs of the League to ſlacken, wherein the late Pope had been ſo zealous, ſince any the leaſt protraction might prove very prejudiciall, and might hinder the happy proceedings againſt the enemy. They were all of them very well minded to purſue the war; and that they might proceed the more reſolutely, the employment was preſently confirmed to thoſe very Cardinalls, who were formerly deputed by *Pius Quintus*, to negotiate the affairs belonging to the League, who were very diligent, in ordering all things neceſſary. But the intervall of Popedom was but very ſhort, for the Conſiſtory of Cardi-

nalls

nalls meeting, they, the very first day, chose *Hugo Buoncompagno*, Cardinall of *San Sesto*, Pope, who took upon him the name of *Gregory* the 13th, a Bulligonesse by Nation, a Doctor of Law, who had lived long in the Court of *Rome*, and was held to be a just man, but of a soure and austere nature, well minded, but meanly witted, and not much experienced in managing of State-affairs. This election was much favoured by the Spaniards, and particularly by Cardinall *Granville*; were it either, that *Hugo*, whilst he was Legat in *Spain*, had won the Kings favour by his integrity; or else, (as some others said) because he was known then to be so moderate a man, as that it was thought, when he should be Pope, he would prove such a Prince, as in many respects would make for the advantage of the Catholick King; particularly, for the safety and preservation of his territories in *Italy*. Pope *Pius Quintus* his death, brought great disturbances to the uniting of the Fleets, though *Gregory*, as soon as he was crowned, confirmed the League in the same manner, as his Predecessor had done. For *Don John*, who sought to protract time, began more to scruple his departure, considering, that he could not of himself resolve to move with his Fleet any where, unlesse he should receive new orders from *Spain*; which he notwithstanding giving hopes should be suddainly had, according to the common desire, was the reason, why the Venetian forces did as yet nothing; and continuing still the same course, he, according as he thought time required his answer, did continually intimate his suddain departure, affirming it so particularly, as that he writ to Generall *Foscherini*, he stayed onely from comming to *Corfu*, in expectation of the Duke of *Sessa*; who, if he should not come all the sooner, he would assuredly come away without him. Nay he blamed *Colonna*'s counsell, who expecting some few gallies from *Florence*, did so long delay his comming to joyne with them. The Senate had commanded Generall *Foscherini*, to wait for the comming of the Spanish gallies, and not to attempt any thing, nor to employ those his forces in any enterprise, whereby the common concernment, and further progresse might be retarded.

But the Venetians being desirous that their Forces might be somewhere felt by the Enemy, resolved to attempt *Castel Nuovo*; *Sciarra Martinengo*, being the chiefe adviser thereunto, who having been the preceding year at *Catarro*, and having had opportunity to inform himselfe well, propounded it as a thing easie to be done. This man was born in *Bresse*, of a noble Family, though illegitimately; and being banisht upon occasion of private enmities, had been long in the French Wars, where he had won much repute for military valour. And upon occasion of this War, he had not onely obtained a safe conduct, but was made (as it is said) Generall Governour of *Albania*, every one conceiving well of him: His advice being imbraced, and his speeches believed, all things were provided, which he desired as necessary for this action.

The taking of *Castel Nuovo* was very much desired by the Venetians, not out of meer consideration of the thing it selfe, it being a little Town, of no great circuit, not very strong, nor well inhabited; but

but for the many advantages which might be had thereby: For it ſtands almoſt in the mouth of the Gulph of *Catarro*, near whereunto the land thruſts out, and ſtreightens the Channel ſo, as they who are the poſſeſſors thereof, may hinder any from paſſing further into the Gulph, which winding towards the *Levant*, makes an other great Creek, which is ſafe from ſtorms, wherein any Fleet, how numerous ſoever, may upon any occaſion ride ſafely, and in the utmoſt part thereof, ſtands the City of *Catarro*, which cannot be by any other way ſupply'd with Garriſons, Victualls, or any other neceſſaries, it being invironed every where on the Lands ſide, by the Turkiſh Territories. *Sciarra*, having imbarkt himſelfe at *Chioggia* with 5000 foot, whereof many were French, gallant men, and very well diſciplin'd, went with great expectation of ſucceſs towards the Gulph of *Catarro*, bringing orders with him to Generall *Veniero*, from the Councill of Ten, by whom this buſineſſe was negotiated, to aſſiſt the Enterpriſe; ſo as meeting him near *Lieſena*, they joyn'd together, and went to the mouth of the Gulph of *Catarro*, and paſſing a little forward, tarryed in a narrow place, which by reaſon of the ſtreightneſſe thereof, may eaſily be ſhut up, and is commonly called *Le Catene*, or the *Chaine*. Here they thought they might moſt ſafely land their men, all that coaſt of *Caſtel-Nuovo*, being full of Flats, which in bad weather are very dangerous: Whence it hapned, that a ſhallop wherein Colonell *Aleſſandro Caſtracani*'s men were, not being able to keep at anchor, was by the fury of the wind driven on ground, which the Turks being aware of, they got upon a little hill not far off, and by Musket-ſhot ſlew ſome of thoſe that were in her, who were not able to make any defence; ſo as inforc'd by neceſſity, they went on land, though in an enemie's Country; and finding themſelves backt by ſome of our Gallies, they were the better incouraged, and did for a while withſtand the Enemy, though they were far inferiour to them in number, till ſuch time as ſome Boates were ſent out unto them, wherein moſt of them ſaved themſelves. After this, the reſt of the men were landed without any oppoſition; which being done, *Martinengo* ordered his Brother *Silla*, to march immediately with a band of 200 French Harchibugiers, by the way of the Mountain which ſtands on the right hand of *Caſtel-Nuovo*, and that he ſhould indeavour to make himſelfe Maſter of ſome important Paſſes, whereby he apprehended the Enemy might be relieved: and he made as many more French Souldiers march towards the Town, conducted by Captain *Santa Maria*; and for the reſt of his men, he gave the charge of the Battel to his Serjeant *Maiore*, *Carlo Priſone*, a *Bergamas* Captain; the reereward to *Latino Orſino*, and put himſelfe in the Van, and marcht thus in three ſquadrons, the one a little after the other: In this order, he drew very near the Fort, the land Forces being ſtill backt by the Gallies, which coaſted along the ſhore, and obſerved what way they went: Then *Martinengo* having placed *Corps de Guards* in ſeverall places, fell preſently to make Trenches, having brought good ſtore of Pioners to that purpoſe from *Catarro*, and began to plant Cannon: But theſe works were mightily diſturb'd by frequent ſhot from with-

within the Town; ſo as being to uſe more time then was imagined, the news of our mens arrivall, and of the expugning of *Caſtel-Nuovo*, was noyſed in the neighbouring places, whereby many came from ſeverall parts to the reliefe thereof, by wayes unknown to our men: and chiefly on that part whither *Silla Martinengo* was ſent to guard the Paſs, the enemy grew ſo numerous, as though *Silla* was furniſht with more men from his Brother, it was clearly ſeen no ſuch ſuccour could be ſent him, as was able to make good that Paſs, which whilſt it was open, they had great conveniency of bringing Garriſons to raiſe the ſiege, and free the Fort from danger; which when the Captains conſidered, and found that the buſineſſe grew every day worſe on their ſide, they began to think they ſhould not be able to get the Town ſo quickly as they had imagined, it being much better furniſhed with defendants than they thought. Wherefore it was reſolved, to recall the Souldiers which were ſent to guard the Paſſes, who could not retreat without ſome danger, and at the ſame time to reimbark the Artillery, and the reſt of their men, it being then the opinion of all men, that whatſoever they ſhould attempt would prove unſuccesfull, and not void of danger: So as raiſing the ſiege, Generall *Veniero* came to *Zara*; and *Sciarra* with his French Souldiers, returned to the cuſtody of *Catarro*. Thus ended this Enterpriſe, not otherwiſe then was foreſeen by many before, who thought it a vain deſign to be able to ſtorm *Caſtel-Nuovo*, in ſo ſhort a time with ſo few men; it not being likely that a Fort eſteemed very much by the Turks, and which they had uſed ſo great warlike preparations to get ſome few years before, ſhould in ſo dangerous a time be left with a ſmall Garriſon to the diſcretion of the Enemy; nor yet, that being placed in a Country ſo full of Souldiers, the ſuccors would be long a comming, which might be brought from the neighbouring parts. This ſucceſs being therefore anſwerable to the advice, made *Martinengo* loſe much reputation, who was formerly well eſteemed of by many, rather for couragious daring, than for military wiſdome. This afforded juſt occaſion to *Mehemet Baſhaw*, of upbraiding the weakneſſe of our Counſels and forces, as he was diſcourſing with the Venetian *Baylo*.

Theſe were the Chriſtians actions, which were not anſwerable to the reputation they had won by ſo famous a Victory; the Fleet lying at *Corfu* and *Meſſina* with all their Souldiers, idle ſpectators of the Enemies inſultings at Sea, vvanting forces to make any important attempts elſewhere; and the worſt was, that the forces lay not then onely idle, but did much leſſen, vvaſting their Victualls, and loſing many men dayly through ſufferings, and want of action. Wherefore there being no appearance of *Don Johns* departure from *Meſſina*, Generall *Foſcherini*, infinitely weary of ſuch delayes, was ſtill thinking of ſeverall affairs. He propounded to attempt ſomething by himſelfe alone; he diſcours'd with ſuch as were skilfull in the Enemies forts, and in their inhabitants in thoſe parts: nothing troubled his mind, which was full of aſpiring thoughts, and greatly deſirous of glory, and of maintaining the good opinion which he had won, more then quiet. But at laſt, tempering his bolder coun-

selfe with mature wisdome, he got the mastery of himselfe. He knew it became him not, to attempt any thing with small forces, lest if the Enemies Fleet should advance, he must be forced to let it passe, and lessen much the reputation of the League, to their great prejudice; especially to those Christians who were subjects to the Turk, and who being incouraged by the happy success at *Lepanto*, were risen: but he chiefly shun'd doing any thing which might be displeasing to the Spaniards, or which might give them any just excuse of being faulty to the common obligations; which he did the rather, for that all other acquisitions were held poor, all enterprises to no purpose, in respect of what might be hoped for by fighting the Enemies Fleet, with the whole Colleagues forces, which was always the Senates intention, greatly indeavouring this union, and hoping therein very much. *Foscherini* being much troubled with these difficulties, and finding no better remedy for the lore loss of time, he thought it expedient to send the Commissary *Soranzo*, (who was now return'd from *Candia*) to *Messina*, hoping that his wisdome and dexterity, together with this demonstration of honour, might work much with *Don John*, and might make him hasten his journey. *Soranzo* parted thus from *Corfu*, with 25 Gallies, being to make the whole voyage with bad winds, so as he could not avoid all inconveniences; some of his gallies being driven by a great tempest upon *Regio*, and that of *Antonio Justiniano*'s being driven on land by a furious winde, could not be saved. But *Soranzo* being at last got to *Messina*, he was honourably received, and welcommed by *Mark Antonio Colonna*, who lay there, who excused himself, for not having come further to meet him, laying the fault upon the tempestuous winds: And then comming aboard the Commissaries Gally, they went together to *Don John*, who making *Soranzo* be met at the entrance into the Palace, by his chief Major *Domo*, and by other principall personages, he received him with much honour and grace, and seemed to be very glad of his coming. Then *Soranzo* began to acquaint him with the reason of his coming; he acquainted him with the present condition of things, saying; *That his Highness's comming to* Corfu *was much desired by all, where all their forces lay now ready, 25 gallies, and 6 galliasses, all of them well fitted, with all things necessary; a great number of souldiers, abundance of victualls and ammunition, whereof there were 22 ships loaded. That all that was now expected for their going forth, to prejudice the enemy, was the joyning of the Fleets, which believing that they were in readinesse, by reason of the great diligence, which they knew was to be used in businesse of so great contentment, he was come thither, to give him an account of the Venetian Fleet, and to wait upon him to* Corfu. *That the Venetian Commander would not venture upon any attempt, with those forces which they had in readinesse, without his presence, and fortunate conduct, though they had been by many occasions invited so to do, and by some others almost enforced, by reason of the newes they had of the enemies weaknesse, and of the injuries that they had done to their Islands. That it was the Senates desire, and the desire of every particular man, that all things should be referred to him, and that the prime glory of all enterprises should be reserved for him. That for*

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this cauſe, they had till now kept their whole Fleet within their own havens, being confident, that it would not be long before he would come thither. That he was now come to Meſſina, *rather to wait upon him, then to haſten his departure. That it was too apparent, of what importance every minutes loſſe was, wherein occaſions of greatly proſperous ſucceſſe might be loſt, or whereby at leaſt, the reputation which they had won might be much leſſened, which could not be upheld, but by ſpeedy and generous reſolutions; the expectation which the world had conceived of the Leagues forces, being very great, and particularly of his worth and fortune. That the laſt year, one day was ſufficient to beat the enemy, and to make way for other victories; that now much more time would be required to vanquiſh them, to bereave them of all their maritime forces, and to make themſelves Maſters of their Forts. That they were certain, theſe conſiderations would make him uſe all poſſible ſpeed and diligence, in making the Fleet ready. And that if his departure muſt be ſomewhat later, then the buſineſſe required, doubtleſly it would be occaſioned by the uſuall difficulties, which accompany great actions. But that this ſmall time which was let ſlip by neceſſity, might eaſily be recovered by his ardent zeal, towards the good of the League, towards his own glory, and towards the ſatisfaction of the Colleagues.* Colonna ſaid almoſt the ſame things in the Pope's name, ſhewing, that he was very ready to favour the League, and very deſirous to hear, that the Fleets were united. All theſe things *Don John* ſeemed to take in good part, as anſwerable to his intentions; he excuſed his paſt ſlowneſſe, out of ſeverall impediments, and promiſed to uſe all poſſible diligence, in putting 100 gallies ſpeedily in order, and 24000 Foot of ſeverall Nations, which were aſſembling for the ſervice of the Fleet. But the effects were not anſwerable, for there were not then above 64 gallies at *Meſſina*, and there was no newes of the Duke of *Seſſa*, who was to bring thoſe of *Spain*; and the old ſouldiers, who were ready to embarck, being in arreers for pay, refuſed to come on board, unleſſe they were ſatisfied for their former ſervice; for which, there was no courſe taken. Yet the Venetian Commiſſary was held in hand with ſeverall hopes and promiſes, from day to day; the which, that they might appear the more reall, 3000 Italian Foot were embarcked in 30 gallies, which were given in charge to the Neapolitan Generall, it being given out, that he ſhould go with them to *Corfu*, and there expect the comming of the reſt of the Fleet. Thus time was ſpun on till near the end of *June*, nothing being all this while done againſt the enemy, nor was there any thing reſolved what ſhould be done; the Pope's endeavours having prevailed herein no more, than thoſe of the Venetians. For *Don John* being oft ſolicited by Briefs, and by an expreſſe meſſenger, which was the Biſhop *Odiſcalco*, ſought to ſatisfie the Pope with good words, and hopes, affairs being brought to that paſſe, as the Fleet was hallowed by the Biſhop aforeſaid; and Proceſſions and Oriſons were made, and a certain day appointed for their departure. But at laſt, *Don John* not knowing how to juſtifie his ſo long delay, or to gainſay ſo many preſſures, wherewith he was hourely ſolicited, the Marquiſe of *Santa Croce* being come with the Neapolitan gallies, and *Don John di Cordona*, with thoſe of *Cicily*, and his Admirall being already

ready prepared, which things had ſerved before for ſome excuſe, he was forc'd to diſcover the truth; That he could not remove with the Fleet towards the *Levant*, by reaſon of new orders that he had received from *Spain*, out of the fears which were had of the French commotions, which had cauſed the keeping back of the Commiſſions, and had made him keep thoſe forces, where they might be ready to defend the Kings Dominions. This order being made known, and the reaſon of the Fleets ſuſpenſion; whereby *Soranzo* found, that it was in vain to perſwade *Don John*, to depart with his whole Fleet; and yet finding him well inclined to the good of the League, that he might get as much good thereby as he could, he thought it became him to endeavour the getting, at leaſt ſome part of the Fleet, which joyning with the Venetians, the honour of the League might be preſerved, and the forces which were ready at *Corfu* for any enterpriſe, might be encreaſed. But to ſhun aſſenting that, without breach of League, thoſe forces might be detained, which were obliged to ſerve the common intereſts of the aſſociates, he wrought it ſo, as that propoſall was made by *Colonna*; upon which, many conſultations being had, it was reſolved, that 22 gallies ſhould be permitted to go to *Corfu*, and 5000 Foot, part whereof being to be had from *Calabria*, was yet a further cauſe of delay. Theſe gallies were given into the charge of *Gil d' Andrada*, Knight of *Malta*, with title of the King's Generall, *Vicenzo Tattarulla* having the command of the ſouldiers. With theſe, and with the gallies of the Church, which were 13 in number, 11 of them belonging to the Duke of *Florence*, and 2 to *Michale Benella*, brother to Cardinal *Alexandrino*, did Commiſſary *Soranzo* return to *Corfu*, the whole Fleet comming along in company to the Straits of *Meſſina*, from whence *Don John* paſt to *Palermo*; and whenthey were parted, *Mark Antonio Colonna* ſet up the Standard of the League, ſupplying the place of Generall thereof. This the Spaniards reſolution being publiſhed, every one firmly believed, that the enterpriſe of the *Levant* would be no further proceeded in this year, by all the forces of the League; And the Spaniſh Embaſſadour at *Rome* did already ſay, that the affairs in *Flanders* could not be ſetled time enough, for the going of the Fleet into the *Levant*; and that therefore the King would turn his forces into *Africa*, that they might not be altogether idle, and to eaſe *Cicily* of them for a while. This opinion was the rather believed, by reaſon of many things that hapned; and eſpecially, for that much proviſion was made upon the Spaniſh coaſts, for refreſhing the Fleet; and becauſe it was known for certain, that *Muley Aſſam*, King of *Tunis*, was willingly liſtned unto, who then was with *Don John*, and affirmed, that thoſe people were very well diſpoſed towards the Crown of *Spain*, and were ready to riſe, and put themſelves under his ſubjection, if they ſhould finde any forces to back their rebellion. This the Fleets ſuſpenſion, afforded ſubject for ſeverall diſcourſes; ſome ſaid, *That the King, in making this League, had reſpect to his own peculiar intereſts, ſince otherwiſe he could not have obtained from the now preſent Pope, the confirmation of what was granted him by* Pius Quartus, *of raiſing monies from the Eccleſiaſtick goods*,

goods, for which he was bound to keep 100 gallies, to guard those seas; and that moreover he was perswaded thereunto, out of other weighty considerations: For if the Venetians onely were to withstand the Turkish forces, and should peradventure make any acquisition, they would get so much reputation at sea, as they might vye with him for power; and on the other side, if they should fare ill, and should suffer in their Dominions, the Turks power would be so much the more encreased, and become infinitely formidable. And then again, if the Venetians should fail in their hopes of such assistance, it might be believed, they would easily give way to some agreement, and so those forces which were prepared against them, might be turned westward upon the Kings Dominions. That therefore having taken upon him the common cause, upon these reasons, and bound himself out of these respects to maintain it, he could not with any justice, turn those forces to his own private end, which were before obliged to the common service of the League. That the wars of Flanders *was not any thing of new, whereby the King should put on such a resolution; for that war was already begun, when the League was stipulated. Nor were there even then wanting suspitions of commotions in* France; *for the Agreement being made being made between the King of* France, *and the King of* Navar, *and the Admirall, there was reason to believe, that the French, who are naturally lovers of novelties, and who were then long verst in Arms, would not keep quiet, but would betake themselves thither, where they should finde best opportunity to make war. That it was very clear, that by the conventions of the League, each Confederate might of right claim interest in the forces of the rest, upon requiring observance of the Articles agreed upon. That before the League, it was in the Kings power, to employ those assistances where, and when he pleased, but since he had freely, of his own will, bound himself to limited time, and forces, he could not regulate them according to his own occasions, nor alter them, without the Confederates consent.* Others affirmed the contrary, that the Catholick King had abundantly discharged the duty of a Christian Prince, and of a friend to the Common-wealth of *Venice, since, unobliged thereunto, he had readily assisted the first year of this war, with all the sea-forces he was then master of, the common service of Christendom, to the particular advantage of* Venice. *That it was in his choice, whether he would engage himself in this war or no, not being thereunto enforc'd by necessity, or at least, that being unlimited, either in point of time or forces, he might have governed himself according to his own peculiar interests. That notwithstanding, he would engage himself with the League, to make the Confederates confide the more in him, and that they might have the better foundations for designing their enterprises, which they were to make against the enemy. That this had been the cause of very great good, since the Colleagues forces being fastned together by this bond, and to the same end, had gotten so great, and so famous a victory over the Turks. That since the Kings interests were not like those of the Venetians, it was to be highly valued, that he would suffer the Fleet to run the same hazards. That it ought not to be wondered at, if the King, having had so great a share in that victory, should endeavour to reap some particular advantage thereby, by sending his Fleet, now that he had bereft the enemy of their power at sea, and that he might safely do it, to the enterprises of* Barbary, *which were specified in the Articles of the League, and which were so much*

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desired by his people, to bereave the Pirats of their receptacles, from which the Spanish Seas could by no other meanes be secured. That it was much more lawfull for him to make use of his own Forces for the defence of his peculiar affairs, at a time when his Confederates the Venetians, were in a great part free from being offended by the enemy. What reason, what wisdome was there, that he should abandon his own Dominions, to assault those of other men? and to suffer the like, or greater dangers increase at home, that he might carry them to the Enemies? That it was true, the Wars of Flanders *was no new thing, but that the accidents were new, which forc'd the King to think upon the preservation of those Countries, wherein disorders, were multiplyed, and the Enemies Forces increased.*

These, and such like things, were alleadged according to the variety of mens judgements, and much more of their affections; but to the end, that the cause of a businesse of such importancy, whereby the hopes of much good to Christendom were interrupted, may be made known, it will not be far from our purpose, that we acquaint you a little more particularly with the present condition of affairs, and with the occasions of jealousies which arose between the two most powerfull Kings of *France* and *Spain*, in a very unseasonable time. In the very beginning of this year, the Town of *Mons*, in Flanders, vvas lost, and not long after, Count *Nassaw* took *Valentiennes*, with forrain foot, the most vvhereof vvere French. And a little before the Duke of *Alva* had chased, and routed a great many both foot and horse, of the same Nation, which vvent to Garrisonize the Tovvn of *Mons*.

These things, as they did much increase the danger of losing those Countries; so did they beget great jealousie in the Spaniards, that so many French Souldiers were brought into Flanders, not onely by permission, but by order from the King of *France*, which was the rather believed, for that the Duke of *Alva* giving notice of these passages, to the Spanish Court, to *Rome*, & to *Millan*, had much amplified the business, and caused many fears of greater Commotions. Whereupon the Governour of *Millan*, the Spanish Embassador at *Rome*, and Cardinall *Granville*, exclaiming very much, and appearing to be full of jealousies and fears, were the first reason why *Don John* staid at *Messina*, openly discovering themselves to be so ill satisfied vvith the French, and the French growing as jealous of the Spaniards, by reason of their speeches, and proceedings, and fearing lest the Catholick Fleet might turn upon Provence to their prejudice; they betook themselves to fortifie *Marcelles*, and increased the Garrisons thereof. It was also noysed abroad, that the Duke of *Alva* should have said in publick, that he held the War to be already begun between the Crovvns of *France* and *Spain*; at vvhich speeches, the King of *France* being very much troubled, he mediated by his Embassadors, not onely with the Pope, and vvith the Venetians, but even vvith the King of *Spain* himselfe, complaining partly, *That a thing of such importancy should be affirmed by one of his Majesties chiefe Ministers of State, which as he was very far from thinking of, he thought he should finde others to be so too; and partly seeking to justifie some of his actions, which might seem to have given occasion to these the Duke of* Al-

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va's *speeches. He therefore constantly affirmed, that those French with whom the Count* Nassaw *had taken* Valenciennes, *were all of the* Hugenot *faction; his subjects, but (as is not well known) contumacious, and rebels to the Crown of* France, *that he had been alwaies much displeased at the commotions of* Flanders, *as one who was sensible of the peoples rebellion, in his own Kingdom, and whom it became to abhorre, not to increase by such examples, the doings of subjects against their Prince; and as one also who did as much desire the exaltation of Christendom as did any one, though his particular troubles would not permit him to all therein with others at so opportune a time. But though he could not contribute therein with his Forces, he was far from hindring the good effects of others; that he had armed some Vessels, not with intention to prejudice any, but for the safety of his Seas, which were mightily infested by Pyrats; neither were those his armed Vessels so many, as could make it be suspected that he either could, or would fall upon any enterprise.*

And that these his words might be the better believed, he publish'd an Edict, upon pain of punishment, prohibiting all his subjects to go armed into *Flanders*; and placed guards in all places to hinder them, if any contumacious people (as he termed them) should be so bold as to countervene his orders: Not being herewithal content, he began at the same time to do severall things, whereby he seemed as if he himselfe would also enter into the League, making the Cardinall of *Lorrain* hold many discourses thereupon, with the Embassador of the Common-wealth, then resident in *France*, wherein he strove to make it be believed, that the King of *France* was well inclined to the Peace, and to the good of Christendom, and chiefly to the Crown of *Spain*: So as laying at last all other respects aside, he would side with the League; and proceeding to particular Agreement, he propounded severall conditions; and chiefly to ratifie friendship and good intelligence, between him and the Catholick King, by *Marriages*.

Though these things came to the Spaniards knowledge, yet were they not satisfied therewith; but gave out, that the French did this, to work their ends the more easily, by assaulting the King of *Spain's* Territories in severall parts, which were unprovided for them: that for certain, the Admirall, and the King of *Navarre*, did publickly perswade the Christian King to this Rupture, whom he would be forced to please for some other particular interests of his own. That it was said by all the chiefe of that Court, that there could be no quiet in *France*, till the King should resolve to fall upon some important forrain Enterprise, wherin the Catholicks & Hugenots were to be joyntly imploy'd; and that it was clear enough, that the French thought this the easiest of all other Enterprises, by reason of their conveniency of assaulting *Flanders*, and of straitning the Spanish Army in point of Victuals, as also in respect of the difficulties the King of Spain should meet with, in relieving his men. That the King of *France* might make this War, upon some appearing pretentions of right, which the Crown of *France* hath to those Countries, wherein doubtlesly the Queen of *England* would joyn

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both with mind and might; nor was the League treated of by Monſieur *de Momorancy*, nay concluded (as ſome ſay) with the Engliſh, to any other end, but that being free from all other jealouſies, they might the better minde the moleſting of the Catholick King, and therewith aſſault Flanders. That the Queens minde was ſufficiently known by her many no friendly actions, and eſpecially for that the Engliſh did at this time flock over in ſo great numbers into *Holland* and *Zealand*, wherein they had already taken ſome Towns: That the ill will of that Queen, and of that Kingdom, could be no longer concealed now, by whom, and from whence, though with much ſecrecy and cunning, the Kings Rebels had been many wayes aſſiſted, and thoſe inſurrections nouriſht and fomented with ſeveral hopes, and ſome ſums of Money. Moreover, that the friendſhip which the French held with the Turks, afforded more juſt reaſon for theſe ſuſpitions; it being very likely that the French might be now as much ſolicited to turn their Forces upon the Catholick King, as they had often formerly obtain'd, that the Turks Fleet ſhould proceed to the prejudice of the ſaid King: nay, that it was given out, that the more to invite them thereunto, the Turks had granted the City of *Tunis* to the Crown of *France*, upon being preſerved by their forces from the Armies of *Spain*. The Pope was much troubled at theſe things, as well for the great Concern of Chriſtendom, as in reſpect of his own credit, which ſeemed not to ſuffer a little, ſince the conventions of the League were violated by the Fleets ſuſpenſion, and therewith his authority, who as Head thereof, had a little before eſtabliſhed and confirmed it: and he was the more ſcandalized thereat, for that many things were in hand, which ſhew'd but little reſpect towards the Pontificiall Majeſty, whereof he was zealous above all other things, that it was not lawfull for *Don John*, being Generall of the League, to obey thoſe orders of the Catholick King, which did countervene the ſaid League, not onely without the Popes conſent, but without his knowledge, nay contrary to his expreſs will: after having been ſo often preſt by his Nuncio's to go from *Meſſina*, and joyn with the Venetian Fleet; that it was to be conſidered, that that Fleet, being raiſed by monies drawn from the Clergy, or from others by the particular conceſſion and authority of the Apoſtolick Sea, as deſtined againſt the Turks, could not with any reaſon be by the King turn'd elſe-where: Wherefore the Pope being anxiouſly ſolicitous to have the Fleets joyn, he ſent reduplicated Briefs to *Don John*, to make him ſpeedily depart, and exhorted the Venetians to diſpatch away their Embaſſadors forthwith, to the Courts of *Spain* and *France*, to appeaſe the jealouſies, and take away the diffidences which were riſen between thoſe Kings; and particularly to move the Catholick King to grant them his Fleet, and not to forgo the Articles of the League. To the ſame purpoſe, he ſent *Antonio Maria Salviati*, Biſhop of St. *Papolo*, to the King of *France*, and diſpatcht away *Nicolo Ormaneto*, Biſhop of *Padua*, as his Nuncio to the Catholick Court. *Ceſar* interpoſed himſelfe likewiſe herein, uſing his Authority with

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both the Kings, to preſerve peace and concord between them; being moved thereunto, either that he might do what became a Chriſtian Emperour, or elſe, knowing, that if theſe commotions ſhould go on, Peace with the Turks muſt inſue; whereby he, who lived then ſecure and quiet, by reaſon of the dangers and troubles of others, might have reaſon to ſuſpect that the Turks might fall upon him: But the Venetians were more fervent in theſe indeavours, than all the reſt, as well becauſe their intereſt was moſt therein, as alſo not to make the Pope jealous, leſt by their not ſtirring in accidents of ſuch concernment, they might rather intend Peace, than War, which might make him grow cooler for the concerns of the League, who knowing that by theſe proceedings, the Venetians might have reaſon to think of agreeing with the Turks, incouraged them with many hopes, and exhorted them to uſe the accuſtomed wiſdom and moderation of that Senate, which would overcome all difficulties; that they might not totally deprive themſelves of the advantage which they might receive the next year (in caſe the Fleets could not conveniently joyn this year) by the more ſpeedy proviſions for War, and by the King of *Spain*, who would then be free from troubles, and from ſuch ſuſpitions. *Jovanni Michiele*, was choſen to be ſent Embaſſadour to the King of *France*, and *Antonio Tiepolo*, to the King of *Spain*; both which uſed all diligence, in going to the Courts of thoſe Kings.

Michiele *ſaid, how that the Venetian Senate had alwaies greatly deſired the common good and peace between Chriſtian Princes, which they did now the more, for that the war undertaken againſt the Turks, the danger wherewith the Common-wealth was threatned, as alſo all Chriſtendom, made them the more deſirous to procure peace, and good intelligence between the Chriſtian Princes, that they might joyntly turn upon the common Enemy. That for this cauſe, they were much troubled at the inſurrection of* Flanders, *and at the King of* Spains *troubles; that their diſpleaſure was not a little increaſed by the report which was given out, of ſome ſuſpitions, and State-jealouſies, which were riſen between the Crowns of* France *and* Spain; *by which it might be feared, that if theſe thoughts ſhould take deeper root, an open breach might from thence proceed, to the great prejudice of Chriſtendom; which (if it ſhould meet with no impediment) might be in a gallant and ſafe condition. But by how much the more grievous, and of greater importance the buſineſſe was, the leſſe was it believed by the Senate, who very well knew the wiſdome of that King, and his well-wiſhing towards the common good. Yet becauſe the perſwaſions of ſuch as are no friends to peace, and for their own intereſts ſeek to diſturb it, doe often divert Princes from their good intentions; the Senate would not be wanting in making uſe of that favour, which they perſwaded themſelves they partook of from his Majeſty, in exhorting him not to liſten to ſuch diſcourſes, when they ſhould be propounded; or that if he had had any ſuch intentions hitherto, that for the good of Chriſtendom, and for the particular advantage of their Common-wealth, he would lay aſide all ſuch thoughts, and totally convince the Catholick King, ſo as being free from all ſuch jealouſies, he might minde the buſineſſe of the* Levant, *and obſerve the Articles of the League. The King liſtned graciouſly hereunto, and took it in good part; ſaying, That the Se-*

nate was not at all deceived, in the good affection which he bore to the Common-wealth, nor in their belief of his well-wishing to the good of Christendom. That he had been alwaies troubled at the commotions of Flanders, *and that he had still endeavoured, to keep those insurrections from being fomented by his subjects. But that the condition of those times was such, and the state wherein his Kingdom then was, as he could not curb the insolency of such, as were desirous of novelty; who having endeavoured to work confusion in his Kingdom, it was no wonder, if contrary to his orders, they were gone into other States, to perturb the affairs of other men. And some Court Lords, to free men from such suspicions, were of opinion, that he should wink at these things, which did not now concern the Crown of* France, *which was sensible of the prejudice which Princes receive, from the unbridled licentiousnesse of people, cloaked under the name of just liberty; which could no otherwise be hurtfull to him, then violent exercise is to an infirm body. That he knew this might be prejudiciall to the Catholick King, without any advantage to* France; *nay, not without fear, of putting her into new troubles and dangers; for that these commotions might very likely make the King of* Spain *agree with the Flemmish; with intention peradventure of assaulting* Dolphnie, *or the Kingdom of* Navar: *So as, instead of carrying the war to other mens doors, they might be enforc'd to make war at home, at a time, when the forces of the Kingdom, through so many, and so long civill dissentions, were divided and weakened.* But of all others, the Queen Mother (who bore then almost the chiefest authority in the Kingdom) seemed greatly desirous to preserve peace, and would therefore with her own hand write to the Pope, *attesting this her desire, and professing her self ready to follow his good advice. And that though there were some provision of Arms made, they were never intended to make use of them, to the prejudice of others, but onely in their own defence; fearing left the Spaniards, for the injuries which they causlesly affirmed they had received from the French, might invade his Kingdom.* Where it is worth consideration, how great the jealousies of States are, and how easily Princes are more subject then other men, to every impression of various affections. The Catholick King feared, that the French would make war upon him, and desired peace. The Christian King desired to keep fair with the Spaniards, but apprehended, left their forces, which were prepared against others, might be turned upon his Kingdom. Both these Princes were busied in other affairs, and were therefore better pleased with Agreement, and each of them feared, the other would break it. And yet those vain jealousies, which seemed to tend to the quiet and safety of their affairs, did in a manner afford occasion of many troubles, and of great prejudice.

But the Catholick King was resolved, before the Embassadour *Tiepolo* came to his Court, to send to *Don John*, that laying aside all other respects, he should forthwith go, with all the gallies that he had with him, and joyne with those of the Venetians; and when the Fleets should be met, that he should immediately passe on to the *Levant*; being hereunto moved, either that he might the better know the King of *France* his minde towards him; or that he did fear his forces the lesse, after the recovery of *Valentiannes*, and other

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proſperous ſucceſſes, which enſued in *Flanders*; or that he better underſtood the inconvenience and prejudice, which upon other occaſions might ariſe to his affairs, it having made much for the reputation of the French amongſt the Turks, by his ſeeming to be ſo concerned in all they did, as that he was thereby enforc'd to abandon his other enterpriſes; or elſe, for that as a juſt and wiſe Prince, he thought it did in no way become him, to abandon the Articles of the League. But were it one, or more of theſe reaſons, that moved him thereunto, it was then ſaid for certain, that this reſolution aroſe from his own meer will; for he had diſpatched this order away to *Don John*, before he communicated it to his Counſellors, fearing leſt they might have propounded ſomewhat, which might have diverted him from doing ſo, as had formerly hapned. But when *Antonio Tiepolo* was come to that Court, being now no more to ſpeak of the jealouſies of *France*, nor of the joyning of the Fleets; he, according to his Commiſſion, deſired the King onely, *That ſince the beſt ſeaſon for actions at ſea was now well nigh over, he would give* Don John *leave (in caſe the occaſion of affairs ſhould ſo require it) to winter abroad in the* Levant, *ſhewing, that great advantage might be made thereby; for their Iſlands would by this means be eaſed of the burthen, which was now become grievous and inſupportable, of having ſo long nouriſhed ſo great a Fleet; which burthen would be laid upon the enemies countries, from whence they might eaſily be furniſhed with abundance of victualls. Moreover, they would the ſooner, and more eaſily, proſecute any thing, which they ſhould either have begun, or ſhould intend to do. The courage alſo of thoſe which were riſen, would thereby be augmented, and others would be invited to do the like, the enemy would be driven to within the ſtraits of* Conſtantinople, *and they would be hindred from comming forth early, to prejudice Chriſtians, as they had done the preceding years; and, in fine, the League would thereby get great reputation in all things, and the enemy diſhonour.* But he concealed ſomewhat from the King, which moved the Venetians as much as any other reaſon, to deſire this, which was, that by this, the Spaniards would be made forgo their ſo highly vallued intereſts, in the African enterpriſes, and by laying aſide thoſe thoughts, would be brought to minde the common affairs in the *Levant* the more. But all this did no good; for the King alledging many reaſons to the contrary, would not give way thereunto, following therein either his own inclination, which was, not to haſard too much to fortune; or elſe the perſwaſion of thoſe, who liked not the League. But howſoever, this advice was not much liked, it being thought, that thereby occaſion for great good ſucceſſes, if they ſhould be favoured by fortune, would be taken away; and that *Don John* ought not to have been limited, in his Commiſſions granted him, as Generall of the aſſociate Princes; which were, that he ſhould endeavour to do, whatſoever might make for the advantage of the League, which was queſtionleſſy known, would be very great, by wintring in the enemies Countries in the *Levant*. *Don John* had been perſwaded formerly to this very thing, wherein the Pope likewiſe interpoſed his authority. But he, not being willing to determinate it of himſelf, had referred the conſideration

sideration thereof to *Spain*, which was an evident signe that his common Orders were limited, and restrained by particular Commission.

Whilst Christian Princes were thus imployed, & whilst the League proceeded very slowly, the Turkish Fleet was already very numerous, & powerful at sea; for *Muzzali*, who was declared General at sea, had with great diligence rig'd up 100 gallies, besides those former; which (as hath been said) were gone under the command of *Curazzali*, wherewith he likewise parted from the straits of *Galipoli*. And when the whole Fleet was met, he made forward, with intention to pillage the Island of *Candia*, and to do other prejudice to the parts belonging to the Venetians, according as he should hear newes of the Christian Fleets proceedings. At which time, certain word being come to *Venice*, of the suspension of the Spanish Fleet, great sorrow was seen in all men, their wonder encreasing together with their sorrow, that the Spaniards, who seemed at first to desire the League, should, when it was concluded, & so many difficulties were overcome; nay, when they saw their hopes were great, deprive themselves of the present, and assured advantage, which they might have by the League, for fear of dangers which were uncertain, and far off; and that they should give occasion of dissolving it, when they ought to have confirmed it, and establish it with more forces and confidence. So as, seeing they could not penetrate into their secret designes, nor thinking it fit to ground any thing upon such helps, the Senate resolved, to order Generall *Foscherini*, that waiting no longer for the joyning of the Fleets, he should, as soon as Commissary *Soranzo* should be returned from *Corfu*, advance with their own forces, for the consolation and safety of their subjects and affairs; and that proceeding with caution and circumspection, he should do as he should see occasion, for Gods glory, and the good of the Common-wealth. Therefore when *Foscherini* had received this order, being impatient of lying so long idle; as soon as *Colonna*, and Commissary *Soranzo* were come to *Corfu*, he began without any further delay, to endeavour the Fleets departure towards the *Levant*, that they might approach the enemy. Wherein finding all men willing, a Councell was called, wherein, to boot with the three Generalls, *Pompeo Colonna*, Lieutenant to *Mark Antonio*, and Commissary *Soranzo*, did intervene. *Mark Antonio*, with much freedom and affection, declared himself to be very affectionate to the League, and particularly to the good and greatnesse of the Common-wealth, shewing his sorrow for the time they had lost, and for the forces which fell so short of what was hoped for. He, notwithstanding encouraged them to hope well, saying, *That the Catholick Kings good intentions were very well known to him, as also the Popes fervency in soliciting him: Wherefore, if the jealousies of* France *should cease, they might be sure* Don John *would come, and joyne with them, with the rest of the Fleet. But that howsoever, though he were the Pope's servant, and the King's vassal, he was ready to fall upon the enterprise, which might tend to the particular service of the Venetians, whose interests and dangers he knew was most concerned therein.* Hereupon Generall *Foscherini*

cherini said: *That the Pope's and the Catholick King's good-will, was sufficiently manifested likewise to his Common-wealth, as also the like of his Common-wealth towards those Princes, and towards the League, as might be witnessed by the way she had proceeded in, and did still proceed in, as concerning this businesse: And that* Colonna's *gallantry, and his affection to the Common-wealth, as also his desire to be serviceable to Christendom, was manifestly known, not onely in particular to the Venetians, but throughout the whole world, by the so many services he had don the Common-wealth, to the honour and advantage of the League. Yet he could not but be sorry, that fortune had advanced such occasions, as that effects answerable to this generall good intention, were not seen to be continued. But that since it was in vain to lament what was past, and which could not be recalled; and that likewise it was not in their power to remove the impediments, which detained* Don John *in* Sicily. *The onely remedy for such great mischiefs, was, to seek to out-do themselves, (if it were possible) in hasting to what they had to do; which be it what it would, he put them in minde, and did advise them, it could not be of more advantage, then to go and encounter with the enemies Fleet, which doubtlesly for number, as also in many other considerations, was much inferiour to theirs. And that peradventure it had happened by divine providence, which oft-times brings our actions to their predestinated end, by waies unknown to human wisdom, that the Colleagues Fleet should be so separated, to the end, that being therefore lesse mindfull of their affairs, and apprehending no encounter, the enemy should afford them that means of finding them out, and fighting them; which if they had known they had been to withstand the whole forces of the League, they would easily have prevented. And if it should so fall out, as, that upon the approach of the Christian Fleet, the Turks should retire, it was not to be lightly esteemed, that they had so confirmed the reputation of the League, and secured the work which they had undertaken, and were resolved to do, whether the rest of the Catholick Fleet came or came not.* Colonna soon yielded to *Foscherini's* opinion, giving many reasons, why nothing of more profit could be attempted, then what was now proposed. But he was of opinion, and did desire, that being to proceed against the enemy, they should go with all their forces joyned together, the greater and lesser gallies keeping still together in company, which the season of the year afforded them great conveniency to do, by reason of the Northern winds, which do blow almost continually at that time of the year. But *Gelandrada* did neither totally commend, nor totally discommend this advice; he told them, *They were to proceed with much circumspection, and not to hasard a businesse of such concernment, unnecessitated, or at least, without great occasion. Adding, that they should first endeavour to have some newes of the enemy, of their forces, and what way they steered; and then to put on that resolution, if they should be perswaded thereunto by more certain information. But he chiefly commended the counsell, of carrying the ships along with them; as well to encrease their forces, as also not to be distrest for want of victualls, and not to leave them at the discretion of fortune, and the enemy. At last he concluded, that he would not dissent from the opinion of the rest, shewing himself to be very well inclined to do any thing, which might be for the common service.* So as it was agreed upon, by generall consent, that the Fleet should forthwith part

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from *Corfu*, which consisted then of 126 smaller Gallies, 6 Galliasses, and 20 ships; and every Gally had in them 150 Souldiers. The whole Fleet was divided into three parts; the three Generalls kept in the midst with 45 Gallies, the other were equally divided into two wings. Commissary *Soranzo* led on the right wing, and *Canale* the left; the Van, and re-leese, was reserved for the *Candy* Gallies, which were hourly expected. Two Galliasses, and part of the Ships, did row on each squadron of the lesser gallies, with order to guide them to the front of the Fleet, whensoever it should be needfull; it being resolved in Councill, that without these, they should not joyn battel.

At this time, when the Fleet was ready to hoist sayl, a Frigate sent speedily from *Palermo* to the Venetian Generall, from *Placido Rogazzoni*, who dealt concerning Corn for the Common-wealth in *Sicily*, arrived, by which he sent news, that a Spanish Gally was come to *Messina*, which brought positive order to *Don John*, for the joyning together of the whole Fleet, which was not long after confirmed by Letters from *Don Johns* selfe, to *Mark Antonio Colonna*, whereby he gave him notice of this new Commission received from the King, and of his readinesse to obey it; and that he would come forthwith with the rest of the Fleet, to finde him out: But he desired, that in the interim, the news of his comming should be published, to keep the Grecians who were up, in their Loyalty, and that without undertaking any thing wherein the reputation of the League might be indangered, they should onely minde the thwarting of the Enemies designs, and the securing of the Venetian Territories: though all were much joy'd at this news, yet they thought it ought not to hinder or retard the departure of the Fleet, which was already resolved on: So as on the 28 of *July*, the three Generalls parted from the *Gomenizze*, where they staid, awhile, to expect Commissary *Canale*, who was gone with 16 Gallies to *Otranto*, to take in 3000 foot, who were there ready for the Fleet, under the conduct of Colonell *Horatio Aquaviva*, Son to the Duke of *Atri*; which when they were come, were distributed into the Spanish Gallies, into those of the Church, and into the Venetian Ships. Before they went from this place, *Jovanni Mocenico*, one who was diligent, and well practis'd in Sea affairs, was dispatcht away with his Gally towards *Candia*, to give notice of the comming of the Christian Fleet, and to learn some news of the Enemie, of whom nothing of certainty was as then known, neither concerning their numbers, nor their voyage. The Leagues Fleet being on their way, 13 Gallies came in unto them, as they entred into the channell of *Viscardo*, which Commissary *Quirini* brought from *Candia*, and pursuing their course from thence, they came with a prosperous winde in two dayes to *Zante*: No assured advertisment of the Enemies proceedings being brought thither (as they hoped for) and they being to tarry there two days to take in fresh water; they dispatcht away three other Gallies, to finde out where the Enemy were. *Uluzzali* was at this time come to underneath the fort of *Malvasia*, and had with him about 200 sail, his number being increased by the access of many Pirats Vessells,

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which came in unto him in his voyage. Wherefore after having for a while ſcoured the Archipelagus, he was come to this place, with an intention to pillage the Iſland of *Candia*, and then to paſs to *Brazzo di Maina*, to curb thoſe people which were riſen up in favour of the Chriſtians. But hearing that the Chriſtian Fleet did advance, which he thought would not have departed from *Corfu*, (for he had been informed, that it was divided) he recalled ſome Gallies, which in purſuit of his firſt deſign, he had ſent to *Capo Malio*, and return'd together with his whole Fleet, to underneath the fort of *Malvaſia*, where he ſtaid expecting more particular information of our Fleet. But when he was told, that it ſtill advanced, and was already got near the Iſland of *Cirigo*; and that it came ſhort of his Fleet for number of leſſer Gallies, though it were very ſtrong in great Veſſels, he reſolved to put to Sea, and to incounter it. Having therefore called together his Officers, and other chief perſons which were in the Fleet; it is ſaid he ſpoke thus unto them.

we have great occaſion offered us, to win much favour with the Grand Signor, and glory with all men, if we know how to acknowledg it, and to make uſe thereof. We are inform'd, that for certain, the Chriſtian Fleet is divided; and that the Venetian Generall comes forward with a very ſmall number of Gallies, being drawn by ſhame, and by neceſſity to ſuccour the Kingdom of Candia; *but (for as far as may be imagined) with a mind far from fighting; bringing along with him ſo many great Veſſels, to keep himſelfe from being aſſaulted by us; whoſe forces it may eaſily be known, by their delay, and by their irreſolute counſells they are afraid of: I am therefore of opinion, that without further delay, we put to Sea, and go where we may meet the Enemy, and may have means to give them battel. This advice, as it is full of Generoſity and Glory, ſo may it be very advantagious: nor doth it want ſuch aſſuredneſſe, as a wiſe Commander, in the condition which we are in, ought to have regard unto, it will doubtleſly redound much to the reputation of the* Ottaman *Empire, to the honour of her Commanders, and of our whole Nation, that after ſo great a rout at Sea, happned by misfortune, we have notwithſtanding retain'd ſo much worth and courage, and preſerved ſo many forces, as that we have come forth the very next ſummer, with ſo powerfull and gallant a Fleet, as hath not been afraid to face the Enemy, and to fight them, as being deſirous once more to make tryall of every mans valour, and of the fortune of War. None can deny, but that, great praiſe and glory is to inſue from hence; and certainly the profit, nay the neceſſity thereof, is no leſſe, nor no leſſe evident, which perſwades us to this reſolution, or which (to ſay better) doth thruſt, and force us upon it. For if we keep here idle, it is no doubt but that our enemies, grown inſolent by their victory, and being the bolder by our fear, will either come to finde us out, to try whether they can fight us upon advantage, and to increaſe their reputation, boaſting that they are come to fight us at our own doors; or elſe they will fall upon ſome of the grand Signors Dominions, wherein the defendants being diſcouraged by our cowardlineſſe, they will the eaſlier prevail: but if we go boldly to meet them, (a thing which peradventure they look not for at this time) who ſees not that this their heat being cooled by our unexpected incounter, they will tack about, and loſing courage, will rather*

ther think of ſecuring themſelves, and their own affairs, than of indangering thoſe of other men? Thus will all the ſhores of theſe Seas be kept from being injur'd by the Enemy, all whoſe deſigns we ſhall fruſtrate; for ſeeing us come forth to follow them, they will not dare to fall upon any Enterpriſe, leſt we ſhould aſſault them. All the experience in Sea-affairs, which I have got in ſo many years, tells me, that we may get this honour, and this advantage ſafely, and without hazarding our Fleet: for the Enemy have not dared to advance and approach us, out of any confidence they have in the number of their Gallies, or in their ſouldiers valour, wherein they come far enough ſhort of us: but onely confiding in thoſe great Gallies, and many ſhips which they bring along with them; behinde which they think they may keep from being aſſaulted by us, as ſheltred by ſo many ſtrong Bulworks; ſo as it is clear enough, the matter of fighting will alwaies be in our power, they not being able to force us to fight, unleſſe we will, though we may force them: for they not being well able to govern thoſe great Veſſels at their pleaſure, and for their convenience; but being to be at the pleaſure of the winde, and at the diſcretion of fortune, and being unwilling to part from them, ſo to be deprived of that ſtout and ſafe defence; who is not aware with what advantage we may face them, and offer them battel; and then do, not as chance, or neceſſity ſhall inforce us, but what the reaſon of War ſhall perſwade us unto? nor ought we be any whit terrified, or removed from doing this, by the laſt years unfortunate ſucceſſe: for it is well known, that it was not the valour of our enemies, but our own diſorders, which occaſioned that ruine; and (if I may be permitted to ſay ſo) the raſhneſſe of our Commanders, who by haſting too much to fight, made us expoſe our ſelves inconſiderately, to the great ſhot of the Galliaſſes, ſo as we entred the Battel, being divided, and in confuſion; by which example being now taught, we ſhall the better know how to govern our Fleet, and to know our advantages, and diſadvantages, and not commit our ſelves fooliſhly to the will of blind fortune. Let us then forget that ill luck, and all fear that may ariſe from thence; and if we will be mindfull of that bad ſucceſſe, why ſhould we not likewiſe call to mind, the ſo many, and ſo famous victories which the Muſſelmans *have had both by Sea and Land, over the* Chriſtians? *in ſo much as there is not any part in* Europe, *which hath not been noted for calamities cauſed by us, and for the glory of the* Ottaman *Empire. We ought aſſuredly to be confident therefore, that fortune which doth accompany the valour of our Nation, and which is alwaies a friend to this happy Empire, hath ſuffered it to receive this one blow, not to imbaſe it, but that by governing it ſelf well in adverſity, and ſhewing the excellency of its orders, and its ſouldiers worth, it may riſe to greater glory. Theſe reaſons are ſufficient to make you applaud and embrace this my propoſall, certainly a generous longing to revenge the injuries received from theſe inſolent and ignoble Enemies, and to recover that reputation which they boaſt they have bereft us of, ſcorning, reviling, and diſpiſing us, as if by one bare victory they had quite overthrown the powerfull* Ottaman *Empire, muſt be of ſome force with military men. He who doth not reſent theſe things, merits not the name of a Souldier: but methinks, I ſee you all ſo inflamed with deſire of carrying the Fleet from out this Haven, and ſo full of good hopes, as proſperous ſucceſſe muſt needs accompany us. Therefore let us, without any further delay, put our Gallies in*

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order, and not ſuffer the Enemy to prevent our deſigns.

Uluzzali accompanying theſe his words with action, made all things fitting be immediately prepared, and ſayled towards *Cape Malio*. In this interim, two of the Gallies which were ſent out to that purpoſe, brought word to our Fleet, which was already gotten to the Iſland of *Cerigo*, that *Uluzzali* was with about 200 ſayl under *Malvaſia*. This news being come, & it being thought, that ſince the enemy was ſo near, they could not without going leſſe in honour, pretermit the opportunity which was given them, of finding them out, and of offering them battel; the three Generalls did joyntly reſolve to ſteere their courſe toward *Cape Malio*; and that when they ſhould come within ſight of the Enemy, they ſhould advance and preſent them battel. This advice being followed, the Fleet came to the head of the Iſland *Cerigo*, to the place called, *le Dragoniere*, that they might be the nearer *Cape Malio*, the better to obſerve the proceedings of the enemy, and make uſe of any occaſion that ſhould be offered. For they could not deſign to aſſault them in a place of ſafety, where they were ſtrong, as well for the ſhot that might be made at our Gallies, out of the Caſtle of *Malvaſia*; as alſo for the difficulty they ſhould have of bringing the greater Veſſels thither, and in ordering them, wherein our chiefeſt hopes of victory lay, if the enemy ought to be fought with.

Whilſt they were in this place, the Turkiſh Fleet was diſcovered on the ſeventh day of *Auguſt*, in the morning, by the guards which were placed upon the Mountain: which Fleet being already paſt the point of *Cape Malio*, a Promontory of *Morea*, anciently called *Malea*, and following the coaſt of the *Vatica*, ſayled towards the channell of *Cerigo*: which way of theirs not being above ten miles from our Fleet, it was thought they advanced with an intention of fighting; which our Generalls hearing, they cauſed the ſign of battel be given to the whole Fleet by the ſound of Trumpet, and by ſetting up their ſtandards in their gallies; being very diligent in diſpoſing of all things, in ordering their ſquadrons, and in making the ſhips and greater gallies advance forward, that they might withſtand the firſt incounter of the Enemy. And though a contrary winde began to blow a little from the North, the whole greater Fleet was by force of towing, brought to the place deſigned, and very well diſpoſed of. In which order the Fleet being come from forth the Rocks of the *Dragoniere*, it ſayled towards the coaſt of *Cape Malio*, taking a fitting place to preſent battel to the Enemy; who at the firſt ſeemed not as if they would refuſe it: But as ſoon as the Fleets drew nearer, were it either that the Enemy thought the number of our Veſſels to be more, which being diſtended in good order, took up a great ſpace, and made a terrible ſhew of Battel; or that the Enemy were terrified at the courage of our men: (if it be not truer, that *Uluzzali* had neither Commiſſion, nor mind to fight, ſeeming onely to deſire it, that he might gain reputation) altering their courſe, they made towards the Iſland *de Cervi*, which is a Rock not far from that Promontory, from whence they were laſt come; and ſayling in a cloſe order, and drawing ſtill nearer

Land, they went further off from our men; which it was thought *Vluzzali* did, for that (being an excellent Marriner) he would ſtay for a weſtern winde, which uſually in that ſeaſon blows in thoſe parts, that ſo he might afterwards have the advantage of a fore-wind, to aſſault our Fleet: Which the Commanders of the Chriſtian Fleet fore-ſeeing, they deſigned that their ſhips (which lay over againſt the great gallies on the left hand) as ſoon as the enemies gallies ſhould be paſt by, they ſhould hoiſt all their ſails, and aſſault the Enemy with a fore-winde: But the winde blowing at South-East, *Vluzzali* was forc'd to take an other courſe; and making towards the Weſtern point of the Iſland of *Cerigo*, he croſt the channell which runs between the Iſlands of *Cerus* and *Cerigo*: So as the one end of his Fleet reaching to *Cerigo*, and the other to *Cerus*, it incloſed all that ſpace of Sea, which is about ten miles in length; and turning their fore-Caſtles towards our Fleet, they ſtood expecting it, having put themſelves in order for battel, in three great ſquadrons, all of an equall number of Veſſels; which delay of the Enemy made much for the advantage of our men, for they had thereby opportunity to order themſelves the better; ſo as the wind becomming good afterwards, they made forward with the whole Fleet to aſſault the Enemy: And they were already come ſo near, as they made many ſhot at each other, it being undoubtedly thought that the battel would be that day fought, and that that action would decide what the fortune and end of the whole War would be. But the winde beginning to ſlacken, our men could not advance, without ſevering the greater Veſſels from the leſſe, and ſo part from their firſt firm reſolution. And on the other ſide, *Vluzzali*, keeping conſtant to his opinion, not to come near the Ships nor Galliaſſes, ſtir'd not from the place where he was. There were then in the Turkiſh Fleet, above 300 ſayl, of which 160 well armed Gallies, very yare and fit for action; the reſt were leſſer Veſſels, mixt together with the Gallies in the battel, and in each wing. There were not above 127 ſmall gallies in the Chriſtian Fleet, but they had ſix Galliaſſes, and 22 Ships, excellently well man'd, and furniſht with Artillery: ſo as each Fleet exceeding the other in ſome kind, and comming ſhort in ſome other, the Fleets were juſtly counterpoiſed. This advantage, and diſadvantage being very well known to both parties, vvas the cauſe why the Fleets, though they vvere ſo near, did not joyn Battel; ſince the greateſt and moſt certain hope of victory was reduced to induſtry, and to indeavouring to draw each other to fight upon the advantage of ſuch forces wherein each did exceed the other.

Vluzzali indeavoured therefore by ſeverall means, to ſhun incountring with the greater Veſſels, and to deprive the leſſer Gallies of their aſſiſtance; and taking the advantage of the Lee-ſhore, he intended for as much as vvas conceived, to keep himſelfe from ſhot of the greater Veſſels, and to aſſault our left wing either on the Poop, or Flank: But Commiſſary *Canale*, who commanded that wing, preventing him, blockt up the paſſage, and deprived him of that opportunity: Wherefore *Vluzzali* trying to work his intent by

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ſome other means, commanded 25 of his yarer gallies, to go from the part that was neareſt the Iſland of *Cervi*, and to aſſault our right Wing, which was commanded by our Commiſſary Generall, hoping to diſorder it; and by drawing other of our gallies to defend it, to engage all our leſſer gallies in fight, far from the ſhips and galleaſſes, which being totally becalmed, lay unmoveable. But Commiſſary *Soranzo*, reſolving valiantly to withſtand thoſe that came to aſſault him, before they ſhould be come neareſt him, repuls'd them by frequent ſhot; and making them retire towards their other Squadrons, began to purſue them cloſe, and to endanger them, and was followed by the Fleet; but they were forc'd to proceed ſlowly, by reaſon of ſo much towing: So as many hours being ſpent, and our men not being able to advance faſter with their joynt forces; and the enemy not willing to accoſt them, before he had divided them; when the Sun began to ſet, *Uluzzali*, ſecured by the comming on of night, and by the great ſmoak of the Artillery, began to make his gallies be towed back by little and little, yet turning their Prowes; but at laſt, he took the advantage of the point of the Iſland *Cerigo*, and turning his Prow, he launch'd out into the ſea, and got quite out of the ſight of our men, and out of danger; our men not being able to follow them any further, by reaſon of the ſlowneſſe of towing, and of the wearineſſe of their men; nor could they well diſcern then what courſe he took, as well by reaſon of the obſcurity of night, as alſo by a ſtratagem which he uſed in his flight, having ſent one Gally, with a light in the lant-horn, quite another way, than whither he went with his whole Fleet, to make it be believed, that he was gone the ſame way. But the next morning, the enemy was kend to be towards *Brazzo di Maina*. Our men having kept the moſt part of that night at ſea, went to the North Cape of the Iſland of *Cerigo*, to take in water, and to afford ſome reſt to their wearied Rowers; where having tarried that day, and part of the next (for they underſtood by their Guards from land, that the enemies Fleet was diſcovered to be not far off) they ſpeedily embarcked their men, and went to where they heard the Turkiſh Fleet was; which not being to be found any where that day, our Fleet kept all that night at ſea in very good order. But on the tenth of *Auguſt*, the enemy were diſcovered to be upon the Cape *Matapan*, who keeping their Gallies with their Forecaſtles towards land, kept about the coaſt on both ſides the Cape. *Uluzzali* ſeeing himſelf found out by our Fleet, gave warning by ſhot of Cannon to his Gallies which lay furtheſt off, to come cloſer together, and ſuddenly put himſelf in order, being eſpecially cautious, not to put himſelf in ſuch a place, as he might be forced to fight with our greater veſſells; wherefore he took a great circuit, keeping his two wings half a mile diſtant from the body of the Battle, wherein he kept in the midſt: He faced our Fleet which came towards him, in ſomewhat a cloſer order, expecting that our Generalls, allured by hopes of an eaſie victory, ſhould paſs forwards, beyond their ſhips and galliaſſes, to fight his Squadron, whilſt it was divided, and ſevered from his other gallies. And in

the mean while; the two Wings of the enemy, taking a large compaſſe, ſeemed as if they would encompaſſe our men, and aſſault them on the back, out of danger of our greater veſſells, ſo as they ſhould not be able to aſſiſt our Generalls, if they ſhould come to conflict with their middle Squadron. Which deſigne being found out by our Commanders, orders were forthwith ſent to thoſe that were in both the Wings, that obſerving vigilantly what courſe the enemy ſhould ſteer, & keeping their Forecaſtles ſtil turned towards them, they ſhould not ſuffer them to paſſe beyond our Fleet. Thus each Fleet facing the other alwaies in all parts, they were already come within Canon-ſhot. At this ſo great a pinch, Generall *Foſcherini*, being ambitious of praiſe, and of doing ſomewhat, which might be anſwerable to the opinion of his conceived gallantry, took a ſmall boat, going ſometimes to one place, ſometimes to another, and endeavouring to be every where; he ordered, commanded, provided for all things neceſſary: *He deſired the governours and captains of the gallies, to be carefull of themſelves, and to remember the laſt year's happy ſucceſſe; ſaying, That theſe were thoſe very enemies, who, not many months ago, were with ſo much glory overcome by them in Battle; nay, that they were the pooreſt, and leaſt courageous amongſt them; for all the ableſt, and moſt generous, were ſlain in the laſt Battle, and thoſe that eſcaped were full of fears. That the very reputation of the late victory, would aſſuredly be ſufficient to fight for them, againſt conſ'd people, and who had loſt their courage by the bad ſucceſſe of the laſt Battle; whoſe Admirall would be the firſt that ſhould teach them to flie, as it became his trade of Pyracy, and as he had done in the laſt fight. That there was not any, who had not earneſtly deſired, to have an opportunity of fighting the enemy, believing, that therein lay the chief difficulty, of getting another no leſſe famous victory. That this opportunity was by divine Providence now offered them, when they did moſt deſire it, and looked leaſt for it. That if they ſhould now again ſuffer the enemy to eſcape away ſafe, when their forces were ſo weak, they might in vain ſeek an occaſion hereafter, of ſuppreſſing them; for growing in time more powerfull, and more bold, they would bereave them of the occaſion, or of the eaſineſſe of other victories; nay, they might deprive them of the fruit of that victory, which they had already gotten. Therefore the end of that war, and the fortune of the Common-wealth, for ſome ages, did depend upon that daies ſucceſſe. If they valued their own glory, the good of their country, the exaltation of Chriſtendom, let them now fall boldly upon the enemy, ſince they had that now before their eyes, which was able to inflame poorly ſpirited men, much more ſuch as were noble and generous. But that if any one ſhould be otherwiſe minded, let him know, the enemy was ſo near, as there was neither time nor means now left, of ſhunning the Battle, wherein their ſafety and glory did wholly conſiſt.* With theſe and the like ſpeeches, did Generall *Foſcherini* ſtrive to encourage all to Battle: And in the mean time, our Fleet advanced joyntly together, with much courage, hoping to fight the Squadron wherein *Uluzzali* was, and to beat him, before he could be ſuccoured by his other Wings, which were gone far off. But we were forced to proceed very ſlowly, and not without ſome diſorder, as well by reaſon of towing on the ſhips, the winde being wholly ceaſed; as alſo, that our

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Wings could not be well adjuſted, being to ſtand oppoſite to thoſe of the enemy, which (as hath been ſhewn) had taken a large compaſſe. Yet the Fleets drew ſtill neerer, eſpecially on the ſide towards the ſea, which anſwered to our right Wing; and to the enemies left. Commiſſary *Soranzo*, who was the foremoſt of his Squadron, againſt which the enemy came, advanced ſpeedily, with ſome of the yareſt gallies of the firſt Squadron, to fight the enemies gallies, before they ſhould be able to joyne with their companions. Theſe, not ſeeming as then to ſhun the encounter, kept on their courſe, and came within ſhot of ours; but finding afterwards, that *Soranzo* did valiantly advance to fall upon them, they ſtaied a while, expecting relief from ſome other gallies of their Squadron, which were already got very near them; which made Commiſſary *Soranzo* do the like: ſo as the enemy, who (as was palpably ſeen) did abhor the conflict, had time to retreat, being much endammaged by ſhot from our Gallies, giving way manifeſtly, and being driven from their firſt ſtation. But our left Wing, the enemy being fallen further off on that ſide, had likewiſe taken a larger compaſſe, ſo as it was neither ſo near as to fight the enemy, nor could it ſo ſoon return to its place, and joyne with the body of our Battle, as was requiſite, for their advancing joyntly againſt the enemy. Things being reduced to this condition, and the North-weſt wind beginning to blow, which was contrary to us, it was clearly ſeen, we could not poſſibly come to Battle that day, unleſſe we ſhould advance with our ſmaller Gallies, and leave our greater Veſſells behinde. The Venetian Generall deſiring very much to fall on, ſpeaking aloud to the other Generalls, whoſe Gallies were neer him: *What mean we*, ſaid he, *that we do not boldly advance? Why do we not forego this impediment of the greater veſſells, whereby we muſt alwaies be guided by fortune, and by our enemies pleaſure? Shall we ſuffer the victory to eſcape us once more? Occaſion invites us to alter our reſolution, let us make uſe thereof whilſt we may. We muſt be bold, and hope well.* *Foſcherini* thought it was the beſt and ſafeſt way to advance, for that they might make advantage of the cunning, which the enemy ſought to uſe againſt them, by aſſaulting their middle Squadron, before the reſt could come together, and put themſelves in Battle array. And if the enemy ſhould continue their firſt intention, their ſhips, which the enemy would never dare to approach, would ſecure them from the danger of being aſſaulted on the back. But the reſt of the Generalls, neither totally conſenting to, nor diſſenting from this propoſition, ſaying onely, That it was contrary to the reſolution which they had maturely taken; and that the time would not permit new counſells; the Fleet continued to advance, though but ſlowly; and the ſmaller gallies and galleaſſes paſſing by the ſhips, went boldly forward towards the enemy: but the wind growing ſtronger, not onely the ſhips, but the galleaſſes, which did before advance without towing, were forced to tarry behinde; ſo as making very ſlowly forward, *Uluzzali* had opportunity to retire with leaſure, and in good order, with all his Squadrons joyned together. And the better to diſſemble his retreat, he for a while made his gally be towed back.

backward by the Poop, till being gotten out of our ſight, he thought he might ſafely wheel about, and launching out into the ſea, get (as he did) into a place of ſafety. Theſe ſucceſſes might, as it was thought, teach a new and uſefull leſſon, concerning the Militia of the ſea; That as greater veſſells are of much ſafety, by reaſon of their ſtrength, ſo they may occaſion great inconvenience and prejudice, ſince they who are to make uſe of them, muſt alwaies depend upon the pleaſure of the winde, and upon the Enemie's will. For this cauſe, *Uluzzali*, who had been long accuſtomed to ſea-exerciſes, when he came from *Malveſia*, made uſe of the men onely that were in his *Maone*, or ſhips of burthen, to recruit therewith his leſſer gallies, leaving the veſſells themſelves behinde, to ſhun the neceſſity, either of abandoning them, or of governing himſelf according to the will and convenience of others. The Chriſtian Fleet, the Turks being paſt beyond Cape *Matapan*, and they not being able to purſue them any further, by reaſon of the contrary winde, and wearineſſe of their men, retired to the Iſland of *Cerigo*, where lying at ſea the firſt night, it came the next morning underneath the Fort, the ſhips lying a little without.

Whilſt our Fleet ſtayed here, newes came, that *Uluzzali* had taken one of our Frigats, by whom having notice of *Don John*'s comming, he prepared to go to where the Spaniſh Fleet was to paſſe, intending (as being much ſtronger) to fight it. At which, *Colonna*, and *Gil d' Andrea* being very much troubled, they propounded, that all other reſpects being laid aſide, they might immediately go with all their leſſer Gallies, to meet *Don John*, and to free him from danger. But the Venetian Commanders were abſolutely againſt this, conſidering, *That to avoid an uncertain danger, that Fleet muſt be expoſed to manifeſt inconvenience, to the haſard of the whole forces of the League; for the greater veſſells not being able to part from* Cerigo, *by reaſon of the contrary winds, nor having any haven there, wherein they might be ſafe, they muſt be a certain prey to the enemy. Nor could the leſſer gallies be free from the like fear, their number being leſſened, and wanting the aſſiſtance of the ſhips and galleaſſes, wherein they had ſo far placed the ſecurity and ſafety of that Fleet, as they thought all opportunities unſeaſonable without them, though accompanied with much hope of overcomming the enemy. They urged moreover, that it was very like, that they, keeping all their forces joyned together, and obſerving* Uluzzali's *way, they might, by following the ſame trak, keep him in ſuch jealouſies, and apprehenſions, as he might rather fear to be taken in the midſt by the League's Fleets, then intend falling upon any part thereof. They called to minde alſo, that the artillery, ammunition, and victualls lay in the ſhips, to deprive themſelves of which ſo neceſſary things, was no better, then to draw upon them ſuch diſorders and miſchiefs, as they could not receive greater from the enemy. Beſides, that the winde was very contrary to the courſe which they were now to ſteer, if they ſhould return to* Corfu; *whereas it was very good for* Don John *to come into the* Levant, *who bringing* 50 *gallies with him, he might eaſily and ſafely come to them; and that when they ſhould be all met together, they were likely to meet with ſome occaſion of attempting ſome enterpriſes in the* Levant, *which might become the name & preparations of the League,*

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whilst the season of the year, which was already well advanced, might permit them to do so. These reasons not being allowed of by *Colonna*, nor by *Gil d'Andrada*, they were full of doubts and difficulties. *These thought they might go safely with* 100 *gallies towards* Zante, *and thereby secure* Don Johns *voyage, and send the greater Vessels the mean while to the Island of* Candia, *whither they might soon and easily get, and be free from all danger: They said, no other course could be thought good, save what made for the conjunction of the Leagues Fleet. For whilst their forces should be divided, so as they should neither have small gallies enough, nor men of War, to follow the Enemy in all places, or to fall upon any other enterprise; nor yet being able to force the Enemy to fight with their greater Vessels; it appeared clearly, that their longer tarrying in those parts, would be totally to no purpose, which being well known to* Uluzzali, *had been the cause why he was gone (as it was reported) to* Brazzo di Maina *to keep the Fleets from meeting; which if he should be able to do, it would make much for the safety of his own affairs, and would frustrate all their designs.*

Whilst this important resolution remained yet undecided, a Frigate arrived very seasonably from *Don John*, which brought word, that he would not take his voyage before the first of *August*. Which news, though it afforded occasion of accommodating the Commanders first disputes more easily, yet did it not free them from all trouble; for they therewith understood, that *Don John* would not advance much with his gallies, but that he by express Orders, and Letters, willed the Generalls to return and meet him: which by reason of the contrary winds, they being to bring along with them so many great Vessels, could not be done without great losse of time, without much danger, and without much dissatisfaction to the Inhabitants of the Islands, subject to the Venetian Dominion, if they should abandon them at a time when the Enemy was so strong at Sea, and so near them: but howsoever they joyntly resolved to obey *Don Johns* orders; and because it was thought almost impossible to do so, and bring the greater Vessels along with them; they resolved to go first to the Island of *Candia*, and there leave the Ships and Galliasses, as in a place of safety, and to cross the Sea towards *Zante*, with the lesser gallies. But this was not done, by reason that they heard the Enemies Fleet was discovered upon the *Venice*, and that it made towards *Cape Malio*; wherefore thinking they might safely pursue the nearer way, to meet *Don John*, the whole Christian Fleet went to *Brazzo di Maina*, from whence *Uluzzali* was gone but a little before. The winde turning fair for them into the North-west, they sayled in three days from hence to *Zante*, where not meeting with *Don John*, (as they had well hoped to have done) but with new orders from him, whereby he desired them to come to *Cefalonia*, they were necessitated to leave the ships there, though in apparent danger, the Enemy not being gone so far, but that upon notice thereof, they might return, and possess themselves of them: and being told that they did do this, as was suspected by many that they would do, some of those that bore chiefest authority

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ty in the Spaniſh Fleet, moved, that ſince it was ſo hard a thing to ſuccour the ſhips, they ſhould give order for firing them: but Generall *Foſcherini* deteſting this advice, reſolved to ſend Commiſſary *Quirini*, with 25 gallies, to free them from danger, and to bring them to the Fleet, as he did, ſafely. At laſt, they paſt from *Cefalonia* to *Corfu*, whither *Don John* was come himſelfe in perſon with 55 gallies, 33 ſhips, & 15000 foot, on the ninth of *Auguſt*; *who though at firſt he did not conceal his diſpleaſure, for their not having waited his coming, he being thereby neceſſitated, (as not having ſufficient forces of himſelfe to paſs into the Levant) to lie ſo long idle, and little to his honour at* Corfu: *yet he was pleaſed to ſay, he would ſpeak no more of what was paſt, and ſtrove very much to make it be believed, that he was greatly deſirous to do any thing, which might be for the reputation and advantage of the League.* And herein he did the more expatiate himſelfe, and ſhew'd the greater affection, becauſe he heard it was publickly ſaid in the Fleet, that he was come onely to make a certain kind of Appearance, but not with any intention, or commiſſion to do any thing; and that therefore he had cunningly prolonged the time, ſeeking excuſes, and avoiding any occaſion of incountring the enemy, or to fall upon any enterprife: Which ſuſpitions did notwithſtanding ſtill increaſe the more, ſince after ſo many delayes, he came to no ſettled reſolution, becauſe he expected the Duke of *Seſſa*, with the Spaniſh Gallies. But at laſt, it being thought joyntly by them all, that their forces were ſufficient (for all of them being numbred together, the Leagues Fleet was found to conſiſt of 194 gallies, and 8 galliaſſes, and 45 ſhips, whereof 30 were Spaniſh, and 15 Venetians) they were all muſtered at the *Gomenizze*, before they advanced, and reſolved in what order to proceed, if they ſhould have occaſion to joyn battel. The three Generalls were placed in the midſt, with 72 gallies; the Marquiſs of *Santa Cruce* led on the right wing, Commiſſary *Soranzo* took care of the left, and each wing conſiſted of 52 gallies: the Van, wherein were 6 galliaſſes, was committed to the charge of *Fra. Pietro Juſtiniano*, Generall of *Malta*, and *Juan di Cardona*, and *Nicola Donato* brought up the reere with 22 gallies. The Galliaſſes, which were commanded by *il Duado*, and placed before the ſmaller gallies, according to the firſt orders, ſtood four of them in the front of the battel, and two before every wing. The ſhips were commanded by *Don Rodorigo Mendoſa*, and by *Adriano Bragadino*; it being reſolved to carry them along to *Zante*, and then to leave them there, that they might be the readier for any whatſoever deſign, but with intention to make uſe thereof onely, for the conveiance of victualls, and ammunition, which they carried along with them, and not for any uſe of War, in point of fighting.

All things being thus ordered, the Fleet parted from *Port*, on the eleventh of *September*, not having reſolved upon any thing as yet, ſave onely to advance, and then do, what they ſhould be invited unto by the Turks proceedings; which by the relation of the gallies which were ſent before, to ſpy out their courſe, and deſigns, were quick-

quickly known to be at *Modone*, and at *Navarino*; and that their Fleet was divided, and in want of all things that were neceſſary, and eſpecially of men, whereof many were fled, and many dead; and that for certain, the occaſion that made them tarry in thoſe parts, was for their ſecurity, till ſuch ſouldiers ſhould be ſent unto them as was intended. This was thought a fit opportunity to ſuppreſs the enemy, and all of them were the more rejoyced at it, for that they had almoſt diſpaired of it; it having been certainly believed, that the Turks, having underſtood the joyning of the Confederates Fleets, (which doubtleſly were ſtronger then theirs) they would have made towards *Conſtantinople*, and return to winter their Fleet, as uſually they did within that ſtrait, after having won much honour, by facing the Chriſtian Fleet twice, and ſhewed, at leaſt a great willingneſſe to fight: and when they thought they had now no longer reaſon to apprehend, that the Commanders of the League were to fall upon any important enterpriſe; which ſome of *Don Johns* Counſellors made uſe of afterwards, to diſcredit the information, though it was confirmed by many clear evidences. Whence it hapned, that much credit being given to their opinion: the Fleets departure was very unſeaſonably retarded, and the execution of what was reſolved by the Generalls, defer'd; though it was confeſs'd by all, that being to finde out the Enemy, the chiefe hope of good ſucceſs lay in the quickneſſe of the Enterpriſe; whereby not to afford them time, neither of flying, nor of joyning together; and that the unexpected aſſault, might cauſe more terrour in them, and put them in diſorder. The Commanders therefore deſigned, to part preſently away, and ſayling from the Iſland of *Zante*, not to ſuffer themſelves to be diſcovered any where, but to come on the ſudden to *Sapienza*, which is a Rock lying in the midſt between *Navarino* and *Modone*, and ſo to block up the paſſage, as the Enemy which was at *Navarino*, could not joyn with their companions, nor ſhelter themſelves under the walls of *Modone*. But this advice was ſo long delay'd, and they ſayled ſo ſlowly, as our Fleet, which as it was intended, ſhould have been on the 16th day, before ſun-riſing, at *Sapienza*, got but to *Produno*; ſo as being ſoon diſcovered from the Caſtel of *Navarino*, that part of the Turkiſh Fleet which lay in the Haven, had leaſure to get ſafely to *Modone*, paſſing not above three miles before, within the ſight of our Fleet; our men thinking, that ſince *Uluzzali* had had the opportunity of getting all his forces together, he would fight them, they put all their ſquadrons into order; and after having ſtaid a while to arm themſelves, the gallies of our Van advanced, which being got near the Enemy, gave fire to their great Guns, to try whether they had any mind to fight, or no; but the Turks meaning nothing leſſe, as knowing their diſadvantage, retired to underneath the Fort of *Modone*. Thus it fell out, that a few hours delay (of ſuch importance is diſpatch in point of War) made the Chriſtians loſe a gallant occaſion of ſuppreſſing the Turkiſh Fleet, without almoſt any hazard unto themſelves at all, which occaſioned a great change in all the inſuing War. The Enemies gallies being retired to *Modone*, great doubts

and difficulties arose amongst our Commanders, touching what they were to do; it being thought very dangerous, and almost impossible to fight the Enemies Fleet within the channell of *Modone*. For the mouth of the channell being of it selfe very straight, and being yet made more narrow by some shelves, was excellently well fortified on one side, by some Gallies which were placed to guard it; and on the other side by a hill, which butting out over against the Rock *Sapienza*, is as it were a Flank, whereon were many pieces of Artillery; and just over against the mouth thereof stands a Rock, called *San Bernardo*, upon which likewise many great Guns were placed: But moreover, when our men should have past all these dangers and difficulties, and passing further in, should have been gotten near the Town of *Modone*; they should have received more prejudice both from the Town, and from the Castle of *San Nicolo*; from whence, (it standing in the Sea) our gallies might be drilld through by shot, upon the superficies of the water. Wherefore knowing they could not force the Enemy to fight, the Generalls of the League resolved to retire to the point of *Sapienza*, that they might get into *Porto Longo*, whither two wings, which were the first that were to move, being already on their way: *Kluzzali* issuing out of the Channell of *Modone* with 50 gallies, came to assault our Battel, which was tarryed behinde. But as soon as he was discovered, *Don John* gave the sign of Battel, and made them all turn their Prowes towards the Enemy; so as the right wing became the left, and the left the right. But *Kluzzali*, who was not come forth with an intention to fight, when he saw our men stand in Battel array, began forthwith to retreat, from whence he was newly come; the which he might the more safely do, for that night was already come on, and therewithall a great storm of rain, which forced our men to fall Room-ward, and to launch into the deep, having the Enemies shores on all sides: But the next morning, the Sea being become more calm, the Confederates Fleet went into the Gulph of *Corone*, to take in fresh water at a clear and plentiful River, which runs along four miles from *Corone*, through a most pleasant Country, full of woods all of Cedar; from whence the River takes the name of *Longo*, which in the Greek *Idiome*, signifies a Wood. But to secure those that went for fresh water, they being to go far from our Gallies, and in an enemies Country, it behoved them to land many foot, whereof *Francisco dal Adriano* had the charge; and this danger was seasonably foreseen, and provided for; for *Kluzzali* observing which way our men went; were it either to disturb them, or to keep them from carrying away water, or else for the safety of the Town of *Corone*, he sent 1500 *Janisaries*, and 200 Horse thither, with whom our souldiers were forced to skirmish more then once; in which actions, *Charles*, Marquis of *Esmeus*, who was then a volunteer, together with many other French Gentlemen in our Fleet, won much praise: as also *Jovan Battista Conterini*, Master of a gally, who was landed with the rest; for meeting with a company of our men, who were running away, he made them stay, and bringing them boldly on, he repuls'd the Enemy. The foot being re-

re-imbarck'd, the whole Fleet parted from thoſe ſhores, being ſhot at as they paſt by the Fort *Corone*, whereby they received no great prejudice. Our Fleet being got out of that Gulph, as it ſailed between Cape *Gallo*, and the Iſland *Caprara*, it paſs'd within ſight of the enemie, in three Squadrons, one in the reer of another, by reaſon of the narrowneſſe of the ſituation, and came again to Cape *Sapienza*, on the South-weſt ſide, and lay at Anchor almoſt over againſt *Modone*; ſo as the two enemie-Fleets were divided but a little. But finding clearly, that to tarry long in that place, and expect the enemies comming forth, whereby they might have opportunity to fight them, was but to ſpend time to little purpoſe, with much indignity, and not without ſome danger, they being to keep in open ſea, and being often deluded by the enemy, who being ſure quickly to ſave themſelves, ſent ſome few gallies often out to moleſt them; The Venetian Generall propounded the landing of 10000 Foot, whereby to make themſelves maſters of the Hill, which lay upon the point of the Channell, from whence, if they intended to make any attempt againſt the enemy, they were likely to receive moſt harm; it being to be hoped, that this place being defended by a few men, and not in condition of being relieved by *Aluzzali*, who having the enemy before him, ready to fight him, he would not bereave his Gallies of ſouldiers, and incur a greater danger. But the Spaniards approved not of this propoſall, ſaying, That being ſo near the enemy, they were not to land ſo many men, whereby to weaken the forces of the Fleet, and expoſe it to much danger. Wherefore *Foſcherini*, finding ſo many difficulties, in whatſoever they ſhould pitch upon; and conſidering, that they muſt be forced ere long to be gone, without doing any thing; his opinion was, That in a buſineſſe of ſo great eſtimation, and where the hopes of doing good was greater, then the danger that might be incurred, they were to adventure, and forceably to enter the Chanell of *Modone*, and aſſault the enemy. He therefore propounded this to the Councell, offering to be himſelf the firſt, that ſhould expoſe himſelf to danger, and to make way for the reſt: Which though it were at firſt approved of, and that every one ſeemed to ſtrive, who ſhould have the honour of atchieving glory by the firſt danger, yet they came not to the tryall thereof. So as without making any attempt as then, the Fleet went to the Haven of *Navarino*, which is very ſpacious, very convenient for water, and for other accommodations, and alſo a ſafe receptacle for any Fleet; it not being to be injured by ſhot from the Caſtell, which is ſeated very high, and far off; where whilſt they ſhould tarry, the enemies Fleet was as it were beſieged underneath *Modone*; ſo as by reaſon of the many inconveniences which it underwent, it grew into a bad condition of returning to *Conſtantinople*, and alſo was in great danger of being driven upon land, and ſplit againſt thoſe ſhores by South-weſt windes: And if they ſhould be forced by theſe neceſſities and dangers, to depart from thence, they muſt afford our men opportunity to fight them. The Turks this mean while ſent many Harchebugiers, who be-

being well skilled in the ſcituations, falling down from the mountains near *Navarino*, did diſturb our men, and ſought to deprive them of the convenience of water. Wherefore our men were forced to land 5000 Foot, commanded by *Paolo Giordano Orſino*, by which the enemy being driven away, the country remained ſafe. So as our men keeping there with much ſafety and convenience, things ſeemed to be reduced to that paſſe, as it was hardly to be doubted, but that the Confederates would ſoon have the victory: whereupon ſuch advertiſements were ſent throughout all Chriſtendom, as men rejoyced thereat, not as at a hoped-for happineſſe, but as at one already certainly had. Yet many daies were idly ſpent, without any appearance of advantage, ſave what time might produce. Wherefore ſo long delay waxing tedious, the enterpriſe of *Navarino* was propoſed; but it being afterward conſidered, that though it was feaſable, yet it could not be much advantagious for the main affair, they gave over any further thought thereof, and bent themſelves to the expugning of *Modone*, in the getting whereof, the obtaining of their chief intent did conſiſt; for the enemies Fleet being driven from thence, might be fought by our men upon very advantagious tearms. It was therefore reſolved, to aſſault the Town and Caſtle of *Modone*, both by ſea and land, at one and the ſame time; and *Giovan Mocenico* was ſent to *Zante*, to bring Foot in all haſte from the ſhips. In the interim, a certain Ingine was invented and made, by *Juſeppe Bonello*, a Florentine-Ingineer, by faſtning four Gallies together, upon which, ten pieces of Cannon were placed, and ſome kinde of Parapets raiſed, intending to bring it to the Caſtle of *Modone*, and to batter it; and at the ſame time, to ſecure the comming of other Gallies, which being ſheltered by this Ingine from the Enemies ſhot, might enter the Channell, and give an aſſault. But when this Ingine was made, many contrarieties (as uſually happens in theſe new inventions) were found to be in it, which made it be but of little uſe; for it neither could be well guided upon the water, nor was it very ſafe; for having a very great weight upon it, and the ſides of the Gallies being narrow, it might ſink at the going off of the Cannon; and the ſea being there very deep, it was not known, whether it could have firm Anchorage or no. There was alſo great difficulty found, in bringing it to the intended place, for it was to be towed by other Gallies, which by reaſon of their ſlow motion, were expoſed to the danger of being ſhot through, and ſunk, by the Artillery which lay in the mouth of the Haven. So as diſpairing of getting that advantage by this invention, which was at firſt hoped for; and it being given out, that the Belgirby of *Greece* was comming with 2000 Horſe, to impede that enterpriſe, the buſineſſe was given over. But that which did exceedingly afflict the Venetians, and cut off all hopes of doing any good, was, the newes which was divulged through the whole Fleet, that the Spaniards had bread but for a few daies; wherefore they ſaid, They could not buſie themſelves about any long affair, being, by reaſon of that want, to bethink themſelves of retiring. Wherefore (being ſtill deſirous to leave ſome ſigne of victory, which might encourage the

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people of *Morea*, and make them hope for better things) they reſolved to beſiege *Navarino*, which thing had been propoſed ſeverall times before, but ſtill rejected; it not being thought, that the getting of ſo ſmall a Caſtle was worth the while, in compariſon of that their great preparation. The Caſtle of *Navarino*, which was anciently called *Pilo*, is ſeated upon a point of land, which thruſting out on the South-eaſt, ſhapes the Haven almoſt into the form of a Bowe: It is ſtrong rather by Nature, than by Art, being in an eminent place, and hard to be clammer'd up: it is very diligently guarded by the Turks, for the conveniency of the Haven, and for the ſcituation thereof, which is almoſt in the midſt of *Morea*. There are two wayes which lead to the Caſtle; the one on the left hand, which lies not far from the ſhore; and the other backwards, lying towards the firm Land; which incompaſſing a neighbouring ſtanding Pool, is very narrow, and almoſt hidden. The Prince of *Parma* had the chief charge of this enterpriſe; who when he had landed the men that were deſtined thereunto, which were 1000 Spaniſh foot, and as many Italians, and ten Cannons of Battery. He took the firſt way, which was openeſt, that he might keep the Enemy from being relieved; but as for the other, he either was aware of it too late, or did not much value it: ſo as *Jovan di Moncada*, and *Moretto Callaureſe*, going afterwards to poſſeſs themſelves of that Paſs, they were unexpectedly over-powred by many of the Enemy, part whereof came to bring ſuccour, and part came out of the Caſtle to meet, and back their men: they had much ado to ſave themſelves, which they did not without ſome loſſe. Whereupon the Turks, who were above 2000 in number, put a Garriſon into the Caſtle, and having the way open, did alſo poſſeſs themſelves of all the moſt eminent Paſſes which lay neareſt the Town, whereby they had opportunity of ſuccouring thoſe that were within again, and of moleſting our men that were without by continuall muſket ſhot, whilſt they were buſie in planting their Cannon, intending to begin the aſſault in that very place; and they were at the ſame time prejudiced and damnified by Artillery from the Caſtle, ſo as in three days ſpace they could hardly plant two pieces of Cannon againſt the place where they had deſigned them: and this miſchiefe and danger grew dayly greater, for our ſouldiers lay open, without any manner of ſhelter, by reaſon of the want of Earth: and the enemies which were without, with whom we were continually to skirmiſh upon diſadvantage, grew dayly ſtronger and ſtronger. Theſe things did very much trouble the Colleagues Generals, knowing that to riſe too ſoon from this begun-enterpriſe, would redound too much to their diſhonour; and yet they could have no certain hope of good ſucceſs by continuing the ſiege: But the want of bread was that which did moſt moleſt them, which was dayly more and more complain'd of by *Don John* and his Counſellors, who ſhew'd a neceſſity of departing. But many thought it very ſtrange, and not eaſily to be believed, that the Spaniſh Fleet being come with ſo many ſhips from *Cicily*, which is accounted the Granary of Italy, ſhould want bread in ſo ſhort a time. Others thought, that if the want

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were indeed ſuch as it was given out to be, it might eaſily and ſpeedily be provided for, by ſending to bring ſome ſhips away which were loaded with Bisket, and which the Spaniards themſelves ſaid, were left at *Taranto*. But the Venetian Generall, to remove all occaſions of the departure of the Spaniſh Fleet, whereof there was no hope left, nor any thought of good ſucceſs either then, or in the future; offered part of his victualls to *Don John*, intreating him to accept thereof, and ſhewing that he daily expected ſome ſhips with Bisket, wherewith to ſupply his neceſſity.

But whatſoever the reaſon was, the Spaniards did not accept the propoſall, nor would they liſten to any thing which might retarde their departure; which being reſolutely bent upon, they went from *Navarino*, permitting free and ſafe paſſage for *Aluzzali*, to return with his whole Fleet to *Conſtantinople*, with the name of an expert and valiant Commander, having got ſo much reputation and favour, as it might be feared he might be an inſtrument of more miſchief to Chriſtendom. Don John *indeavoured by all the meanes he could, that this his departure might be by the conſent of Generall* Foſcherini, *and the Venetians, labouring to ſhew his ardent deſire of acquiring glory and reputation; his condition being ſuch as thruſt him thereupon, if he had been otherwiſe inclined, ſince he wanted power and Eſtate anſwerable to his birth. He minded them of the laſt years Victory, of his forwardneſſe therein, and of the ſatisfaction he had ſince received thereby. He accuſed fortune which had bereft him of the opportunity of fighting the Enemy, which had been ſo often offered them, and ſo much by him deſired. He alſo promiſed, That if he ſhould meet with the ſhips in his voyage, he would willingly imbrace any occaſion that ſhould offer it ſelfe of doing ſome ſignall ſervice to the League, before he would return with his Fleet into the weſt; but that if he ſhould not be permitted to do ſo now, he would make amends the next year for the loſſe of that time which neceſſity had now inforc'd him upon.*

The Venetian Generall finding his reſolution fixt, thought good to give way unto it, leſt he might make the Enemy believe that the League was broke; and becauſe he knew he was not able to do any good of himſelfe alone. Many did firmly believe, that the King had alwaies, and particularly at this time, been very well inclined towards the League, and *Don John* no leſſe; but that effects had not enſued anſwerable to the good intention of theſe Princes, and to the opinion which was had of their forwardneſſe, by reaſon of ſeverall impediments and diſorders which had occur'd by negligence, or falſe rumours, or by the bad affection of ſome State Miniſters. And it was more particularly affirmed, that the Orders for requiſite victuals, had been badly obſerved, and that thoſe proviſions which were prepared for the Fleet, for the buſineſſe of the *Levant*, were made uſe of upon other occaſions, which was the reaſon why the Catholick Fleet was neceſſitated to give over the Enterpriſe, and return to her Havens. But it ſo fell out, as our men hapned to be nearer giving battel to the Enemy, than they had ever yet been, when they leſt thought of it: for juſt as the Leagues Fleet was ready to be gone, news was brought, that a Spaniſh ſhip which was

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come from *Corfu*, and was already got to the *Sapienza*, was ſet upon by ſome Turkiſh Gallies; wherefore all things being put in order, the Fleet parted ſpeedily from *Navarino*, to fall upon the Enemies Gallies, and to reſcue the ſhip, which was reduced to utmoſt danger. The Leagues Fleet was not got wholly out of the Haven, when *Uluzzali* began to come out of the Channell of *Modone* with 60 other gallies, to aſſiſt his former Gallies, which were gone to take the Spaniſh ſhips, and were 25 in number. Whereupon *Don John* gave order, that Commiſſary *Soranzo* ſhould go with a ſquadron of Gallies on the left hand, to keep *Uluzzali* from advancing farther; and that the Marquiſs of *Santa Croce*, and Commiſſary *Canale* ſhould go with their ſquadrons to purſue the 25 Gallies belonging to the enemy, which when they ſpi'd our Fleet from afar off, quitted the ſhip, and began to fly; and *Uluzzali*, when he ſaw himſelfe faced by Commiſſary *Soranzo*, haulted a little, being deſirous to know better what our men intended to do. And when he ſaw the Commiſſary ply his Oars, and come vigorouſly to aſſault him, he wheeled about, and return'd to underneath the Caſtle of *Modone*, being ſo cloſely purſued by our men, as comming very neat the Town of *Modone*, they made many ſhot even to within the walles. But the Gallies which fought the Spaniſh ſhip, having got the ſtart much, and meeting every where with friendly acception, eſcaped all of them, except one that was commanded by the St. *Jacco* of *Metiline*, Nephew to the famous *Ariadeno Barbaroſſa*, which being the laſt that tarryed to fight the ſhip; and for that the ſlaves, hoping to get liberty, ſlackned their rowing, was taken by the Marquiſs of *Santa Croce*.

Theſe actions continued ſo long, till the night came on, which bereft our men of making any other attempts againſt the Enemy. Wherefore *Don John* gave order, that the whole Fleet ſhould return to the Haven of *Navarino*, being unwilling to abandon the Engine of 4 gallies, which might afford occaſion to the Enemy, to turn his departure, flight, if he ſhould leave his Inſtrument of war behind him. But the great ſhips being alſo out of the Haven, and a favourable winde blowing a little at the South-eaſt, he ordered the ſhips to go preſently towards *Zante*, and he the next morning went with the whole Fleet the ſame way, being ſo deſirous to return ſpeedily, as ſteering his courſe through the Channel of *Viſcardo*, contrary to the opinion of his moſt skilfull Marriners, who adviſed him to go to *Ceſalonia*: the Fleet run a great hazard about the gulf of *Larta*, and one of the Popes gallies was ſplit againſt the ſhelves of *Paru*. *Uluzzali*, when the Leagues Fleet was gone, being free from fear of meeting any impediment in his voyage, went with all his gallies careleſſy, without any order, to *Cape Malio*, where, by reaſon of a contrary North-winde, he ſtaid ſome dayes; but afterwards, the winde turning fair, he came with 100 gallies to *Conſtantinople*, and was received with much joy and honour; the Turks holding themſelves abſolutely to be conquerors, becauſe they had defended *Morea*, and all their other Dominions, having offered battel ſeverall times (as they ſaid) to the Chriſtians, and at laſt chaſ'd them from their

their Territories, and made the Sea safe and open. But the same difficulties and desires continued still in the Christian Fleet, (which came on the 20 of *Octob.* to *Corfu*) though their forces were increased by the Duke of *Sesse's* comming to them with 13 gallies, and *John Andrea Doria*, with some ships laden with Corn. Severall undertakings were daily propounded in Councill, but none approv'd of. The Enterprise of *Santa Maura*, was chiefly had in consideration; whereunto *Don John* seemed to be well inclined; yet it was hindred by the Duke of *Sesse*, who being of a contrary opinion, did absolutely oppose it, affirming it was not time now to beleaguer Forts without Tents; nor to cross the Sea with numerous Vessels, and in an Enemies Country. All designs being therefore laid aside, the Spaniards resolved to turn West-ward, the Leagues Fleet having been but 50 dayes together. *Don John* went first to *Messina*, where leaving part of his gallies, he returned to *Naples* with the rest; and dismissing the Italian foot, he sent the Spanish and Dutch foot to their Garrisons. But *Colonna*, by Commission from the Pope, went to the Court of *Spain*, to give the King an account of what had been done, and to treat how the War was to be carryed on the next year, and what provisions would be requisite thereunto. *Colonna* was very glad of this occasion, that he might satisfie the King of some doubts, which he feared might have some impression in him, by the relation of those who envying his glory, and seeking out some occasion to blame his actions, and of putting the King in an ill opinion of him, had accused him, for having gone into the *Levant* before *Don Johns* arrival: though it was very clear, that those things could not be done, which were ordered by *Don Johns* selfe, without the Fleets departure from *Corfu*. *Colonna* having dispatcht the publick business, and justified himselfe very well, went from the Court, and returned to his imployment, with increase of honour and merit. The Spanish Gallies, and those of the Church being gone, onely the Venetians remained, and they almost idle at *Corfu*, where they lay armed all the Winter, that they might go out to prejudice the enemy, very early the next spring.

These were the successes of the year 1572. wherein Christendom had good hope to repair her selfe in part for the so many mischiefs she had received from the Turks, and to recover her pristine dignity, since the so famous victory which God had miraculously granted her, seemed to have made way for other noble Achievements; and that they might have so quel'd the forces of the *Ottoman* Empire, as that the Christian Princes might have been free from fear of being injur'd by them a long time: But really, our posterity may have just cause to blame the Princes of this Age, for not knowing how to make use of the opportunity which was offered them of suppressing the insolency of the common Enemy, which was grown so formidable to them all: and all future Ages will grieve for the misfortune of this our time, wherein, to the greater infamy thereof, the occasion of so much hoped for happinesse was lost. The Leagues Fleet being departed, those of *Morea*, and of *Brazzo di Maina*, who were risen up in favour of the Christians, and who waiting

ting for the ſucceſſe of the Fleets, as neither having field forces, nor ſtrong holds to defend themſelves, were retired to the mountains to ſave themſelves from the violence of the Turks, were forced to ſurrender to their power, and to return to greater ſlavery, being deprived of all hopes of ever getting quit of it. The Venetians complained grievouſly to the Pope by their Embaſſadors, (who at this time were ſent upon a ſolemn Embaſſy, according to cuſtome, to render obedience to his Holineſſe, in the name of the Commonwealth) of theſe irreſolute Counſels, and of the Spaniards ſlack proviſions, and chiefly of the departing from *Navarino*, ſo much, and ſo unſeaſonably at this time preſt by them: wherefore to gratifie them, the Pope ſent his Chamberlain, *Jovanni Claudio Gonſaga*, forthwith to *Don John*, to perſwade him to tarry where he was, in expectation of receiving orders from *Spain*, to winter in the *Levant*: which reſolution they hoped the King had already put on, being perſwaded thereunto, joyntly both by the Pope and the Venetians; and the affairs in *Flanders* having had proſperous ſucceſſe; to facilitate the which, in caſe the King ſhould not be already reſolved thereupon, the Pope ſent *Monſignor di Lanzano* ſpeedily away to *Spain*. But all theſe indeavours proved to no purpoſe, for having already given a poſitive anſwer to the Popes, and the Venetians other Embaſſadors, that he would not keep his Fleet ſo far from his Dominions, he would not be brought to alter his minde: and *Don John* not valuing the Popes deſire, as knowing peradventure the Kings, and his Counſellors minde, purſued his voyage (as hath been ſaid) to the Weſt: and in the interim, Generall *Veniero*, finding himſelfe indiſpoſed, by reaſon of his great Age, and much labour, having got leave from the Senate, return'd to his Country with much glory, being met by many of the Senators in the Buteentauro, and received very honourably by the Nobility and People.

The affairs in *Dalmatia* were not at this time altogether quiet; for though there were no ſetled Armies there, yet the neighbouring *Sanjacki* over-ran, and pillaged the Country with their Turkiſh Horſe, much to the prejudice of the Venetian ſubjects: to hinder which, the *Stradiotti* went often forth on Horſeback, and the foot Garriſons; ſo as they had continuall ſkirmiſhes, but without any notable effects on either ſide. For both the Venetians and Turks, proceeded but ſlowly therein, both of them thinking that it made not much for them, to uſe powerful forces in *Dalmatia*. The Turks feared, that to ſend a ſtrong Army into that Province, to attempt any great enterpriſe, might make the Emperour more jealous of their forces, whereby he might the more eaſily imbrace the offers made him by the Colleagues, and make War with them in *Hungary*: and the Venetians, whoſe deſigns lay altogether in the *Levant*, where all their forces were imploy'd, did forbear buſying themſelves in other enterpriſes, for that they thought, that whatſoever of importance might be then attempted, either in *Dalmatia*, or in *Albania*, was to depend upon the ſucceſs of the Fleet, as alſo the fortune of the whole War. They knew alſo, that they were not likely to do any good

with, but ſmall forces; the enemy being very ſtrong in that Country, by reaſon of their uſuall Garriſons, and that they were apt to aſſemble together great numbers of men. Whence it was, that having gotten the Town of *Macarſca*, by the advice of *Luigi Grimani*, and of *Julio de Pompei*, which was a place of ſome conſideration, and formerly much frequented by Marchants, being both fortified and garriſonized; they were notwithſtanding quickly forced to abandon it; our men being much inferiour in numbers to the Enemy. The like befell them at the Fort of *Cliſſa*, which being gotten by our men, by intelligence held with them within, they kept it but for a very ſhort time; for the Souldiers of the Garriſon hearing that the Turks were comming to aſſault it with great forces, were ſo terrified at the very news thereof, as they fled all for ſafety to *Sebenico*, before the Enemy were come. The Turks let ſlip no occaſion, whereby they might prejudice the Venetians; wherefore not having at this time ſufficient forces aſſembled to ſtorm their Towns, they plotted otherwiſe againſt them; particularly againſt the Town of *Catarro*, which they deſigned to take by ſiege, there being no way left to victuall it by land: Therefore to block up all acceſs alſo by Sea, they had gone about ſeverall times to build a Fort in the mouth of the Channel, wherein that City was placed: but they were alwaies diſturbed therein by our men. But the *Sanjacco del Ducato*, being at laſt come thither with a great many of men, he perfected it, and built a Fort upon the point of *Varbagna*, about three miles diſtant from *Caſtel-Nuovo*, where the Channel is not above forty paces over: Whereof when the Senate heard, they had reaſon to think that the City of *Catarro* was in great danger: wherefore they ſent particular orders, to General *Foſcarini*, that he ſhould ſend to deſtroy that work. So Commiſſary *Soranzo*, having no other occaſion of imployment at that time, it being in the midſt of winter, went with 22 gallies, and 6 galliaſſes, to the mouth of the Channel of *Cattaro*. He had with him *Paolo Orſino*, *Pompeio Colonna*, *Moretto Calaureſe*, and other Commanders, who conducted 4000 Foot to this Enterpriſe. And as they were on the way, *Nicolo Suriano*, Captain of the Gulph, came in unto them with 4 gallies; being all of them come to *Gianizza*, they landed many men, part whereof went with *Pompeio Colonna*, to poſſeſs themſelves of a neighbouring hill, to keep the Souldiers of *Caſtel-Nuovo* from ſuccouring thoſe of the Fort: and part went with *Nicolo da Gambara*, to a place not far off, whither *Zacharia Salamone*, who had been formerly adverriſed with the whole deſign, was to come at the ſame time from *Catarro*, with ſome ſouldiers of that Garriſon, and with ſome other people that were raiſed in the Country of *Lacchetia*. Then *Soranzo* entred the Channel with 18 of his beſt Gallies, and going formoſt himſelfe, he paſſ beyond the Fort: from which though many ſhot were made, yet did not the Fleet receive any harme; but paſſing on ſafely, he put himſelfe into a fit place, where he might batter both by Sea and Land. The Fort was made of great Oaks, very artificially faſtned and chained together, ſo as they made a double rank, and incompaſſed a great Plat-form; upon which, ſome Parapets were raiſed;

ſed, for the ſafeguard of the Defendants. The whole Fort was 150 paces in compaſſe, the ſhape thereof quadrangular, without any flanks; but ſo placed, as one of the Fronts played upon the Gallies, as they entered the Channell, and the other, when they were paſt on. It was well furniſhed with Artillery, and had 200 ſouldiers to defend it. Wherefore our men reſolved to batter it both by ſea and land, at one and the ſame time, to the end that the defendants being buſied in ſeverall places, and confuſed through fear, might abandon it the ſooner. The next morning, after their firſt arrival, they began to batter a place both by ſea and land; and ſoon after, our ſouldiers came with ladders to aſſault it. After a ſhort defence, the enemy was forced to yield, leaving the way open for the aſſailants to enter, and to make themſelves maſters of the Fort. There were many ſmall guns found therein, and eighteen great ones, which the Commiſſary ſent to *Venice*, and blew up the Fort. This buſineſſe being ſpeedily and proſperouſly performed, and a ſufficient garriſon put into *Cattaro*, they returned to *Corfu*, with their gallies, and with the reſt of their men, where the Fleet ſtill lay.

During the winter ſeaſon, many things were treated of in *Rome*, about proviſions of war for the next ſummer: They knew, that dangers were much encreaſed, the enemy having had ſo much time given him to repair himſelf, for the loſſes he had ſuffered in the battle, and to gather together greater forces. Wherefore they reſolved to increaſe the forces of the League alſo, to the number of 300 gallies, and 60000 Foot. It was likewiſe propounded, to ſend 100 gallies very early into the *Levant*, not expecting the union of the whole Fleet, which would require more time, that the enemy might be prevented, who, as it was ſaid, would put to ſea very betimes, to hinder the relieving of *Candia*, to pillage the Venetian ſhoars, and to infuſe fear into all. Yet they came not to any ſetled reſolution, of obviating theſe dangers; either for that they did not value them ſo much as they ought to have done; or, as ſome ſaid, fearing, that when their forces ſhould be divided, and part of the Fleet ſhould onely be advanced, the Turks might poſſeſſe themſelves, with their joynt forces, of ſome convenient place, between the one and the other part of the Colleagues Fleet, and ſo keep them from joyning, and hinder all their deſignes. The firſt heat being, out of this reaſon, allayed, affairs proceeded very ſlowly; and whilſt they thus endeavoured to take ſafer courſes, it was clearly found, that they incurred greater dangers: For whilſt the Spaniards endeavoured, that the time for the uniting of the Fleets ſhould be put off, till the beginning of *May*, the Venetians territories, eſpecially the Kingdom of *Candia*, which was of ſuch importance to all Chriſtendom, was expoſed to be aſſaulted by the Turkiſh Fleet, with very little hopes of being timely relieved. Wherefore the Venetians, that they might not wholly rely upon fortune, were more diligent, in garriſoning all their Forts, ſending many Foot thither. And being to continue at this great expence of Garriſons and Fleets, they preſt the Pope, (who ſtill ſolicited the en-

creasing of the Leagues forces; to help them with some monies: They desired they might have leav, to sel the goods of Ecclesiasticks, and to use other means, which were used to be permitted in much lesser necessities, by his Predecessors. But the Pope, not assenting to any of these things, did onely promise, that 100000 Duckets might be raised by the way of Tithes, from the Clergy belonging to the Common-wealth. So as the warr believed to be maintained by the Revenues of particular men, contributions which were paid into the Exchequer being daily multiplied, and new monies being paid into the common Bank; by which the Common-wealth grew more indebted. Nor for all this could the Venetians obtain any resolution, touching the reparation which they proceeded unto, for the contribution which they had given in a greater measure, then they were obliged unto, to the League's service, in number of Gallies and Foot; which being referred to the Pope, could never be brought to an end, who interposed severall delaies, and wish'd the Venetians to be contented, that this businesse might be proceeded in by composition, not by decree. From whence the Venetians took occasion to say, that the Pope favoured the Spaniards too much, either in memory of the great and recent obligation, he had to them, having received (as hath been said) that supream dignity by their means, or for some other concealed ends. Others conceived, that the Pope proceeded with much zeal to the publick good, for that he thought, (as he often said) that in all things which concerned the League, businesses were to be carried on with much dexterity, to shun giving any occasion of breaking, or of any whit lessening the good intelligence between Princes, whereby to deprive himself of the good which might be hoped for, by the forces of the League, the next year.

At which time, there had been many things handled at *Constantinople*, touching the composing of affairs: For the Turks hearing of the mniring of the Christian Fleet, and being doubtfull of the event of war, caused severall discourses of peace be often made, to the Venetian Consull. The chief Bashaw was still more and more desirous of agreement; who, after the defeat at *Lepanto*, did increase much in authority and reputation, being esteemed to be wise by all men, because he had foreseen that, or the like ruine, and had therefore advised against the warr, contrary to the opinion of other men. He therefore thought this a very fitting time to come to some agreement, whilst *Seline*, who being at the first puft up by his own greatnesse, and by the adulation of his other Bashawes, would not listen to any such discourse: But his courage being now somewhat cooled, by the unexpected event of the Battle, he seemed more inclined to peace: Whilst it might be believed, that the Venetians would not be averse thereunto, that they might upon such an occasion treat, upon composing their affairs upon better tearms. This *Seline*'s inclination being known by *Mehemet*, and hopes of agreement being publickly discoursed of by the people, who were now very desirous thereof, by reason of the many inconveniences which

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they had undergon by war: Much newes was spread abroad throughout *Constantinople*, of the great forces of the League, and of the Confederates designes; which things being amplified by those of greatest authority, who wish'd well to peace, *Selim* was contented, that the businesse might be treated of with the Venetian Consul. *Mehemet* began therefore, to discourse more freely with the Consul, making use therein of *Ovenius*, the chief interpreter, and of *Rabbi Salamone*, an Hebrew Physitian; who being gotten into intimate acquaintance with *Mehemet*, was often employed in affairs of weightiest importance. Whereof, though the Consul had sent particular notice to *Venice*, yet the propounded Treaties were not embraced; for the Venetians desired to continue war, being encouraged by hopes of other prosperous successes, and having a better esteem of the League's forces, by reason of their late victory. But when they found, they had lost great opportunities of suppressing the enemy, so much time being spent to no purpose, and all their former designes being totally broken; they were forced to alter their mindes, and to listen to proposalls of peace, endeavouring to secure their affairs, which were exposed to the uncertainty of fortune, the best that they could. The businesse was propounded in the Councill of Ten, to the end that it might be negotiated with all possible secrecy, and be the more speedily dispatch'd, as time, and the condition of affairs seemed to require. But the Senators were not well resolved in the point at the first; the first desire of war being re-inkindled in them the rather, for that the Christian Princes, apprehending this Treaty, began now to be more forward, and efficacious in their promises, of favouring and assisting the League: Insomuch as *Lorenzo Priuli*, being gone Embassadour to *Spain*, in the place of *Leonardo Donato*; Secretary *Peres*, and Doctor *Velasco*, through whose hands businesses of greatest importance did passe, did frequent his house oftner then was usuall; and that they might make the better impression in the new Embassadour, laboured to shew him, that the King, who had been alwaies well inclined towards the League, was now more desirous then ever to prosecute the war, and would add much to the forces of the League; saying, That expresse orders were sent to his Agents in *Italy*, to be diligent in making greater provisions, lest they might incur the like delay and disorders, as they had done the last year. And on the other side, *Don John* promised, that he would not tarry to expect the comming of the Spanish gallies, but that he would come and joyne with the Venetians, having onely the Italian forces, to the end, that he might be gone betimes into the *Levant*. The Emperour also, who could not be drawn from his first resolutions, neither by the so many offers made unto him severall times, by the League, nor by the assistance lately promised him, by the Princes of *Italy*, of 1000 Horse, and 7000 Foot; made it known to the Embassadour of the Common-wealth, then resident with him, (no reason appearing to move him thereunto, save onely his fear, that the Venetians would come to some agreement with the Turks) that he would adhere unto

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the League. Out of theſe reaſons, the Venetians proceeded doubtfully and irreſolutely, in the buſineſſe of the Peace. Whereupon Doge *Mocenico*, who had alwaies been more inclined to peace, then to the League, upon a day, when the Councill of Ten were met, ſpoke thus.

It was not the thought of any one, (as I believe) to perpetuate, or to continue this war, which is intimated to us by Selim, too long, when we did firſt reſolve to take up Arms for our own defence; but with a noble and generous minde, to make tryall of the fortune and gallantry of the Commonwealth, of the good will and forces of Chriſtian Princes, for the greater ſafety of our State, and of all Chriſtendom, againſt the power of the inſolent common Enemy. And it is certain, that war is in order to peace; and quiet ſecurity ought to be the thing aimed at, by all troubles and dangers. Experience of what hath paſſed of late years, may ſufficiently teach us, what our condition may be, if we ſhall continue war any longer, what the end thereof may be, what reparation we may expect for ſo great expences, and what reward for our labours. We loſt the noble city of Nicoſia *the firſt year, by vainly truſting, that our forces would be accompanied by the like of others, whereby to relieve the Kingdom of* Cyprus. *Loſing no courage, we continued making proviſions for war, flattering our ſelves, that we might repair our loſſes, by joyning in a ſtraiter confederacy with the other Chriſtian Princes. God was pleaſed to give us ſuch a victory over our enemies, as almoſt none could hope for; and yet I know not, through what fault or misfortune of ours,* Famagoſta *was miſerably loſt; and we were compelled to yield up the peacefull and ſecure poſſeſſion of the whole Kingdom, to the enemy: But the pleaſure of having begun to overcome, ſuffered us not to be ſenſible of our great loſſe. Wherefore we as readily and boldly betook our ſelves to make great proviſion of Arms the third year, and to encreaſe our Fleet and Souldiers, not ſparing for any coſt, nor paſſing by any inconvenience. We now ſee too clearly, what good we have got thereby. Our Gallies lay long idle at* Corfu, *expecting aid from the Confederates; and when we hoped, that having overcome ſo many difficulties, all forces would be joyned together, that we might go jointly againſt the enemy; we muſt leave our Iſlands in prey to them, and let our Fleet return, with more loſſe of time and reputation, then any advantage we got by the forces of that union. And when at laſt, fortune afforded us unexpected occaſions, of beating the enemy, we muſt abandon them, by reaſon of being abandoned by our friends, parting unſeaſonably from the haven at* Navarino, *unneceſſitated, and diſhonourably. But what need I relate things of ſo recent memory? We are reduced to ſuch a condition, as aſſuredly we cannot maintain war of our ſelves alone, againſt the Turks forces, too diſproportionate for us. And we know by experience, that the company of others, which ought to be a help and eaſe to us, is an incumbrance and impediment; it fills us with great hopes, which it afterwards makes not good, but ſuffers us to precipitate, and doth rather increaſe, then ſecure our evills. We were perſwaded, that good intelligence might not onely be had, between the Pope, the King of* Spain, *and our Common-wealth; but that this our confederacy might make all other Chriſtian Princes, to take up Arms jointly againſt the common enemy; eſpecially after that great victory, which was alwaies thought, would have conduced much to the ſuppreſ-*

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sing of them. But now we find we built those our conceptions more upon desire, than upon well-grounded truths. Shall we then continue still in the same errour, and place the preservation of our State, and all our welfare, upon such uncertain grounds, upon hopes wherein we have been so often deluded? It was certainly a generous, pious, and laudable resolution, not to yield to Selimo's *insolent demand; not to abandon the cause of Christendom, not to degenerate in the least point from our Ancestors, who did always with much magnanimity undertake such things, wherein they might hope for praise unto themselves, and for glory and grandezza to this Common-wealth. But now, after having courageously taken up Arms, and been fortunate in battel, and that we see clearly we cannot (by what cross destiny I know not) reap any further good by other prosperity, that we hazard all by fighting, and that we get nothing by overcoming; To continue in this same minde, and in the same troubles and dangers without any reward; and when the opportunity of great effects, which was given us by victory, is already vanisht and escap'd our hands, to grow worse and worse, and not rather to wait for the advantage which we may hope for from time, and from other occasions; may rather appear to be rash obstinacy, than good Christian zeal, or desire of true honour. If we shall consider the condition of our forces, and of our Common-wealth, it is too manifest, that nothing can be more unseasonable, our more prejudiciall, than to prolong the War. For the condition of affairs grows daily worse for us: the forces of the League which depends upon variety of Counsells, and oft-times upon contrary respects, become vain and useless, though they be great in themselves; and yet the inconveniency of maintaining them is great on our side, by reason of the excessive expence we must be at, and for the want of men, especially of Rowers, whereof these wars have consumed so many, as now we must with much expence, have recourse for them to* Transalpine *Nations, and not be sure of being well served. But if we consider the particulars of our State, and seek not to deceive our selves, we may clearly know, that though our forces be great of themselves, yet are they but weak to sustain the weight of war long against so powerfull and fortunate an Empire, as is that of the Turks; and, (which is of no less importance) our Territories by Sea be far from this city, are divided amongst themselves, and exposed to the injuries of the Enemy, and more easie to be assaulted by them both by Sea and Land, than to be relieved by us; and therefore they require so many Souldiers to Garrison and defend them, as we are inforced to maintain at one & the same time, as it were two Armies, to furnish the Fleet, and to guard the Sea-Forts: and I wish we be not necessitated to raise a third, to oppose those who threaten to assault* Friuli. *What reason have we then to hope, we shall by length of War be able to defeat the Enemy? It might perchance have been done, if we had known at first how to make use of our Victory; and therefore our endeavours have still been to raise a great force, wherewith to put a speedy end to the war: What effect have ensued thereupon, and for what reasons, is sufficiently declared by the necessity and dangers which we are in. Our hopes now (if we do weigh them aright) are changed into fear of being ruined by a powerful Empire; which for the extent thereof, and orderly Militia, is apt to maintain war long. Why should any one doubt then, but that we should listen to*

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propoſals of peace, made and propounded by the chief Baſhaw to our Conſul, as we have been informed by many of his Letters? ſince we have in vain indeavoured to ſecure Candia, and our other Dominions, by other wayes; wherefore ſhall we not uſe that courſe which is afforded us of freeing our ſelves from the preſent eminent dangers we are in? We know that Baſhaw Mehemet (as one that hath alwayes been deſirous of peace) laying the doubtfull event of war before Selino, hath made him give way to agreement, from which he ſeemed to be at firſt much averſe. If we let ſlip this occaſion, truly for my part, I fear we ſhall hereafter deſire it in vain: and that our affairs will lie long floting, before they will be brought into the Haven, and to our former condition of Tranquillity, for which we were peradventure more to be envied by other Princes, than we had reaſon to envy them, who were invironed with ſo many troubles and dangers. Who would ever have imagined, that the Turks would have been able to put together a new, and ſo powerfull a Fleet, the very next year after ſo great a rout, as they ſhould dare to put to Sea, therewith to defend their Revers? and yet we ſee they have done that with eaſe, which was by all men thought impoſſible. They have put to Sea, have much prejudiced our Dominions: they have faced our Fleet, defended all their own Territories, and are ſafely returned with their whole Fleet unto Conſtantinople. What greater proof can we have of their power? what more certain tokens of the next years ſucceſſes? if after having been ſo beaten, they have reſumed ſo much courage, and been able to put together ſo great Forces, we may very well imagine what they will dare, and what they will be able to do, after having had ſo long time to recruit themſelves, and having in a large manner recovered their former reputation and greatneſſe. But let them who are of a contrary opinion, ſay, I beſeech you, if the Turks ſhall come forth the next year ſo powerfull to our prejudice, both by Sea and by Land too (as ſome affirm); and that the King of Spain, moved by ſome more particular important reſpects of his own, by reaſon of jealouſies which he may have of the French, or Germans, which is already ſpoken of; or that for any other ſuch occaſion, he reſolve to imploy his Forces deſtin'd for the ſervice of the League, for the ſafety of Flanders, as he did the laſt year: or if he ſhall purpoſe to effect his old and chief deſign about the buſineſſe of Africa; which, as we know all, is the thing chiefeſt deſired by the Spaniards, and which we may have juſt reaſon to apprehend by his not ſuffering his Fleet, to winter in the Levant; how ſhall we be able to defend Candia, Corfu, and our other more important places, againſt ſo eminent danger, whilſt we relie upon one who is not ſtedfaſt in his reſolution of adhering unto us? ſo as by vainly truſting to ſuch a leaning ſtock, our forces ſhall become the weaker, and leſſe able to withſtand the enemy, or to do any thing againſt them. When they ſhall beſiege our Iſlands, play upon our Forts, we ſhall then ſend our Embaſſadors to Spain, Portugall, and Germany, vainly imploring and ſoliciting the aſſiſtance of other Princes, acquainting them with their own and our dangers, (which they value but little) as we did the late years. And our enemies, when they ſhall ſee us deſerted by our friends, and not reſolved what to do our ſelves, will become more inſolent than yet they have been, will ſcorn all conditions of agreement; and that which we now refuſe being offered, ſhall not be liſtned unto, nor granted when it is propounded by us. My opinion then, Gentlemen,

men, it, that the occaſion of achieving more generous and noble ends, as might with reaſon have been hoped for, after ſo famous a victory, being to the great mis-fortune of our ſelves, and of all Chriſtendom, let ſlip, we may at leaſt reap thereby what advantage we may, to the end that all our dangers reſt not wholly unrewarded; nor that the blood of ſo many of our well deſerving citiſens be ſhed in vain. We ought not to recommit the total of our Fortune, for any ſlight cauſe, to the uncertain event of Battel; and experience teacheth us, that we ought not to hope for any great enterpriſes. Let us then be rationall, let us free our ſelves as ſoon as we can from the Dominion of fortune, and let us let this maligne influence of the Heavens, which doth but badly befriend our Common-wealth, paſſe over. Nor ought this to be a badge of infamy to us to the world, nor unſatisfactory to the Confederates. Our actions have been too evident, our good wills therein have been ſufficiently ſeen therein by all men; none can deny, but that we have readily concur'd to the obſervancy of the League; that we have deſired, ſolicited, and indeavoured the ſuppreſſion of the enemy, and to make good uſe of victory. But ſince all our indeavours prove vain, who can blame us, if being adviſed thereunto by reaſon, or rather compelled by neceſſity, we have thought upon ſecuring our Dominions, by peace, as well as the Spaniards *indeavoured to ſecure theirs the laſt year by detaining their Fleet, which by the Articles of the League, was deſtin'd to the common ſervice in the* Levant. *Theſe our juſt reaſons are known to all men, the* Spaniards *themſelves know not how to gain-ſay them; nay, (as we have been lately informed) a State Miniſter of the Kings, ſeeming to have ſome jealouſie of this Treaty, ſaid, the King would not be diſpleaſed, that the Common-wealth of* Venice, *to the preſervation and dignity whereof he had alwaies been a well-wiſher, as all Chriſtian Princes ought to be for the good of Chriſtendom, ſhould treat with the Turks of peace upon honourable conditions. And ſay, that this peace which ſhall now be eſtabliſhed, be not likely to be of any long ſecurity to us, through the enemies perfidiouſneſſe; we may notwithſtanding get advantage of time by it, a thing very ſeaſonable in doubtfull and dangerous accidents, and which alwayes ought to be indeavoured by thoſe that are weakeſt: for humane things are govern'd with much of change, and not onely mens opinions are ſeen to be altered in a ſhort time, but the whole ſtate and condition of the moſt important affairs. Let us now indeavour to find out ſome remedy for our inſtant dangers. God, who hath alwaies taken this Common-wealth into his particular protection, and who will peradventure correct her by this ſcourge of War for ſome errour of hers, but not ruine her; will open ſome more certain way to her ſafety and greatneſſe, which is as yet hidden and unknown to human wiſdom.*

The *Doge*'s words bore great weight with them; his gravity and authority, accompanied by reaſon, became more efficacious: wherefore his advice being approved, new Commiſſion was given to the Conſul, to attend the Treaty of Peace, and to indue him with authority to conclude it, upon the conditions which ſhall be hereafter related. Severall accidents made much for this reſolution: many difficulties which were found for recruiting the Fleet, by reaſon of the great number of men that were conſumed, by labour and hardſhips, and through great fear which had poſſeſt all

men, and which was made the greater, becauſe it was not now tempered, as it was before, with hopes of prey and reward. Moreover, the pains and danger did now increaſe, by the reaſon of freſh commotions in *Flanders*, and of aſſiſtance which was preparing for them in *Germany*: wherefore it was ſaid, that the Spaniards being thereupon chiefly intent, had wholly bent themſelves upon the augmenting of thoſe Garriſons, and upon making the ſorer war the next year in *Flanders*. It was alſo underſtood, that a Chiaus was come at the ſame time to the *Ceſarean* Court from *Conſtantinople*; who (though it was afterwards known, that he was ſent to treat of things touching *Moldavia*) was ſuſpected to be ſent to demand paſſage for the Turkiſh Army, which was ſaid to be prepared for aſſaulting *Friuli*. Their forwardneſſe being out of theſe reaſons ſomewhat allaid, who were at firſt for continuing the League, they all unanimouſly reſolved upon the Treaty of Peace. Monſieur *d'Aix*, the French Embaſſador, was preſently made acquainted with theſe reſolves; who being return'd from *Conſtantinople*, was then at *Venice*, and who had received new orders from his King, to return to *Conſtantinople*, that he might, as oft as he ſhould be requeſted, be ayding to the treaty of Agreement, to the which the King of *France* had both formerly, and at this time, oft exhorted the Venetians. The Conſull *Barbaro*, was therefore acquainted with all theſe proceedings, to the end, that when the French Embaſſador ſhould be come to *Conſtantinople*, he might conſult with him touching the Treaty of Peace, and according as he ſhould ſee occaſion, make uſe of his mediation and authority.

But the Turks, as ſoon as they heard of Monſieur *d'Aix*, returning to *Conſtantinople*, hoping that he had brought new conditions for the ſtipulation of Peace, and which might be more advantagious for them, cooled in their negotiations formerly held with the *Bayle*, indeavouring cunningly to ſpin out the time, without declaring any reſolution in the point. Which delay did much prejudice the buſineſſe; for ſeverall difficulties were falſly promoted by ſuch, as for their own intereſt, deſired to diſturb it, chiefly by telling *Selino*, that great proviſions being already made both for the Fleet and Army; it was neither advantagious, nor honourable, to treat of Agreement: ſo as the condition of affairs grew daily worſe, and unreaſonable propoſalls were made; the Turks appearing to be totally alienated from thoughts of peace. They impriſoned the *Bayle* cloſer than they had done formerly, made all his windows be ſhut up, ſet more guards upon him, and dealt more ſeverely with him in all things, thinking thereby to make him diſcover his lateſt, and moſt ſecret Commiſſions; or elſe to keep him from ſending notice to *Venice* of their proviſions for War; or rather, as appeared by the ſequell, to keep him from communing with Monſieur *d'Aix*, who was come juſt then to *Conſtantinople*, imagining, that by this meanes, they might the more eaſily draw the new conditions from him, which they conceived he had brought. But when beginning to treat with him, they found that really he had onely generall orders concerning

cerning peace. And the chief Baſhaw growing jealous, that the French would interpoſe themſelves in this buſineſſe, for their own particular intereſts; as if the Turks, eſteeming theſe endeavours, as tending much to their ſervice, would be the readier afterwards in lending their aſſiſtance, for the election of Monſieur *d' Anjou*, brother to the King of *France*, to be King of *Poland*, he cared not to continue the buſineſſe by this way; but having recourſe to the former means, and to thoſe who had formerly negotiated therein; to wit, to *Orembei* and *Salamone*, he reaſſumed the Treaty with the Conſul; and after ſeverall propoſalls and replies on all ſides, *The Agreement was at laſt concluded, and eſtabliſhed about the midſt of* March; *all things contained in the former Capitulation being now again confirmed, but with a particular declaration, that the Caſtel of* Sopoto, *which was yet held by the Venetians, ſhould be reſtored to the Turks: But that all the other Towns of* Albania *and* Slavonia, *together with their confines and territories, as they were conſtituted before the war, ſhould remain poſſeſs'd in whoſe hands they then were. That all the goods which had been taken in time of war, from the Merchants of either ſide, ſhould be entirely reſtored. And moreover, that the Venetians ſhould be bound to ſend yearly, for the ſpace of three years,* 100000 *Duckets, to the Court at* Conſtantinople: *which was ſtood upon and endeavoured by the Turks, more then any thing, as a token of their grandezza, and reputation.* The Conſul diſpatch'd away his ſon *Franceſco* to *Venice*, with theſe capitulations, confirmed and ſigned under *Selino*'s own hand, who came thither about the midſt of *April*. The newes of the concluſion of peace being publiſhed, at young *Barbaro*'s arrivall, people diſcourſed thereupon variouſly, every one according to their own particular ſenſe and affection; many thought, their intereſts were concerned herein; others perſevering in their firſt hopes, that Chriſtendom might have been much advantaged by war, blamed the Venetians, for having laid down Arms, and abandoned the League, But thoſe of wiſer and more mature judgment, who meaſured things to come, by what had been paſt, did conſtantly affirm, that this action deſerved praiſe, or at leaſt juſtly to be excuſed, the reaſon of State requiring it, for the preſervation of the Commonwealth's Dominions, which without this onely remedy of peace, would be ſubject to great inconveniencies and dangers. But of all others, the Pope was chiefly ſcandalized hereat; to whom, when the Venetian Embaſſadour went to acquaint him with the whole buſineſſe, the Pope, not being able to moderate his anger, would not as then, nor for many daies after, give ear to any thing that might be ſaid, in the juſtification thereof, nor admit the Embaſſadour to his preſence. This ſo great anger of the Pope's, made the Cardinals, and chief perſonages of the Court, and, by their example, all the people, ſpeak very freely of it. Wherefore it was doubted, that the Pope, moved chiefly out of a deſire, of giving better ſatisfaction to the Spaniards, whom he thought would hold themſelves much injured hereby, would ſhew himſelf ſo ſevere; and that ſome Cardinalls, imagining, that by ſo doing, they might pleaſe both the Pope and the Spaniards, for which they daily ex-

pected thanks, and remuneration, would aggravate the buſineſſe, more then they themſelves believed, it deſerved to be. But the Catholick King, who was accuſtomed to govern, and knew by experience, how very rationall it is in Princes to deſire, that their Dominions may be preſerved by wiſdom and moderation, not being at all troubled at the newes, that peace was concluded, ſeemed not to be diſpleaſed with what the Common-wealth had done, for her own intereſts; ſaying, That aſſuredly they muſt be weighty and important occaſions, which had moved the Venetians to put on ſuch a reſolution. And that as he had been ready to lend his forces to the ſervice of Chriſtendome, and particularly to the good of the Common-wealth; ſo he did aſſure himſelf, that they being ſenſible of his good-will, by his actions, would do the like to him, when occaſion ſhould require it. And the Spaniards generally, both in the Court of *Rome*, and in *Spain*, uſing much moderation, made no outward ſhew, either of diſlike, nor reſentment. Some ſaid, They were rather ſorry for the occaſion, which had neceſſitated the making peace, then for the peace it ſelf. They confeſt, that thoſe reſpects, which had perſwaded to this reſolution, muſt have been very great, but not ſo well known to them, by reaſon of the diſtance of their Dominions, and of their Kings power. And the Spaniſh Embaſſadour who was at *Rome*, underſtanding that the Embaſſadour, who was choſen to go to *Conſtantinople*, to confirm the Capitulations, was not yet gone from *Venice*; propounded new endeavours to enliven the League. This way of proceeding, regulated by the reaſon of intereſt, not of affection, was much wondered at, as a thing but little known, or practiſed by Italians. Wherefore ſome ſaid, that the Spaniards were thus moderate, leſt by blaming the Venetians, they might provoke them to juſtifie themſelves, by complaining of the actions of the Colleagues, the laſt years paſt. Others ſaid, That though they had loſt the advantage of the League for that time, they would not forego the friendſhip of the Common-wealth for ever, which they might make uſe of upon other occaſions. But, it may be, the trueſt cauſe was, that following therein their naturall cuſtom, of maintaining their dignity, it became them not to value much the diſſolution of the League, as if they were not ſufficient of themſelves, to give a juſt counterpoiſe to the Turkiſh forces. But the Pope continued ſtill unſatisfied. Wherefore the Venetians, not being willing to be held contumacious, reſolved to ſend an expreſſe Embaſſadour to *Rome*, that the Pope might be the more eaſily pacified, and admit of their true juſtifications, by this ſigne of their reverence and reſpect. *Nicolo da Ponte* was choſen for this employment, a man of reverend years, and of great eſteem and authority in the Common-wealth, being a Procurator of St. *Marks*. This man going ſpeedily to *Rome*, and having obtained audience of the Pope, ſhewed him, that the Common-wealth had juſt cauſe to accept of the peace, which was offered by the Turks, *That all their territories by ſea, were expoſed to very great danger, by reaſon of the enemies many preparations made to offend them, and through the ſlow proceedings of their friends and confederates to defend them. That the weight of*

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this war was become ſo grievous, by reaſon of the expences which the Common-wealth had been at, for the ſpace of three years, and through the many inconveniences, whereby her ſubjects were prejudiced, as it became now unſupportable. That as long as the hopes of proſperous ſucceſſe, and of future quiet, did keep up their hearts in the bitterneſſe of war, and did a little conſolate the preſent evills, the Venetians had out-done what they were bound to by their Articles, in providing for war, and exceeded their abilities. But that the beſt occaſions being now unſeaſonably let ſlip, what reaſon had they to continue at ſuch expences and dangers? ſince it was now clearly known, that the Common-wealth could not preſerve her Dominions better, then by peace. That the Pope ſhould be well pleaſed, it being for the common ſervice of Chriſtendom, that accommodating her ſelf to the times, ſhe ſhould temporiſe with ſo powerfull an enemy, that ſhe might employ the remainder of her forces upon ſome other ſeaſonable occaſion, for the good of Chriſtendom, and of the Church, as ſhe had ſo often formerly done. That in this reſpect, Paul the third, when he knew that it was in vain to take up Armes againſt Soliman, did himſelf exhort the Venetians to make peace, though they had the ſame obligations of League upon them, as they had now. That the Senate did not communicate this their reſolution to their confederates, out of juſt and fitting reſpects, governing it ſelf by that rule, by which all other States govern themſelves, and by which the Catholick King, a powerfull Prince, had walked. For, that he might not break the League unneceſſitated, if the condition of affairs ſhould alter (as they did) and not to ſeem to diſtruſt his forces, whereby to encourage his enemies. He did not acquaint the Venetians with the reaſons, which moved him to keep back his Fleet; nor did any thing, but the effect it ſelf, diſcover his intentions, and the jealouſies which he had of the French. That it became the Venetians to do the like now, who, at the beginning of the treaty of peace, which was as then doubtfull and uncertain, haſarded the loſſe of the uncertain advantage of the League, and of encountring many inconveniences, in following that advice, which reaſon did dictate unto them, or rather neceſſity; though it might be more truly ſaid, that peace was much nearer, being concluded, then was imagined; it being thought, that an Embaſſadour was to be ſent expreſly for that end to Conſtantinople, as had been done formerly; and that ſuch reſolutions might be communicated in fitting time. But that that which was much deſired, and much to be deſired, being proffer'd, it ought not to be refuſed or deferred, for any reſpect whatſoever, the dammage not being to be repaired by any mediation, which any delay, though never ſo ſhort, might occaſion in a buſineſſe of ſuch importance; they being to treat with a barbarous Nation, inſolent, and full of jealouſies. That they had alſo conſidered, that to adviſe in a thing, which was judged by thoſe that demanded counſell, not to be avoided, ſeemed to be unſeaſonable, and to no purpoſe; the rather, for that it would not have been lawfull for the Pope, though he had known the true reaſons, which had cauſed the Venetians to make peace, to diſſwade them from it, or to hinder it; nor would the place which he held, permit him, to adviſe or give way thereunto. So as ſince their occaſions forc'd them, to act contrary to his declared will, and not to be governed by his exhortations, their offence would have been made the greater. That leſſer evill was occaſioned hereby, ſince he knew nothing of the treaty of peace, before it was concluded. The Pope being convinced by theſe reaſons, was indifferently

rently well pacified, and began to treat with the Venetian Embaſſadours upon all occurrences, in a quiet and peacefull manner.

The Senate had in the interim diſpatch'd away *Franciſco Barbaro* with much expedition, with the confirmation and ſtipulation of the peace, to *Conſtantinople*, till ſuch time as *Andrea Badoaro*, who was choſen Embaſſadour to that purpoſe, might go thither, for the ſolemn ſettlement of the Articles, and bring with him accuſtomed preſents. *Barbaro* uſed great diligence, anſwerable to the importancy of the buſineſſe; and having ended his journey in fourteen daies, came very opportunely to the Court at *Conſtantinople*, on the firſt of *May*. For newes being daily brought thither, of great preparations which were made at *Meſſina*, the Turks began to ſuſpect, that the Venetians had made uſe of this treaty of Agreement, meerly out of cunning, to keep them from providing for war, that ſo they might ſuppreſſe them the more eaſily. And they were the rather confirmed in this opinion, becauſe the Embaſſadour was ſo long in comming thither, which for theſe reſpects was thought might be delayed. They therefore began to be more diligent in making ready their Fleet, though the ſeaſon was far advanc'd; *Mehemet* having, by interpoſing ſeverall difficulties, endeavoured to keep the Fleet from going out; to obviate any occaſion that might diſturb the Peace; but at laſt, *Uluzzali*, and *Piali Baſhaw*, put to ſea about the midſt of *June*, with 150 Gallies, 30 Fliboats, and ten Mahones, wherewith they paſſed to *Negropunte*, where they tarried a while, expecting what would become of the treaty of Peace. For *Piali* hearing ſoon after from the Saniacco of *Cherſego*, that the Embaſſadour, and the new Conſul, were already come to *Dalmatia*, on their journey towards *Conſtantinople*, he forthwith went with his whole Fleet to *Modone*; & finding the Agreement concluded with the Venetians, he turned his forces to prejudice the Catholick King; ſo as comming to the Rivers of *Puglia*, he committed much pillage, and burnt the Town of *Caſtro*. But the Venetians, by reaſon of the newes of the Turkiſh Fleets being put to ſea, and of many ſpeeches which were given out, that the Turks would not obſerve the Articles of Peace, and that all their Treaties were treacherous, grew almoſt as jealous of the Turks, as the Turks had been of them. So as though the Embaſſadour was gone, and come already to *Dalmatia*, they were notwithſtanding doubtfull, what the ſucceſſe of that Embaſſie would be. And Generall *Foſcherini* being gone, by order from the Senate, to *Sava*, with intention to diſarm all the Gallies, ſave ſix, which he left at *Corfu*, did delay doing what was reſolved upon; nay he was enjoyned, to take all the men out of ten of the worſt furniſh'd Gallies, and to reinforce the reſt with them; which being done, there remained yet 92 Gallies in the Fleet, fit for action. Theſe things being done by the Venetians, and known by the Turks, did much encreaſe their jealouſies. But when the apprehenſions of theſe jealouſies were vaniſhed, and that the Senate thought, the affairs of the Common-wealth were now in a ſafe condition, they, to the end that they might be no longer at ſo great expence, gave order to the Generall, that he ſhould by degrees diſarm the Gallies; which

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when he ſhould have done, that he ſhould then return home, and lay down his Commiſſion. At the ſame time, the Embaſſador *Badoaro*, who was come to *Conſtantinople*, had delivered his Embaſſie to the grand Signior, wherein, in a few words, (as the cuſtom is, not to uſe many with that Prince) he told him: *That the greater the grief was, which the Duke and Senate of* Venice *had conceived at the occaſion of breach of amity, which had for ſo many years been had, between the Common-wealth and the* Ottaman *Family*; *the greater was their conſolation at the preſent, to think, that all paſt differences being accommodated, they were to return to their former condition, whereby the people on both ſides might enjoy tranquillity, and free commerce. That they hoped, the peace which was now renewed and eſtabliſhed, ſhould be preſerved for many ages*; *which the Venetians, for their parts, would alwaies carefully endeavour, aſſuring themſelves, that* Selino *would do the like, as became a great Prince, and a lover of what was juſt and honeſt.* To which *Selino* made no other reply, ſave, that he did approve of what the Embaſſadour had ſaid, and that he did ratifie and confirm the Capitulations, which had been formerly agreed upon with the Conſul.

Thus after the ſpace of almoſt four years, and after ſo many and ſo ſore adventures, as you have heard by our narration, Peace was renued and eſtabliſhed with the Turks, and the Common-wealth was reſtored to her former quiet: Wherein we pray God that ſhe may long continue, in better and more fortunate times, ſince we ſee, ſhe hath ſo often, with much generoſity, but ſtill with great misfortune, taken up Arms againſt the *Ottaman* Empire.

FINIS.